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TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES IN NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA

BEING A JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION UNDERTAKEN UNDER THE AUSPICES OF H. B. MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT BY HENRY BARTH PH.D. D.C.L.

IN THREE VOLUMES VOLUME I

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IN

NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

BEING A

JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION

UNDERTAKEN

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF H. B. M.'S GOVERNMENT,

IN THE YEARS

1849—1855.

BY

HENRY BARTH, PH.D., D.C.L.,
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND ASIATIC SOCIETIES,
&C., &C.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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1857.

Sierra Leone

PREFACE.

On the 5th of October, 1849, at Berlin, Professor Carl Ritter informed me that the British government was about to send Mr. Richardson on a mission to Central Africa, and that they had offered, through the Chevalier Bunsen, to allow a German traveler to join the mission, provided he was willing to contribute two hundred pounds for his own personal traveling expenses.

I had commenced lecturing at the University of Berlin on comparative geography and the colonial commerce of antiquity, and had just at that time published the first volume of my "Wanderings round the Mediterranean," which comprised my journey through Barbary. Having undertaken this journey quite alone, I spent nearly my whole time with the Arabs, and familiarized myself with that state of human society where the camel is man's daily companion, and the culture of the date-tree his chief occupation. I made long journeys through desert tracts; I traveled all round the Great Syrtis, and, passing through the picturesque little tract of Cyrenaica, traversed the whole country toward Egypt; I wandered about for above a month in the desert valleys between Aswán and Kosér, and afterward pursued my journey by land all the way through Syria and Asia Minor to Constantinople.

While traversing these extensive tracts, where European comfort is never altogether out of reach, where lost supplies may be easily replaced, and where the protection of European powers is not quite without avail, I had often cast a wistful look toward those unknown or little-known regions in the interior, which stand in frequent, though irregular connection with the coast. As a lover of ancient history, I had been led toward those regions rather through the commerce of ancient Carthage than by

the thread of modern discovery, and the desire to know something more about them acted on me like a charm. In the course of a conversation I once held with a Háusa slave in Káf, in the regency of Tunis, he, seeing the interest I took in his native country, made use of the simple but impressive words, "Please God, you shall go and visit Kanó." These words were constantly ringing in my ears; and though overpowered for a time by the vivid impressions of interesting and picturesque countries, they echoed with renewed intensity as soon as I was restored to the tranquillity of European life.

During my three years' traveling I had ample opportunity of testing the efficacy of British protection; I experienced the kindness of all her Britannic majesty's consuls from Tangiers to Brúsa, and often enjoyed their hospitality. It was solely their protection which enabled me to traverse with some degree of security those more desert tracts through which I wandered. Colonel Warrington, her majesty's consul in Tripoli, who seems to have had some presentiment of my capabilities as an African explorer, even promised me his full assistance if I should try to penetrate into the interior. Besides this, my admiration of the wide extension of the British over the globe, their influence, their language, and their government, was such that I felt a strong inclination to become the humble means of carrying out their philanthropic views for the progressive civilization of the neglected races of Central Africa.

Under these circumstances, I volunteered cheerfully to accompany Mr. Richardson, on the sole condition, however, that the exploration of Central Africa should be made the principal object of the mission, instead of a secondary one, as had been originally contemplated.

In the mean time, while letters were interchanged between Berlin, London, and Paris (where Mr. Richardson at that time resided), my father, whom I had informed of my design, entreated me to desist from my perilous undertaking with an earnestness which my filial duty did not allow me to resist; and giving way to Dr. Overweg, who in youthful enthusiasm came immediately forward to volunteer, I receded from my engagement.

But it was too late, my offer having been officially accepted in London; and I therefore allayed my father's anxiety, and joined the expedition.

It was a generous act of Lord Palmerston, who organized the expedition, to allow two foreign gentlemen to join it instead of one. A sailor was besides attached to it; and a boat was also provided, in order to give full scope to the object of exploration. The choice of the sailor was unfortunate, and Mr. Richardson thought it best to send him back from Múrzuk; but the boat, which was carried throughout the difficult and circuitous road by Múrzuk, Ghát, Aïr, and Zínder, exciting the wonder and astonishment of all the tribes in the interior, ultimately reached its destination, though the director of the expedition himself had in the mean while unfortunately succumbed.

Government also allowed us to take out arms. At first it had been thought that the expedition ought to go unarmed, inasmuch as Mr. Richardson had made his first journey to Ghát without arms. But on that occasion he had gone as a private individual, without instruments, without presents, without any thing; and we were to unite with the character of an expedition that of a mission—that is to say, we were to explore the country while endeavoring at the same time to establish friendship with the chiefs and rulers of the different territories. It may be taken for granted that we should never have crossed the frontier of Aïr had we been unarmed; and when I entered upon my journey alone, it would have been impossible for me to proceed without arms through countries which are in a constant state of war, where no chief or ruler can protect a traveler except with a large escort, which is sure to run away as soon as there is any real danger.

It may be possible to travel without arms in some parts of Southern Africa; but there is this wide difference, that the natives of the latter are exclusively Pagans, while, along all those tracts which I have been exploring, Islamism and Paganism are constantly arrayed against each other in open or secret warfare, even if we leave out of view the unsafe state of the roads through large states consisting, though loosely connected to-

gether, of almost independent provinces. The traveler in such countries must carry arms; yet he must exercise the utmost discretion in using them. As for myself, I avoided giving offense to the men with whom I had to deal in peaceful intercourse, endeavoring to attach them to me by esteem and friendship. I have never proceeded onward without leaving a sincere friend behind me, and thus being sure that, if obliged to retrace my steps, I might do so with safety.

But I have more particular reason to be grateful for the opinion entertained of me by the British government; for after Mr. Richardson had, in March, 1851, fallen a victim to the noble enterprise to which he had devoted his life, her majesty's government honored me with their confidence, and, in authorizing me to carry out the objects of the expedition, placed sufficient means at my disposal for the purpose. The position in which I was thus placed must be my excuse for undertaking, after the successful accomplishment of my labors, the difficult task of relating them in a language not my own.

In matters of science and humanity all nations ought to be united by one common interest, each contributing its share in proportion to its own peculiar disposition and calling. If I have been able to achieve something in geographical discovery, it is difficult to say how much of it is due to English, how much to German influence; for science is built up of the materials collected by almost every nation, and, beyond all doubt, in geographical enterprise in general none has done more than the English, while, in Central Africa in particular, very little has been achieved by any but English travelers. Let it not, therefore, be attributed to an undue feeling of nationality if I correct any error of those who preceded me. It would be unpardonable if a traveler failed to penetrate further, or to obtain a clearer insight into the customs and the polity of the nations visited by him, or if he were unable to delineate the country with greater accuracy and precision than those who went before him.

Every succeeding traveler is largely indebted to the labors of his predecessor. Thus our expedition would never have been able to achieve what it did, if Oudney, Denham, and Clapperton

had not gone before us; nor would these travelers have succeeded so far, had Lyon and Ritchie not opened the road to Fezzán; nor would Lyon have been able to reach Tejérri, if Captain (now Rear Admiral) Smyth had not shown the way to Ghírza. To Smyth, seconded by Colonel Warrington, is due the merit of having attracted the attention of the British government to the favorable situation of Tripoli for facilitating intercourse with Central Africa; and if at present the river-communication along the Tsádda or Bénuwé seems to hold out a prospect of an easier approach to those regions, the importance of Tripoli must not be underrated, for it may long remain the most available port from which a steady communication with many parts of that continent can be kept up.

I had the good fortune to see my discoveries placed on a stable basis before they were brought to a close, by the astronomical observations of Dr. Vogel,* who was sent out by her Britannic majesty's government for the purpose of joining the expedition; and I have only to regret that this gentleman was not my companion from the beginning of my journey, as exact astronomical observations, such as he has made, are of the utmost importance in any geographical exploration. By moving the generally-accepted position of Kúkawa more than a degree to the westward, the whole map of the interior has been changed very considerably. The position assigned by Dr. Vogel to Zínder gives to the whole western route, from Ghát through the country of A'sben, a well-fixed terminating point, while at the same time it serves to check my route to Timbúktu. If, however, this topic be left out of consideration, it will be found that the maps made by me on the journey, under many privations, were a close approximation to the truth. But now all that pertains to physical features and geographical position has been laid down, and executed with artistic skill and scientific precision, by Dr. Petermann.

The principal merit which I claim for myself in this respect

* Some details will be considered in a Memoir to be subjoined at the end of this work. It is to be hoped that Dr. Vogel's calculations themselves may be received in the mean time.

is that of having noted the whole configuration of the country; and my chief object has been to represent the tribes and nations with whom I came in contact, in their historical and ethnographical relation to the rest of mankind, as well as in their physical relation to that tract of country in which they live. If, in this respect, I have succeeded in placing before the eyes of the public a new and animated picture, and connected those apparently savage and degraded tribes more intimately with the history of races placed on a higher level of civilization, I shall be amply recompensed for the toils and dangers I have gone through.

My companion, Dr. Overweg, was a clever and active young geologist; but, unfortunately, he was deficient in that general knowledge of natural science which is required for comprehending all the various phenomena occurring on a journey into unknown regions. Having never before risked his life on a dangerous expedition, he never for a moment doubted that it might not be his good fortune to return home in safety, and he therefore did not always bestow that care upon his journal which is so desirable in such an enterprise. Nevertheless, almost all his observations of latitude have been found correct, while his memoranda, if deciphered at leisure, might still yield a rich harvest.

One of the principal objects which her Britannic majesty's government had always in view in these African expeditions was the abolition of the slave-trade. This, too, was zealously advocated by the late Mr. Richardson, and, I trust, has been as zealously carried out by myself whenever it was in my power to do so, although, as an explorer on a journey of discovery, I was induced, after mature reflection, to place myself under the protection of an expeditionary army, whose object it was to subdue another tribe, and eventually to carry away a large proportion of the conquered into slavery. Now it should always be borne in mind that there is a broad distinction between the slave-trade and domestic slavery. The foreign slave-trade may, comparatively speaking, be easily abolished, though the difficulties of watching over contraband attempts have been shown sufficiently by many years' experience. With the abolition of the slave-trade all along the northern and southwestern coast of

Africa, slaves will cease to be brought down to the coast, and in this way a great deal of the mischief and misery necessarily resulting from this inhuman traffic will be cut off. But this, unfortunately, forms only a small part of the evil.

There can be no doubt that the most horrible topic connected with slavery is slave-hunting; and this is carried on, not only for the purpose of supplying the foreign market, but, in a far more extensive degree, for supplying the wants of domestic slavery. Hence it was necessary that I should become acquainted with the real state of these most important features of African society, in order to speak clearly about them; for with what authority could I expatiate on the horrors and the destruction accompanying such an expedition if I were not speaking as an eyewitness? But having myself accompanied such a host on a grand scale, I shall be able, in the second volume of my narrative, to lay before the public a picture of the cheerful comfort, as well as the domestic happiness, of a considerable portion of the human race, which, though in a low, is not at all in a degraded state of civilization, as well as the wanton and cruel manner in which this happiness is destroyed, and its peaceful abodes changed into desolation. Moreover, this very expedition afforded me the best opportunity of convincing the rulers of Bórnu of the injury which such a perverse system entails upon themselves.

But, besides this, it was of the utmost importance to visit the country of the Músgu; for while that region had been represented by the last expedition as an almost inaccessible mountain chain, attached to that group which Major Denham observed on his enterprising but unfortunate expedition with Bú-Khalúm, I convinced myself on my journey to A'damáwa, from the information which I gathered from the natives, that the mountains of Mándará are entirely insulated toward the east. I considered it, therefore, a matter of great geographical importance to visit that country, which, being situated between the rivers Shárí and Bénuwé, could alone afford the proof whether there was any connection between these two rivers.

I shall have frequent occasion to refer, in my journal, to con-

versations which I had with the natives on religious subjects. I may say that I have always avowed my religion, and defended the pure principles of Christianity against those of Islám; only once was I obliged, for about a month, in order to carry out my project of reaching Timbúktu, to assume the character of a Moslim. Had I not resorted to this expedient, it would have been absolutely impossible to achieve such a project, since I was then under the protection of no chief whatever, and had to pass through the country of the fanatic and barbarous hordes of the Tawárek. But though, with this sole exception, I have never denied my character of a Christian, I thought it prudent to conform to the innocent prejudices of the people around me, adopting a dress which is at once better adapted to the climate and more decorous in the eyes of the natives. One great cause of my popularity was the custom of alms-giving. By this means I won the esteem of the natives, who took such a lively interest in my well-being that, even when I was extremely ill, they used to say, "'Abd el Kerím* shall not die."

I have given a full description of my preparatory excursion through the mountainous region round Tripoli; for, though this is not altogether a new country, any one who compares my map with that of Lyon or Denham will see how little the very interesting physical features of this tract had been known before, while, at a time when the whole Turkish empire is about to undergo a great transformation, it seems well worth while to lay also the state of this part of its vast dominions in a more complete manner before the European public.

Of the first part of our expedition there has already appeared the Narrative of the late Mr. Richardson, published from his manuscript journals, which I was fortunately able to send home from Kúkawa. It is full of minute incidents of traveling life, so very instructive to the general reader. But, from my point of view, I had to look very differently at the objects which presented themselves; and Mr. Richardson, if he had lived to work out his memoranda himself, would not have failed to give to his

* "'Abd el Kerím," meaning "Servant of the Merciful," was the name which I thought it prudent to adopt.

journal a more lasting interest. Moreover, my stay in A'gades afforded me quite a different insight into the life, the history, and geography of those regions, and brought me into contact with Timbúktu.

Extending over a tract of country of twenty-four degrees from north to south, and twenty degrees from east to west, in the broadest part of the continent of Africa, my travels necessarily comprise subjects of great interest and diversity.

After having traversed vast deserts of the most barren soil, and scenes of the most frightful desolation, I met with fertile lands irrigated by large navigable rivers and extensive central lakes, ornamented with the finest timber, and producing various species of grain, rice, sesamum, ground-nuts, in unlimited abundance, the sugar-cane, &c., together with cotton and indigo, the most valuable commodities of trade. The whole of Central Africa, from Bagírmi to the east as far as Timbúctu to the west (as will be seen in my narrative), abounds in these products. The natives of these regions not only weave their own cotton, but dye their home-made shirts with their own indigo. The river, the far-famed Niger, which gives access to these regions by means of its eastern branch, the Bénuwé, which I discovered, affords an uninterrupted navigable sheet of water for more than six hundred miles into the very heart of the country. Its western branch is obstructed by rapids at the distance of about three hundred and fifty miles from the coast; but even at that point it is probably not impassable in the present state of navigation, while, higher up, the river opens an immense high road for nearly one thousand miles into the very heart of Western Africa, so rich in every kind of produce.

The same diversity of soil and produce which the regions traversed by me exhibit, is also observed with respect to man. Starting from Tripoli in the north, we proceed from the settlements of the Arab and the Berber, the poor remnants of the vast empires of the Middle Ages, into a country dotted with splendid ruins from the period of the Roman dominion, through the wild roving hordes of the Tawárek, to the Negro and half-Negro tribes, and to the very border of the South African na-

tions. In the regions of Central Africa there exists not one and the same stock, as in South Africa, but the greatest diversity of tribes, or rather nations, prevails, with idioms entirely distinct.

The great and momentous struggle between Islamism and Paganism is here continually going on, causing every day the most painful and affecting results, while the miseries arising from slavery and the slave-trade are here revealed in their most repulsive features. We find Mohammedan learning ingrafted on the ignorance and simplicity of the black races, and the gaudy magnificence and strict ceremonial of large empires side by side with the barbarous simplicity of naked and half-naked tribes. We here trace a historical thread which guides us through this labyrinth of tribes and overthrown kingdoms; and a lively interest is awakened by reflecting on their possible progress and restoration, through the intercourse with more civilized parts of the world. Finally, we find here commerce in every direction radiating from Kanó, the great emporium of Central Africa, and spreading the manufactures of that industrious region over the whole of Western Africa.

I can not conclude these prefatory remarks without expressing my sincere thanks for the great interest shown in my proceedings by so many eminent men in this country, as well as for the distinction of the Victoria medal awarded to me by the Royal Geographical Society. As I may flatter myself that, by the success which attended my efforts, I have encouraged further undertakings in these as well as in other quarters of Africa, so it will be my greatest satisfaction if this narrative should give a fresh impulse to the endeavors to open the fertile regions of Central Africa to European commerce and civilization.

Whatever may be the value of this work, the Author believes that it has been enhanced by the views and illustrations with which it is embellished. These have been executed with artistical skill and the strictest fidelity, from my sketches, by Mr. Bernatz, the well-known author of the beautiful "Scenes in Æthiopia."

I will only add a few words relative to the spelling of native

names—rather a difficult subject in a conflux of languages of very different organization and unsettled orthography. I have constantly endeavored to express the sounds as correctly as possible, but in the simplest way, assigning to the vowels always the same intonation which they have in Italian, and keeping as closely as possible to the principles adopted by the Asiatic Society. The greatest difficulty related to the "g" sound, which is written in various ways by the Africans, and puzzled even the Arabic writers of the Middle Ages. While the "k" in North Africa approaches the g in "give," it takes the sound of it entirely in the Central African languages. On this ground, although I preferred writing "Azkár," while the name might have been almost as well written "Azgár;" yet, further into the interior, the application of the g, as in "A'gades," "Góber," and so on, was more correct. The ع of the Arabs has been expressed, in conformity with the various sounds which it adopts, by 'a, 'o, and 'u; the غ by gh, although it sounds in many words like an r; ج by j; the چ, which is frequent in the African languages, by ch.

The alphabet, therefore, which I have made use of is the following:

Vowels.	*Diphthongs.*
a as in cat.	ai as i in tide (ay at the end of words).
á " father.	oi (oy) as in noise.
'a (not English) not unlike a in dart.	au (aw) as ow in now.
e as in pen.	
é like the first a in fatal.	*Consonants.*
i as in it.	b as in beat.
í " ravine.	d " door.
o " lot.	f* " fan.
ó " home.	g " got.
'o (not English) not unlike o in noble.	j† " join.
u as in put.	k " keep.
ú " adjure, true.	l " leave.
'u not unlike oo in doom.	m " man.
y, at the end of words, instead of i.	n " not.

* p, ph, f, in many African languages, are constantly interchanged, the same as r and dh, r and l.

† No distinction has been made between the different sounds of j.

Consonants (continued).

ñ as in the Spanish "campaña, like ni in companion, onion.
p* as in pain.
r " rain.
s " son.
t " tame.
v " vain.
w " win.
y as in yet.
z " zeal.

Double Consonants.

gh as in ghost, and the g in grumble.
ks as x in tax, excise.
kh as ch in the Scotch word loch.
th as in tooth.
ts as in Betsy.
ng as in wrong.

A few slight discrepancies in the spelling of names will, I trust, be excused, the printing having already commenced before I had entirely settled the orthography I would adopt.

HENRY BARTH, Ph. D.

St. John's Wood, London, May 1, 1857.

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* "The people of A'gades at that time (the last quarter of the last century)—though A'gades then belonged to the Cashna empire—were annually permitted to load their immense caravans with the salt of Bornou, from the salt lakes of Demboo" (the Tebu country?), "the merchants of A'gades giving in return for the article a trifling price in brass and copper."—*Lucas, Proceedings of the African Association*, vol. i., p. 159.

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TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

FROM TUNIS TO TRIPOLI.

Mr. Richardson was waiting in Paris for dispatches when Mr. Overweg and I reached Tunis, by way of Philippeville and Bona, on the 15th of December, 1849; and having, through the kind interference of Mr. Ferrier, the British vice-consul, been allowed to enter the town after six days' quarantine, we began immediately to provide ourselves with articles of dress, while, in the mean time, we took most interesting daily rides to the site of ancient Carthage.

Having procured many useful articles for our journey, and having found a servant, the son of a freed slave from Gober, we left Tunis on the 30th of December,* and passed the first night in Hammám el Enf. Early next morning we followed the charming route by Krumbália, which presents a no less vivid specimen of the beauty and natural fertility of the Tunisian country than of the desolate state to which it is at present reduced. We then passed the fine gardens of Turki, a narrow spot of cultivation in a wide, desolate plain of the finest soil; and, leaving El Khwín to our right, we reached El Arb'ain.

Both these places enjoy a peculiar celebrity with the natives.

* I can not leave Tunis without mentioning the great interest taken in our undertaking, and the kindness shown to us by M. le Baron Théis, the French consul.

El Khíwn is said to have been once a populous place, but nearly all its inhabitants were destroyed by a spring of bituminous water, which, according to tradition, afterward disappeared. El Arb'ain, the locality of the "forty" martyrs, is a holy place, and 'Ali, our muleteer, in his pious zeal, took up a handful of the sacred earth and sprinkled it over us. It is a most picturesque spot. Keeping then along the wild plain covered with a thick underwood of myrtle, we beheld in the distance the highly picturesque and beautiful Mount Zaghwán, the Holy Mountain of the ancient inhabitants, which rose in a majestic form, and we at length reached Bir el buwíta, "the well of the little closet," at one o'clock in the afternoon. The "little closet," however, had given place to a most decent-looking whitewashed khán, where we took up our quarters in a clean room. But our buoyant spirits did not allow us long repose, and a quarter before eleven at night we were again on our mules.

I shall never forget this, the last night of the year 1849, which opened to us a new era with many ordeals, and by our endurance of which we were to render ourselves worthy of success. There were, besides ourselves, our servants, and our two muleteers, four horsemen of the Bey, and three natives from Jirbi. When midnight came, my fellow-traveler and I saluted the new year with enthusiasm, and with a cordial shake of the hand wished each other joy. Our Mohammedan companions were greatly pleased when they were informed of the reason of our congratulating each other, and wished us all possible success for the new year. We had also reason to be pleased with them, for by their not inharmonious songs they relieved the fatigue of a long, sleepless, and excessively cold night.

Having made a short halt under the olive-trees at the side of the dilapidated town of Herkla, and taken a morsel of bread, we moved on with our poor animals without interruption till half an hour after noon, when we reached the funduk (or caravanserai) Sidi Bú J'afer,* near Súsa, where we took up our quar-

* The town presented quite the same desolate character which I have described in my former journey, with the single exception that a new gate had since been built. Several statues had been brought from Medinet Ziyán.

ters, in order to be able to start again at night, the gates of the town being kept shut till morning.

Starting before three o'clock in the morning, we were exactly twelve hours in reaching El Jem, with the famous Castle of the Prophetess, still one of the most splendid monuments of Roman greatness, overhanging the most shabby hovels of Mohammedan indifference. On the way we had a fine view, toward the west, of the picturesque Jebel Trutsa, along the foot of which I had passed on my former wanderings, and of the wide, outstretching Jebel Useleet.

Another ride of twelve hours brought us, on the 3d of January, 1850, to Sfákes, where we were obliged to take up our quarters in the town, as our land journey was here at an end, and we were to procure a vessel to carry us either direct to Tripoli, or to some other point on the opposite side of the Lesser Syrtis. The journey by land is not only expensive, particularly for people who are encumbered with a good deal of luggage, as we then were, and very long and tedious, but is also very unsafe, as I found from experience on my former journey. The island of Jirbi, which forms the natural station of the maritime intercourse between the regency of Tunis and that of Tripoli, had been put under the strictest rules of quarantine, rather from political considerations than from those of health, all intercourse with the main land having been cut off. It was, therefore, with great difficulty that we succeeded in hiring a "gáreb" to carry us to Zwára, in which we embarked in the forenoon of Saturday, the 5th of January.

During our two days' stay in Sfákes, we made the acquaintance of a Jew calling himself Baránes, but who is, in truth, the Jew servant who accompanied Denham and Clapperton, and is several times mentioned in the narrative of those enterprising travelers as self-conceited and stubborn; yet he seems to be rather a clever fellow, and in some way or other contrives to be on the best terms with the governor. He communicated to us many anecdotes of the former expedition, and, among other things, a very mysterious history of a Danish traveler in disguise, whom they met in Borno, coming all the way from Dar-

Fúr through Wadaï. There is not the least mention of such a meeting in the journal of the expedition, nor has such an achievement of a European traveler ever been heard of; and I can scarcely believe the truth of this story, though the Jew was quite positive about it.

The vessel in which we embarked was as miserable as it could be, there being only a small low cabin as high as a dog-kennel, and measuring, in its greatest width, from six to seven feet, where I and my companion were to pass the night. We thought that a run of forty-eight hours, at the utmost, would carry us across the gulf; but the winds in the Lesser Syrtis are extremely uncertain, and sometimes so violent that a little vessel is obliged to run along the coast.

At first we went on tolerably well; but the wind soon became unfavorable, and in the evening we were obliged to cast anchor opposite Nekta, and, to our despair, were kept there till the afternoon of Tuesday, when at length we were enabled to go forward in our frail little shell, and reached Méheres—not Sidi Méheres, as it is generally called in the maps—in the darkness of night. Having made up our minds rather to risk any thing than to be longer immured in such a desperate dungeon as our gáreb, we went on shore early on Wednesday morning with all our things, but were not able to conclude a bargain with some Bedowín of the tribe of the Léffet, who were watering their camels at the well.

The majestic ruins of a large castle, fortified at each corner with a round tower, give the place a picturesque appearance from the sea-side. This castle is well known to be a structure of the time of Ibrahim the Aghlabite. In the midst of the ruins is a small mosque. But notwithstanding the ruinous state of the place, and the desolate condition of its plantations, there is still a little industry going on, consoling to the beholder in the midst of the devastation to which the fine province of Byzacium, once the garden of Carthage, is at present reduced. Several people were busily employed in the little market-place making mats; and in the houses looms, weaving baracans, were seen in activity. But all around, the country presented a frightful scene of desolation,

there being no object to divert the eye but the apparently separate cones of Mount Wuedrán, far in the distance to the west, said to be very rich in sheep. The officer who is stationed here, and who showed us much kindness, furnishing us with some excellent red radishes of extraordinary size, the only luxury which the village affords, told us that not less than five hundred soldiers are quartered upon this part of the coast. On my former journey I had ample opportunity to observe how the Tunisian soldiery eat up the little which has been left to the peaceable inhabitants of this most beautiful but most unfortunate country.

Having spent two days and two nights in this miserable place without being able to obtain camels, we resolved to try the sea once more, in the morning of the 11th, when the wind became northerly; but before the low-water allowed us to go on board, the wind again changed, so that, when we at length got under weigh in the afternoon, we could only move on with short tacks. But our captain, protected as he was by the Promontory of Méheres, dared to enter the open gulf. Quantities of large fish in a dying state, as is often the case in this shallow water when the wind has been high, were drifting round our boat.

The sun was setting when we at length doubled the promontory of Kasr Unga, which we had already clearly distinguished on the 8th. However, we had now overcome the worst; and when, on the following morning, I emerged from our suffocating berth, I saw, to my great delight, that we were in the midst of the gulf, having left the coast far behind us. I now heard from our raïs that, instead of coasting as far as Tarf el má ("the border of the water"), a famous locality in the innermost corner of the Lesser Syrtis, which seems to preserve the memory of the former connection between the gulf and the great Sebkha or Shot el Kebír (the "palus Tritonis"), he had been so bold as to keep his little bark straight upon the channel of Jirbi.

Our voyage now became interesting; for while we were advancing at a fair rate, we had a charming view of the mountain range, which in clear contours extended along in the distance behind the date-groves on the coast, seen only in faint outlines.

The western part of the chain is very low, and forms almost a group apart, but after having been intersected by a gap or "gate," the chain rises to greater elevation, being divided, as it would seem from hence, into three separate ranges inclosing fine valleys.

We had hoped to cross the difficult channel to-day; but the wind failing, we were obliged to anchor and await the daylight, for it is not possible to traverse the straits in the night, on account of their extreme shallowness. Even in the light of the following day, when we at length succeeded, our little bark, which drew only two or three feet, struck twice, and we had some trouble to get afloat again. On the conspicuous and elevated promontory the "Jurf," or "Tarf el jurf," stood in ancient times a temple of Venus, the hospitable goddess of the navigator. Here on my former journey I crossed with my horses over from the main to the island of Jirbi, while from the water I had now a better opportunity of observing the picturesque character of the rugged promontory. After traversing the shallow basin or widening, we crossed the second narrowing, where the castles which defended the bridge or "kantara," the "pons Zitha" of the Romans, now lie in ruins on the main as well as on the island, and greatly obstruct the passage, the difficulty of which has obtained celebrity from contests between Islam and Christianity in comparatively modern times.

Having passed safely through this difficult channel, we kept steadily on through the open sea; and doubling Rás M'amúra, near to which our captain had a little date-grove and was cheerfully saluted by his family and friends, we at length entered the harbor of Zarzís late in the afternoon of Sunday, and with some trouble got all our luggage carried into the village, which is situated at some distance; for, although we had the worst part of the land journey now before us, the border district of the two regencies, with the unsafe state of which I was well acquainted from my former journey, and although we were insufficiently armed, we were disposed to endure any thing rather than the imprisonment to which we were doomed in such a vessel as our Mohammed's gáreb. I think, however, that this nine days' sail

between Sfákes and Zarzís, a distance of less than a hundred and twenty miles, was, on the whole, a very fair trial in the beginning of an undertaking the success of which was mainly dependent upon patience and resolute endurance. We were rather fortunate in not only soon obtaining tolerable quarters, but also in arranging without delay our departure for the following day, by hiring two horses and three camels.

Zarzís consists of five separate villages—Kasr Bú Ali, Kasr Mwanza, Kasr Welád Mohammed, Kasr Welád S'aid, and Kasr Zawíya; the Bedowín in the neighborhood belong to the tribe of the Akára. The plantation also is formed into separate date-groves. The houses are in tolerable repair and neatly white-washed; but the character of order and well-being is neutralized by a good many houses in decay. Near the place there are also some Roman ruins, especially a cistern of very great length; and at some distance is the site of Medinet Ziyán, of which I have given a description in the narrative of my former journey.

Besides the eight men attached to our five animals, we were joined here by four pilgrims and three Tripolitan traders; we thus made up a numerous body, armed with eight muskets, three blunderbusses, and fourteen pistols, besides several straight swords, and could venture upon the rather unsafe road to the south of the Lake of Bibán, though it would have been far more agreeable to have a few trustworthy people to rely on instead of these turbulent companions.

Entering soon, behind the plantation of Zarzís, a long narrow sebkha, we were struck by the sterile and desolate character of the country, which was only interrupted by a few small depressed localities, where a little corn was cultivated. Keeping along this tract of country, we reached the northwestern corner of the Lake of Bibán, or Bahéret el Bibán, after a little more than eight miles. This corner has, even at the present day, the common name of Khashm el kelb (the Dog's Nose), while the former classical name of the whole lake, Sebákh el keláb, was only known to Tayyef, the more learned of my guides, who, without being questioned by me, observed that in former times towns

and rich corn-fields had been where the lake now is, but had been swallowed up by a sinking of the ground.

The real basin has certainly nothing in common with a sebkha, which means a shallow hollow, incrusted with salt, which at times is dry and at others forms a pool; for it is a deep gulf or fiord of the sea, with which it is connected only by a narrow channel called Wád mt'a el Bibán. The nature of a sebkha belongs at present only to its shores, chiefly to the locality called Makháda, which, indenting the country to a great distance, is sometimes very difficult to pass, and must be turned by a wide circuitous path, which is greatly feared on account of the neighborhood of the Udérna, a tribe famous for its highway robberies. Having traversed the Makháda (which at present was dry) without any difficulty, we entered upon good arable soil, and encamped, after sunset, at about half a mile distance from a Bedowín encampment.

January 15th. Starting from here the following day, we soon became aware that the country was not so thinly inhabited as we had thought; for numerous herds covered the rich pasture-grounds, while droves of gazelles, now and then, attested that the industry of man did not encroach here upon the freedom of the various orders of creation. Leaving the path near the ruins of a small building situated upon a hill, I went with Tayyef and the Khalífa to visit the ruins of a Roman station on the border of the Bahéra, which, under the name of El Medaina, has a great fame among the neighboring tribes, but which, with a single exception, are of small extent and bad workmanship. This exception is the quay, which is not only of interest in itself, formed as it is of regularly-hewn stones, in good repair, but of importance as an evident proof that the lake was much deeper in ancient times than it is now.

Traversing from this spot the sebkha, which our companions had gone round, we soon overtook them, and kept over fine pasture-grounds called El Fehén, and further on, Súllub, passing, a little after noon, a group of ruins near the shore, called Kitfi el hamár. At two o'clock in the afternoon we had directly on our right a slight slope, which, according to the unanimous state-

ment of our guides and companions, forms the mágtt'a, مقطع, or frontier between the two regencies;* and keeping along it, we encamped an hour afterward between the slope and the shore, which a little further on forms the deep gulf called Mirsá Buréka.

January 16*th*. Starting at an early hour, we reached, after a march of ten miles, the ruins of a castle on the sea-shore, called Búrj el Melha, to which those of a small village, likewise built of hewn stone, are joined, while a long and imposing mole called El Míná juts out into the gulf. Four and a half miles further on we reached the conspicuous hill on the top of which is the chapel of the saint Sidi S'aid ben Salah, sometimes called Sidi Gházi, and venerated by such of the natives as are not attached to the Puritan sect of El Mádani, of which I shall speak hereafter. All our companions went there to say a short prayer.

Here we left the shore, and, having watered our animals near a well and passed the chapel of Sidi S'aid, close to which there are some ruins, we passed with expedition over fine meadows till we approached the plantation of Zowára, when, leaving Mr. Overweg and my people behind, I rode on with the Khalífa, in order to procure quarters from my former friend S'aid bu Semmín, who, as I had heard to my great satisfaction, had been restored to the government of that place. He had just on that very day returned from a visit of some length in the capital, and was delighted to see me again; but he was rather astonished when he heard that I was about to undertake a far more difficult and dangerous journey than my former one along the coast, in which he well knew that I had had a very narrow escape. However, he confided in my enterprising spirit and in the mercy of the Almighty, and thought, if any body was likely to do it, I was the man.†

* This point is not without importance, as a great deal of dispute has taken place about the frontier. Having on my former journey kept close along the sea-shore, I have laid it down erroneously in the map accompanying the narrative of that journey.

† I will here correct the mistake which I made in my former narrative, when

January 17th. We had now behind us the most dreary part of our route, having entered a district which in ancient times numbered large and wealthy cities, among which Sabratha stands foremost, and which even in the present miserable state of the country is dotted with pleasant little date-groves, interrupted by fine pasture-grounds. In the westernmost part of this tract, however, with the exception of the plantation of Zowára, all the date-groves, as those of Rikdalíye, Jemíl, El Meshíah, and Jenán ben Síl, lie at a considerable distance from the coast, while the country near the sea is full of sebkhas, and very monotonous, till the traveler reaches a slight ridge of sand-hills about sixteen miles east from Zowára, which is the border between the dreary province of that government and a more favored tract belonging to the government of Bú-'Ajíla, and which lies a little distance inland. Most charming was the little plantation of Kasr 'alaiga, which exhibited traces of industry and improvement. Unfortunately, our horses were too weak and too much fatigued to allow us to visit the sites either of Sabratha or Pontes. The ruins of Sabratha are properly called Kasr 'alaiga, but the name has been applied to the whole neighborhood; to the ancient Pontes seem to belong the ruins of Zowára e' sherkíyeh, which are considerable. Between them lies the pretty grove of Om el hallúf.

About four o'clock in the afternoon we traversed the charming little valley called Wadi bú-harída, where we watered our horses; and then following the camels, and passing Asermán with its little plantation, which is bordered by a long and deep sebkha, we took up our quarters for the night in an Arab encampment, which was situated in the midst of the date-grove of 'Ukbah, and presented a most picturesque appearance, the large fires throwing a magic light upon the date-trees. But there are no roses without thorns: we were unfortunately persuaded to make ourselves comfortable in an Arab tent, as we

I said that Zowára is not mentioned by Arabic authors. It is certainly not adverted to by the more celebrated and older writers, but it is mentioned by travelers of the fourteenth century, especially by the Sheikh e' Tijáni.

had no tent of our own; and the enormous swarms of fleas not only disturbed our night's rest, but followed us to Tripoli.

We had a long stretch the following day to reach the capital, which we were most anxious to accomplish, as we expected Mr. Richardson would have arrived before us in consequence of our own tedious journey; and having sent the Khalífa in advance to keep the gate open for us, we succeeded in reaching the town after an uninterrupted march of thirteen hours and a half, and were most kindly received by Mr. Crowe, her majesty's consul general, and the vice-consul, Mr. Reade, with whom I was already acquainted. We were surprised to find that Mr. Richardson had not even yet been heard of, as we expected he would come direct by way of Malta. But he did not arrive till twelve days after. With the assistance of Mr. Reade, we had already finished a great deal of our preparations, and would have gladly gone on at once; but neither the boat, nor the instruments, nor the arms or tents had as yet arrived, and a great deal of patience was required. However, being lodged in the neat house of the former Austrian consul, close to the harbor, and which commands a charming prospect, our time passed rapidly by.

On the 25th of January, Mr. Reade presented Mr. Overweg and me to Yezíd Bashá, the present governor, who received us with great kindness and good feeling. On the 29th we had a pleasant meeting with Mr. Frederick Warrington on his return from Ghadámes, whither he had accompanied Mr. Charles Dickson, who, on the first of January, had made his entry into that place as the first European agent and resident. Mr. F. Warrington is perhaps the most amiable possible specimen of an Arabianized European. To this gentleman, whose zeal in the objects of the expedition was beyond all praise, I must be allowed to pay my tribute as a friend. On setting out in 1850, he accompanied me as far as the Ghurián; and on my joyful return in 1855 he received me in Múrzuk. By the charm of friendship he certainly contributed his share to my success.

CHAPTER II.

TRIPOLI.—THE PLAIN AND THE MOUNTAIN SLOPE; THE ARAB AND THE BERBER.

In the Introduction I have given a rapid sketch of our journey from Tunis, and pointed out the causes of our delay in Tripoli. As soon as it became apparent that the preparations for our final departure for the interior would require at least a month, Mr. Overweg and I resolved to employ the interval in making a preliminary excursion through the mountainous region that encompasses Tripoli in a radius of from sixty to eighty miles.

With this view, we hired two camels, with a driver each, and four donkeys, with a couple of men, for ourselves and our two servants, Mohammed Belāl, the son of a liberated Háusa slave, and Ibrahim, a liberated Bagirmi slave, whom we had been fortunate enough to engage here; and, through the consul's influence, we procured a shoush, or officer, to accompany us the whole way.

Neither the instruments provided by her majesty's government, nor the tents and arms, had as yet arrived. But Mr. Overweg had a good sextant, and I a good chronometer, and we were both of us provided with tolerably good compasses, thermometers, and an aneroid barometer. Mr. Frederick Warrington, too, was good enough to lend us a tent.

We had determined to start in the afternoon of the 4th of February, 1850, so as to pass the first night in Ghargásh; but, meeting with delays, we did not leave the town till after sunset. We preferred encamping, therefore, in the Meshíah, a little beyond the mosque, under the palm-trees, little knowing at the time what an opportunity we had lost of spending a very cheerful evening.

February 5th. Soon after starting, we emerged from the

palm-groves which constitute the charm of Tripoli, and continued our march over the rocky ground. Being a little in advance with the shoush, I halted to wait for the rest, when a very peculiar cry, that issued from the old Roman building on the road side, called "Kasr el Jahalíyeh," perplexed us for a moment. But we soon learned, to our great surprise, not unmixed with regret, that it was our kind friend Frederick Warrington, who had been waiting for us here the whole night. From the top of the ruin, which stands on an isolated rock left purposely in the midst of a quarry, there is a widely-extensive view. It apppears that, before the Arabs built the castle, this site was occupied by Roman sepulchres. A little further on we passed the stone of Sidi 'Arífa. This stone had fallen upon the head of a workman who was digging a well. The workman, so runs the legend, escaped unhurt; and at Sidi 'Arífa's word the stone once more sprung to the surface. Further on, near the sea-shore, we passed the chapel of Sidi Salah, who is said to have drawn by magic to his feet, from the bottom of the sea, a quantity of fish ready dressed.

From this point our kind friend, Mr. Frederick Warrington, returned with his followers to the town, and we were left to ourselves. We then turned off from the road, and entered the fine date-plantation of Zenzúr, celebrated in the fourteenth century as one of the finest districts of Barbary, by the Sheikh e' Tijáni, passing by a great magazine of corn, and a mouldering clay-built castle, in which were quartered a body of horsemen of the Urshefāna. Fine olive-trees pleasingly alternated with the palm-grove, while the borders of the broad sandy paths were neatly fenced with the *Cactus opuntia*. Having passed our former place of encampment in Sayáda, we were agreeably surprised to see at the western end of the plantation a few new gardens in course of formation; for there is a tax, levied not on the produce of the tree, but on the tree itself, which naturally stands in the way of new plantations.

Having halted for a short time at noon near the little oasis of Sidi Ghár, where the ground was beautifully adorned with a profusion of lilies; and having passed Jedaim, we encamped

toward evening in the wide court-yard of the Kasr Gamúda, where we were kindly received by the Kaimakám Mustapha Bey, whom I was providentially destined to meet twice again, viz., on my outset from and on my final return to Fezzan. The whole plantation of Zawíya, of which Gamúda forms a part, is said to contain a hundred and thirty thousand palm-trees.

Ibrahim gave me an interesting account to-day of Negroland. Though a native of Bagirmi, he had rambled much about Mandara, and spoke enthusiastically of the large and strong mountain town Karawa, his report of which I afterward found quite true; of the town of Mendif, situated at the foot of the great mountain of the same name; and of Mora, which he represented as very unsafe on account of bands of robbers—a report which has been entirely confirmed by Mr. Vogel. Our chief interest at that time was concentrated upon Mandara, which was then supposed to be the beginning of the mountainous zone of Central Africa.

Wednesday, February 6th. While the camels were pursuing the direct track, we ourselves, leaving our former road, which was parallel to the sea-coast, and turning gradually toward the south, made a circuit through the plantation, in order to procure a supply of dates and corn, as we were about to enter on the zone of nomadic existence. The morning was very fine, and the ride pleasant. But we had hardly left the plantation, when we exchanged the firm turf for deep sand-hills, which were broken further on by a more favored soil, where melons were cultivated in great plenty; and again, about four miles beyond the plantation, the country once more assumed a genial aspect. I heard that many of the inhabitants of Zawiya habitually exchange every summer their more solid town residences for lighter dwellings here in the open air. A little before noon we obtained a fine view over the diversified outlines of the mountains before us.

In the plain there are many favored spots bearing corn, particularly the country at the foot of Mount M'amúra, which forms a very conspicuous object from every side. As we advanced further, the country became well inhabited, and every where, at

some distance from the path, were seen encampments of the tribe of the Belása, who occupy all the grounds between the Urshefána and the Bu-'Ajíla, while the Urjímma, a tribe quite distinct from the Urghámma, have their settlements S. W., between the Nuwayíl and the Bu-'Ajíla. All these Arabs hereabout provide themselves with water from the well Núr e' dín, which we left at some distance on our left.

The encampment near which we pitched our tent in the evening belonged to the chief of the Belása, and consisted of seven tents, close to the slope of a small hilly chain. We had scarcely pitched our tent when rain set in, accompanied by a chilly current of air, which made the encampment rather uncomfortable. The chief, Mohammed Chélebi, brought us, in the evening, some bazín, the common dish of the Arab of Tripoli. We wanted to regale him with coffee, but, being afraid of touching the hot drink, and perhaps suspicious of poison, he ran away.

Thursday, February 7th. Continuing our march southward through the fine and slightly undulating district of El Habl, where water is found in several wells, at the depth of from fifteen to sixteen fathoms, we gradually approached the mountain chain. The strong wind, which filled the whole air with sand, prevented us from obtaining a very interesting view from a considerable eminence called El Ghunna, the terminating and culminating point of a small chain of hills which we ascended. For the same reason, when I and Ibrahim, after lingering some time on this interesting spot, started after our camels, we lost our way entirely, the tracks of our little caravan being totally effaced, and no path traceable over the undulating sandy ground. At length we reached firmer grassy soil, and, falling in with the path, overtook our people at the "Bir el Ghánem."

Hence we went straight toward the slope of the mountains, and, after a little more than an hour's march, reached the first advanced hill of the chain, and began to enter on it by going up one of the wadis which open from its flanks. It takes its name from the ethel (*Tamarix orientalis*), which here and there breaks the monotony of the scene, and gradually widens to a considerable plain bounded by majestic ridges. From this plain we de-

scended into the deep and rugged ravine of the large Wadi Sheikh, the abrupt cliffs of which presented to view beautiful layers of red and white sandstone, with a lower horizontal layer of limestone, and we looked out for a well-sheltered place, as the cold wind was very disagreeable. The wadi has its name from its vicinity to the chapel, or zawiya, of the Merábet Bu-Máti, to which is attached a large school.

Friday, February 8th. On setting out from this hollow we ascended the other side, and soon obtained an interesting view of the varied outlines of the mountains before us, with several half-deserted castles of the Arab Middle Ages on the summits of the hills. The castle of the Welád Merabetín, used by the neighboring tribes chiefly as a granary, has been twice destroyed by the Turks; but on the occasion of nuptial festivities, the Arabs, in conformity with ancient usage, still fire their muskets from above the castle. The inhabitants of these mountains, who have a strong feeling of liberty, cling to their ancient customs with great fondness.

We descended again into Wadi Sheikh, which, winding round, crossed our path once more. The regular layers of limestone, which present a good many fossils, with here and there a layer of marl, form here, during heavy rains, a pretty little cascade at the foot of the cliffs. We lost much time by getting entangled in a branch of the wadi, which had no outlet, but exhibited the wild scenery of a glen, worn by the torrents which occasionally rush down the abrupt rocky cliffs. Having regained the direct road, we had to cross a third time the Wadi Sheikh at the point where it is joined by the Wadi Ginna, or Gilla, which also we crossed a little further on. In the fertile zone along the coast, the monotony of the palm-groves becomes almost fatiguing; but here we were much gratified at the sight of the first group of date-trees, which was succeeded by others, and even by a small orchard of fig-trees. Here, as we began to ascend the elevated and abrupt eastern cliffs of the valley, which at first offer only a few patches of cultivated plateau, succeeded further on by olive-trees, a fine view opened before us, extending to the S.E. as far as the famous Roman monument called

Enshéd e' Sufét, which is very conspicuous. Having waited here for our camels, we reached the first village, whose name, "Ta-smeraye," bears, like that of many others, indubitable proof that the inhabitants of these mountainous districts belong originally to the Berber race, though at present only a few of them speak their native tongue. These people had formerly a pleasant and comfortable abode in this quarter, but having frequently revolted against the Turks, they have been greatly reduced, and their villages at present look like so many heaps of ruins.

Having passed some other hamlets in a similar state of decay, and still going through a pleasant but rather arid country, we reached the oppressor's stronghold, the "Kasr il Jebel," as it is generally called, although this part of the mountains bears the special name of Yefren. It lies on the very edge of the steep rocky cliffs, and affords an extensive view over the plain. But, though standing in a commanding position, it is itself commanded by a small eminence a few hundred yards eastward, where there was once a large quadrangular structure, now in ruins.

The castle, which at the time of our visit was the chief instrument in the hands of the Turks for overawing the mountaineers, contained a garrison of four hundred soldiers. It has only one bastion with three guns, at the southern corner, and was found by Mr. Overweg to be 2150 feet above the level of the sea. The high cliffs inclosing the valley are most beautifully and regularly stratified in layers of gypsum and limestone; and a man may walk almost round the whole circumference of the ravine on the same layer of the latter stone, which has been left bare—the gypsum, of frailer texture, having been carried away by the torrents of rain which rush violently down the steep descent. From the little eminence above mentioned there is a commanding view over the valleys and the high plain toward the south.

After our tent had been pitched we received a visit from Haj Rashíd, the Kaimakám or governor, who is reckoned the second person in the Bashalík, and has the whole district from Zwára

as far as Ghadámes toward the S.W., and the Tarhóna toward the S.E., under his military command. His salary is 4600 mahhbúbs annually, or about £720. He had previously been Basha of Adana, in Cilicia; and we indulged, to our mutual gratification, in reminiscences of Asia Minor.

Saturday, February 9th. Early in the morning I walked to a higher eminence at some distance eastward from the castle, which had attracted my attention the day before. This conspicuous hill also was formerly crowned with a tower or small castle; but nothing but a solitary rustic dwelling now enlivens the solitude. The view was very extensive, but the strong wind did not allow of exact compass observations. While my companion remained near the castle, engaged in his geological researches, I agreed with our shoush and a Zintáni lad whom I accidentally met here, and who, on our journey to Fezzan, proved very useful, to undertake a longer excursion toward the west, in order to see something more of this interesting and diversified slope of the plateau.

I was anxious to visit a place called Ta-gherbúst, situated on the north side of the castle, along the slope of a ravine which runs westward into the valley; accordingly, on leaving the site of our encampment, we deviated at first a little northward. Ta-gherbúst is said to have been a rich and important place in former times. Some of its inhabitants possessed as many as ten slaves; but at present it is a heap of ruins, with scarcely twenty-five inhabited houses. From hence, turning southward, we descended gradually along the steep slope, while above our heads the cliffs rose in picturesque majesty, beautifully adorned by scattered date-trees, which, at every level spot, sprung forth from the rocky ground, and gave to the whole scene a very charming character. A fountain which gushed out from a cavern on a little terrace at the foot of the precipice, and fed a handsome group of date-trees, was one of the most beautiful objects that can be imagined.

The Turks, two years ago, made a small path leading directly down from the castle to this fountain, which supplies them with water. After sketching this beautiful spot while the ani-

mals were watering, we followed a more gradual descent into the valley of El Ghasás, which here, with a rough level, widens to a plain, while its upper or southern part, called Wadi Rumíye, forms a very narrow and picturesque ravine. We then continued our march in a westerly direction, having on our right the plain extending, with slight undulations, toward the sea, and on our left the majestic offshoots of the plateau jutting into the plain like vast promontories, with a general elevation of two thousand feet. This grand feature is evidently due to the waters which, in ancient times, must have rushed down the slope of the plateau in mighty streams. At present, the chief character of the country is aridity. On asking my guide whether great torrents are not still occasionally formed along those ravines strong enough to reach the sea, he replied, that once only—forty-four years ago—such a torrent was formed, which, passing by Zenzúr, gave a red color to the sea as far as the island of Jirbi. He also informed me that, in general, all the waters of the ridge joined the Wadi Haera.*

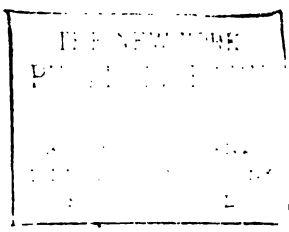
* I can scarcely believe this to be correct; for all the water descending from the Jebel Yefren evidently joins the little wadi which runs on the east side of

On our left, in the valley Khalaifa, a group of date-trees, fed by an abundant spring, called 'Ain el Wuaníye, forms a conspicuous and interesting object; while, in general, these valleys or ravines exhibit, besides small brushwood, only trees of the siddre (*Rhamnus nabeca*), jári, and batúm tribe. The batúm-tree (*Pistacia Atlantica*) produces the fruit called gatúf, which is used by the Arabs for a great variety of purposes. Small brushwood or gandul, also, and various sorts of herbage, such as sebót, shedíde, and sh'ade, enliven the ground.

As we advanced, we changed our direction gradually to the southwest, and entered the mountainous region. On our right there extended far into the plain a steep, narrow promontory, which had served as a natural fortress to the mountaineers in the last war with the Turks; but no water being found near it, its occupants were soon reduced to extremities. Having gone round the last promontory on our left, we entered the picturesque valley "Welád 'Ali," once adorned with orchards and groves of date-trees, but at present reduced to a desolate wilderness, only a few neglected fig-trees and scattered palms still remaining to prove how different the condition of this spot might be. After we had commenced our ascent along the side of the ravine, in order to return upon the level of the plateau, we made a short halt near a cluster of about eighty date-trees, where I made the sketch of the accompanying view. But the ascent became extremely steep, especially near the middle of the slope, where the water, rushing down in cascades, has laid bare the limestone rock, and formed a sort of terrace. Here, on the east side of the cascade, is a spring in a well, called 'Ain el Gatár mt'a Welád 'Ali. On both of the summits overlooking the slope are two villages of the Riaina, the eastern one a little larger than the other, but at present not containing more than about thirty stone-built cottages. In both we tried in vain to buy a little barley for our cattle, as we knew not whether, at our halting-place for the night, we might be able to obtain any; but we got

Zwára (Zwára el Gharbíye). I am sure that he spoke of the torrents descending from the Ghurián, which, without doubt, join the Wadi Haera, and, if very exuberant, will reach the sea at Zenzúr.

WADI WELAD, ATL.



plenty of dried figs for ourselves. This slope, with its ravines and valleys, might certainly produce a very considerable quantity of fruit; and in this respect it resembles in character that of the so-called Kabylia in Algiers. The rearing of fruit-trees seems to be a favorite occupation of the Berber race, even in the more favored spots of the Great Desert.

Continuing our march on the summit of the plateau, we reached the village Kasr Shellūf, which exhibited far greater opulence, as it had escaped being ransacked by the Turks in the last war. Most probably in consequence of this circumstance, its inhabitants are more hospitably disposed than those of Riaina; but the cave or cellar in which they wanted to lodge me had nothing very attractive for a night's quarters, so that I urged my two companions onward. Having continued our southwesterly direction for a while, and passed another village, we thought it safer to turn our steps eastward, and took the direction of the zawíya or convent situated on the summit of the promontory; but when we reached it, just after dusk, the masters or teachers of the young men, who are sent to this holy place for education, refused to admit us for the night, so that we were obliged to go on and try to reach one of the five villages of Khalaifa. At length, after a very difficult descent down the steep rocky slope in the dark, we succeeded in reaching the principal village, and, after some negotiation, occasioned by the absence of the Kaid Bel Kasem, who is chief of the Khalaifa as well as of the Wuërje, we at length obtained admission, and even something to eat, my companions (rather against my will) representing me as a Turk.

Sunday, February 10th. Our route on leaving the village was very pleasant, winding round the sloping sides of several ravines, among which that formed by the rivulet Wuaniye, and adorned with date-trees, was the most beautiful. Ascending gradually, we reached again the level of the plateau, and obtained an extensive prospect, with the remarkable monument Enshéd e' Sufét as a conspicuous and attractive landmark in the distance. The elevated level had a slight undulation, and was clothed with halfa (*Cynosurus durus*) and gedím. However, we did not long continue on it, but descended into the well-irrigated valley Ru-

míye, which is extremely fertile, but also extremely unhealthy, and notorious for its fevers. The beauty of the scenery, enlivened as it is by a considerable torrent foaming along the ravine, and feeding luxuriant clusters of palm, pomegranate, fig, and apricot trees, surpassed my expectation.

Having kept a while along this picturesque ravine, we ascended its eastern side, and then followed the very edge of the steep directly for the castle; but, before reaching our tent, we were obliged to cross a deep branch of the ravine. There was some little activity to-day about the castle, it being the market-day; but the market was really miserable, and the Turkish troops, exercising outside the castle, could ill supply the want of national welfare and prosperity. If a just and humane treatment were guaranteed to these tribes, even under a foreign rule, the country might still enjoy plenty and happiness. Most of the tribes westward from the Riaina—namely, the Zintán, who formerly were very powerful, and even at present hold some possessions as far as Fezzan, the Rujbán, the Fissátu, the Welád Shebel, the Selemát, the Arhebát, the Herába, the Génafíd, the Kábaw, and the Nalúd, belong to the Berber race. With regard to the westernmost of these tribes, M. Prax, on his way to Tuggúrt, has obtained some new information.

After a friendly parting from the Kaimakám, we broke up our encampment near the kasr, in the afternoon, in order to continue our tour eastward along the varied border of the plateau, under the guidance of a faithful black servant of the governor, whose name was Barka. Having passed several smaller villages, we reached Um e' Zerzán, a considerable village, situated on a round hill in the midst of a valley, ornamented with fine olive-trees, and surrounded by fine orchards. Um e' Zerzán is well known among the mountaineers as a centre of rebellion. The whole neighborhood is full of reminiscences of the late war, and about two miles in the rear of the village are the remains of strong walls called el Mataris, behind which the Arabs made some stand against the Turks. Having passed a solitary rustic dwelling surrounded with a thriving olive plantation, we reached the ruins of a castle or village from which the Roman sepulchre,

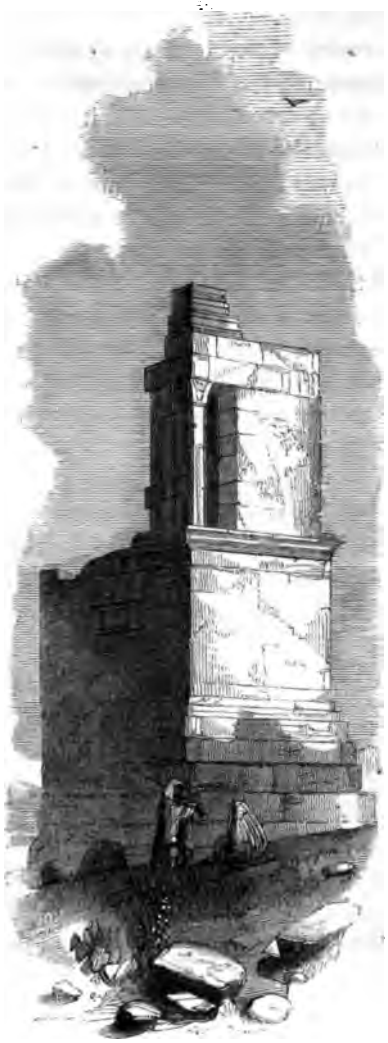
known among the Arabs by the name Enshéd e' Sufét burst suddenly upon our view.

Monday, February 11*th.* After an extremely cold night on this high, rocky ground, the thermometer in the morning indicating only 5° above freezing-point, with the dawn of day I mounted the hill opposite to the monument, commanding an extensive view.* It was a level table-land, uninterrupted by any higher eminence; but the landscape seemed to me highly characteristic, and I made a sketch of it.

Upon this hill there was formerly a castle built of hewn stone. The foundation walls, which are still traceable, show that it faced the east, the eastern and the western sides measuring each 57 ft. 8 in., the northern and southern not more than 54 ft. On the eastern side there was a strong outwork protecting the gate,

and measuring 16 ft. 11 in. on the north and south sides, and 12 ft. 1 in. on the east side, where there was a large gate 9 ft. 1 in. wide. This outwork juts off from the castle at 17 ft. 6 in.

* Mr. Overweg, who made a hypsometrical observation by boiling water, found the elevation of this spot just the same as that of Mount Tekút, viz., 2800 feet.

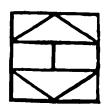


from the south corner. It was evidently a Roman castle; but after the dominion of the Romans and Byzantines had passed away, the Berbers appear to have strengthened it by adding another outwork on the west side, not, however, in the same grand

style as the Romans, but with small, irregular stones, putting bastions to the corners, and surrounding the whole castle with considerable outworks on the slope of the hill.

The Roman castle has been swept away; but the Roman sepulchre is still preserved, with almost all its architectural finery, and is still regarded by the surrounding tribes with a certain awe and reverence.* It was most probably the sepulchre of a Roman commander of the castle in the time of the Antonines; hence, in my opinion, the name Sufét, by which the natives have distinguished it. It is certainly not a Punic monument, though it is well known that the Punic language was generally spoken in several towns of this region much later than the second century after Christ. The style of its architecture testifies that it belongs to the second century, but no inscription remains to tell its story.

This interesting monument is situated on an eminence a little less elevated than that on which the castle is built, and southwestward from it. Its whole height is about 36 ft. The base or pedestal measures 16 ft. 8¾ in. on the W. and E., and 16 ft. N. and S. Its elevation varies greatly from E. to W., on account of the sloping ground, the eastern side measuring 3 ft. 2 in., the western 5 ft. 7 in. In the interior of this base is the sepulchral chamber, measuring 7 ft. 1 in. from N. to S., and 6 ft. 6 in. from E. to W., and remarkable for the peculiar construction of the roof. Upon the lowest part of the base rises a second one 15 ft. 9 in. W. and E., 14 ft. 3¾ in. N. and S., and 2 ft. 1 in. high; and on this a third one, measuring 14 ft. 7½ in. W. and E., 13 ft. 10¼ in. N. and S., and 1 ft. 7 in. in height. Upon this base rose the principal part of the monument, 13 ft. 7 in. high, and measuring at its foot 13 ft. 11½ in. W. and E., decorated at the corners with pilasters, the feet of which measure 1 ft. 1¾ in., and



* In El Bekri's time (11th century) all these Roman monuments hereabout were still the objects of adoration. "De nos jours encore, toutes les tribus berbères qui habitent aux environs offrent à cette idole des sacrifices, lui adressent des prières pour obtenir la guérison de leurs maladies, et lui attribuent l'accroissement de leurs richesses."—*Notices et Extraits*, vol. xii., p. 458.

the shaft 9¾ in. The moulding is handsomely decorated. Upon this principal body of the monument is constructed the upper story, about 10 feet high, decorated with pilasters of the Corinthian order. On the south and west sides the walls are plain; but on the east side they are ornamented with a bow window inclosed with pilasters of the same order, and on the north side with a plain window running up the whole height of the body. Inside of this chamber stood, probably, the statue of the person in whose honor the monument was erected. The upper compartment has a plain moulding about four feet high, and surmounted by a cornice.

The material of this interesting monument is a very fine limestone, which, under the influence of the atmosphere, has received a vivid brownish color, almost like that of travertine. It was taken from a quarry which extends all round the monument, and is full of caverns now used by shepherds as resting-places when they tend their flocks hereabouts.

Our camels had already gone on some time before we parted from this solitary memorial of Roman greatness; and after a little distance we passed the ruins of another Roman fort called Hanshír Hámed. The country hereabouts, forming a sort of bowl or hollow, and absorbing a great deal of moisture, is very fertile, and is also tolerably well cultivated, but after a while it becomes stony. Having here passed a village, we reached a beautiful little valley, the head of the Wadi Sheikh, which is irrigated by two springs that feed a splendid little orchard with all sorts of fruit. Here lies Swédna, a considerable village, spreading over the whole eminence, and known on account of the murder of Mohammed Efendi. As the valley divides into two branches, we followed the main wadi, and afterward crossed it where it formed a pretty brook of running water. We then wound along a narrow valley overgrown with halfa and sidr, and, changing our direction, took the road to Kikla. The valley soon became decked with olives, which gradually formed a fine plantation. This is the chief branch of industry of the inhabitants, the ground being rather stony, and not so fit for grain. The district of Kikla contains numerous villages, all of which

suffered much from the last war, when a great number of people were slaughtered and their dwellings ransacked by the Turks.* Several of these villages lay in small hollows, or on the slope of ravines, and exhibited rather a melancholy appearance. After some delay, we resumed our easterly direction toward Rabda, and soon came to the spot where the elevated ground descends abruptly into the deep and broad valley called Wadi Rabda, over which we obtained an interesting view. To the left the slope broke into a variety of cones and small mounts, among which the Tarhóna — "the mill," so called from a mill that stood formerly on its summit—is remarkable for its handsome shape; while in front of us rose an almost perpendicular cliff of limestone, on a turn of which, in a very commanding position, lies the village Jáfet, inclosed and naturally defended on every side by a deep ravine. Here we commenced our descent, which took us a whole hour; on the middle of the slope we passed a kiln for preparing gypsum. At length we reached the side valley, which joins the main wadi on the west. It was ornamented with a few solitary date-trees, and the beautifully shaped slopes and cones of the Tarhóna were just illuminated by a striking variety of light and shade. The soil, a fertile marl, remained uncultivated. Gradually we entered the main valley, a grand chasm of about four miles and a half in width, which has been formed by the mighty rushing of the waters down† the slope of the plateau. In its upper part it is called Wadi Kérdemín, in its lower part Wadi Sert. The industry of man might convert it into a beautiful spot; but at present it is a desolate waste, the monotonous halfa being the only clothing of the ground.

The eastern border presents a perpendicular rocky cliff about 1500 feet high, on the brink of which lies the village Misga.

* These villages are as follows: Bú-Jáfet, Amsír, Welád Bu-Síri, El Abaiyát, Welád Músa, Welád Na'am, Welád Amrán, Ghurfa, Welád Si-Ammer, El Khodhúr, Nsú, Takbán, Welád S'aid, Gujíla (consisting of four separate villages), Jendúba, Welád Bú-Músi, Msaida, El Fratsa, Shehésh, Negúr, and El Makhrug.

† Compare what Captain Lyon narrates with regard to the valley of Beniulíd, p. 61 of his Narrative.

The westerr border consists of a cluster of detached mounts and rocks. Among these, a black cone, which attracted Mr. Overweg's attention, was found on examination to be pure basalt, with certain indications of former volcanic action. From beyond this remarkable cone, a mount was visible crowned with a castle. As we proceeded, the valley became enlivened by two small Arab encampments. Here we gradually obtained a view of the date-grove of Rabda, which, from the foot of the steep eastern cliffs, slopes down into the bottom of the valley, and is overtopped, in the distance, by the handsome bifurcated Mount Manterús. But Rabda was too far off to be reached before sunset; and we encamped in the wadi, near a group of five tents inhabited by Lasāba or El Asāba Arabs, whose chief paid us a visit and treated us with bazín, but declined tasting our coffee, probably thinking, with his fellow-chief the other day, that we were in the service of the Turks, and wanted to poison him. All the people of these regions regard strangers with suspicion.

Tuesday, February 12th. Soon after we had started we entered upon cultivated ground, the first trace of industry we had seen in this spacious valley. The eastern cliffs formed here a wide chasm, through which a lateral valley joined the Wadi Sert. On the southern slope of this valley lies the Kasr Lasába, from which a torrent that came forth from it, and crossed our route, presented a refreshing spectacle. Emerging gradually from the valley, we obtained an extensive view over the plain called El Gatīs. Westward, as far as the well called Bír el Ghánem, little was to be seen which could gladden the eye of the husbandman. Toward the northeast the level is interrupted by a small range of hills, the culminating points of which, called El Guleát and M'anmúra, rise to a great elevation. Beyond this range the plain is called Shefána, the country of the Ur-shefána.

At nine o'clock we reached the fine date-grove of the westernmost village of Rabda. It is fed by.a copious spring, which arrested our attention. Following it up to trace its source, we were greatly surprised to find, in the heart of some date-trees, a basin fifty feet in length and about thirty in breadth, in which

the water was continually bubbling up, and sending forth a considerable stream to spread life and cheerfulness around. The water gushed up at a temperature of 72° Fahrenheit, while that of the air was only 52°. Besides dates, a large quantity of onions is produced in this fertile spot. The village itself was in former times the residence of Hamíd, a powerful Arab chieftain, who at one time ruled the whole mountainous district, but was obliged to yield to the Turks, and lives at present about Beni-Ulíd, where I had to deal with him on my home journey in 1855.

The groves of the two villages of Rabda are not far apart. On the northeastern side of the village are seven holy chapels called El Hararát. The eastern village lies upon a hill, over a hollow, in which spreads a date-grove, likewise fed by a spring called 'Ain Rabda e' sherkíyeh. On crossing a brook we obtained a view of the Jebel Shehésh, which, attached to the Tahōna, stretches a long way westward, and even El Gunna was seen faintly in the distance. Thus we approached gradually the interesting bicorn of the dark-colored Jebel Manterús, which we were bent on ascending. Alighting at the foot of the mount, near the border of a deep channel, we sent the camels on, but kept the shoush and our guide back to wait for us. It took me twenty-five minutes to reach the eastern and higher summit, on which there is the tomb of a merábet, a holy shepherd, called Sidi Bu-M'aza; but I was disappointed in my expectation of obtaining a great extent of view, the cone of Mount Tekút and other mountains intervening. Toward the south only, a peep into the Wadi el Ugla, bordered by high cliffs, slightly rewarded me for my trouble; and the mount itself is interesting, as it exhibits evident traces of volcanic action.

I had reached the western lower cone in descending when I met my companion in his ascent, and, being anxious to overtake the camels, I started in advance of him, accompanied by the guide, along the Wadi el Ugla. But my companions did not seem to agree as to the path to be pursued, and my guide, overlooking on the rocky ground the footsteps of the camels, which had taken the direct path to the Kasr Ghurián, wanted to take

me by the wadi, and, instead of ascending the eastern cliffs of the ravine, kept along it, where, from being narrow and rocky, the mere bed of a torrent, it widens to a pleasant, cultivated, open valley, with rich marly soil, and adorned with an olive-grove. On a hill in the centre lies the first village of the district Ghurián.

We had begun to leave the principal valley by a lateral opening, when the shoush, overtaking us, led us back to the more northern and more difficult, but shorter path which our camels had taken. The ascent was very steep indeed, and the path then wound along the mountain side and across ravines, till at length we reached the olive-grove which surrounds the Kasr Ghurián; but in the dark we had some difficulty in reaching it, and still more in finding our companions, who at length, however, rejoined the party. In order to obtain something to eat, we were obliged to pay our respects to the governor, but the Turks in the castle were so suspicious that they would scarcely admit us. When at last they allowed us to slip through the gate in single file, they searched us for arms; but the governor, having assured himself that we had no hostile intention, and that we were furnished with a letter from the basha, sent a servant to procure us a lodging in the homestead or housh of a man called Ibrahim, where we pitched our tent. It was then nine o'clock, and we felt quite disposed to enjoy some food and repose.

Wednesday, February 13th. We paid a visit to the governor, who, as well as the aghá, received us with the civility usual with Turks, and, in order to do us honor, ordered the garrison, consisting of 200 men, to pass in review before us. They were good-looking men and well conditioned, though generally rather young. He then showed us the magazines, which are always kept in good order for fear of a revolt, but will be of no avail so long as the command rests with ignorant and unprincipled men. It is built on a spur of the table-land, commanding on the south and southwest side the Wadi Rummána and the high road into the interior. Toward the north the lower hilly ground intervenes between it and Mount Tekút.

Having returned to our quarters, we started on foot, a little

after midday, on an excursion to Mount Tekút, which, from its elevation and its shape, appeared to us well worth a visit. Descending the slope by the "trík tobbi," a road made by the Turks, we reached the eastern foot of the mountain, after an hour and a half's expeditious march through the village of Gwásem, and olive-groves, and over a number of subterranean dwellings. My companion went round to the south side in search of an easier ascent. I chose the cliff just above us, which, though steep, indeed, and difficult on account of scattered blocks and stones, was not very high. Having once climbed it, I had easier work, keeping along the crest, which, winding upward in a semicircle, gradually led to the highest point of the mountain, on the north side, with an absolute elevation of about 2800 feet. On the top are the ruins of a chapel of Si Ramadhán, which, I think, is very rarely visited. The crest, which has fallen in on the S.E. side, incloses a perfectly circular little plain, resembling an amphitheatre, and called Sh'abet Tekút. The mount appears evidently to have been an active volcano in former times, yet my companion declared the rock not to be pure basalt. The view was very extensive, and I was able to take the angles of several conspicuous points. After we had satisfied our curiosity, we descended along the northern slope, which is much more gradual, being even practicable for horses, and left the "Sh'abet" by the natural opening. Thence we returned along the path called Um e' Nekhél, which passes by the Roman sepulchre described by Lyon in general terms,* and situated in a very conspicuous position.

Thursday, February 14th. Accompanied by the shoush, I made an excursion in a southwesterly direction. The villages, at least those above the ground, are generally in a wretched condition and half deserted; still the country is in a tolerable state of cultivation, saffron and olive-trees being the two staple articles of industry. Passing the little subterranean village of Shuedeya, we reached the Kasr Teghrínna, originally a Berber settlement, as its name testifies, with a strong position on a perfectly detached hill. At present the kasr, or the village on the

* Lyon's Narrative, p. 30.

hill-top, is little more than a heap of ruins, inhabited only by a few families. At the northern foot of the hill a small village has recently been formed, called Menzel Teghrínna. On the west and east sides the hill is encompassed by a valley with a fine olive-grove, beyond which the Wadi el Arb'a stretches westward; and it was by this roundabout way that my guide had intended to take me from Wadi el Ugla to Kasr Ghurián. Protected by the walls, I was able to take a few angles; but the strong wind which prevailed soon made me desist.

From this spot I went to the villages called Ksúr Gamúdi. These once formed likewise a strong place, but were entirely destroyed in the last war, since which a new village has arisen at the foot of the rocky eminence. A few date-trees grow at the north foot of the hill, while it is well known that the palm is rare in the Ghurián. As I was taking angles from the top of the hill, the inhabitants of the village joined me, and manifested a friendly disposition, furnishing me readily with any information, but giving full vent to their hatred of the Turks. As the most remarkable ruins of the time of the Jahalíyeh—or the pagans, as the occupants of the country before the time of Mohammed are called—they mentioned to me, besides Ghirze, a tower or sepulchre called Metuï'je, about two days' journey S.E.; Beluwár, another tower-like monument at less distance; and in a S.W. direction 'Amúd, a round edifice which has not yet been visited by any European.

The valley at the foot of the Ksúr Gamúdi is watered by several abundant springs, which once supplied nourishment for a great variety of vegetables; but the kitchen-gardens and orchards are at present neglected, and corn alone is now cultivated as the most necessary want. The uppermost of these springs, which are stated to be six in number, is called Sma Rh'ain—not an Arabic name. Beyond, toward the south, is Jehésha, further eastward Usáden, mentioned by Lyon, with a chapel, Geba with a chapel, and, going round toward the north, Shetán, and, further on, Mésufín. The country beyond Kuléba, a village forming the southern border of the Ghurián, is called Ghadáma, a name evidently connected with that of Ghadámes, though we

know the latter to be at least of two thousand years' standing.

Continuing our march through the valley N.E., and passing the village Bu-Mát and the ruined old places called Hanshír Metelíli and Hanshír Jamúm,* we reached the ruins of another old place called Hanshír Settára, in the centre of the olive-grove. The houses, which in general are built of small irregular stones, present a remarkable contrast to a pair of immense slabs, above ten feet long and regularly hewn, standing upright, which I at first supposed to be remnants of a large building; but having since had a better opportunity of studying this subject, I concluded that they were erected, like the cromlechs, for some religious purpose. On the road back to our encampment, the inhabitants of Gamúdi, who were unwilling to part company with me, gave vent to their hatred against the Turks in a singular way. While passing a number of saffron plantations, which I said proved the productiveness of their country, they maintained that the present production of saffron is as nothing compared to what it was before the country came into the impious hands of the Osmanlis. In former times, they said, several stems usually shot forth from the same root, whereas now scarcely a single sample can be found with more than one stalk—a natural consequence of the contamination or pollution (nejes) of the Turks, whose predominance had caused even the laws of nature to deteriorate. In order to prove the truth of this, they went about the fields and succeeded in finding only a single specimen with several stems issuing from the same root.

Passing the subterranean villages of Suayeh and Ushen, and further on that called Housh el Yehúd, which, as its name indicates, is entirely inhabited by Jews, we reached our encampment in the housh of Ibrahím. The subterranean dwellings which have been described by Captain Lyon† seem to me to

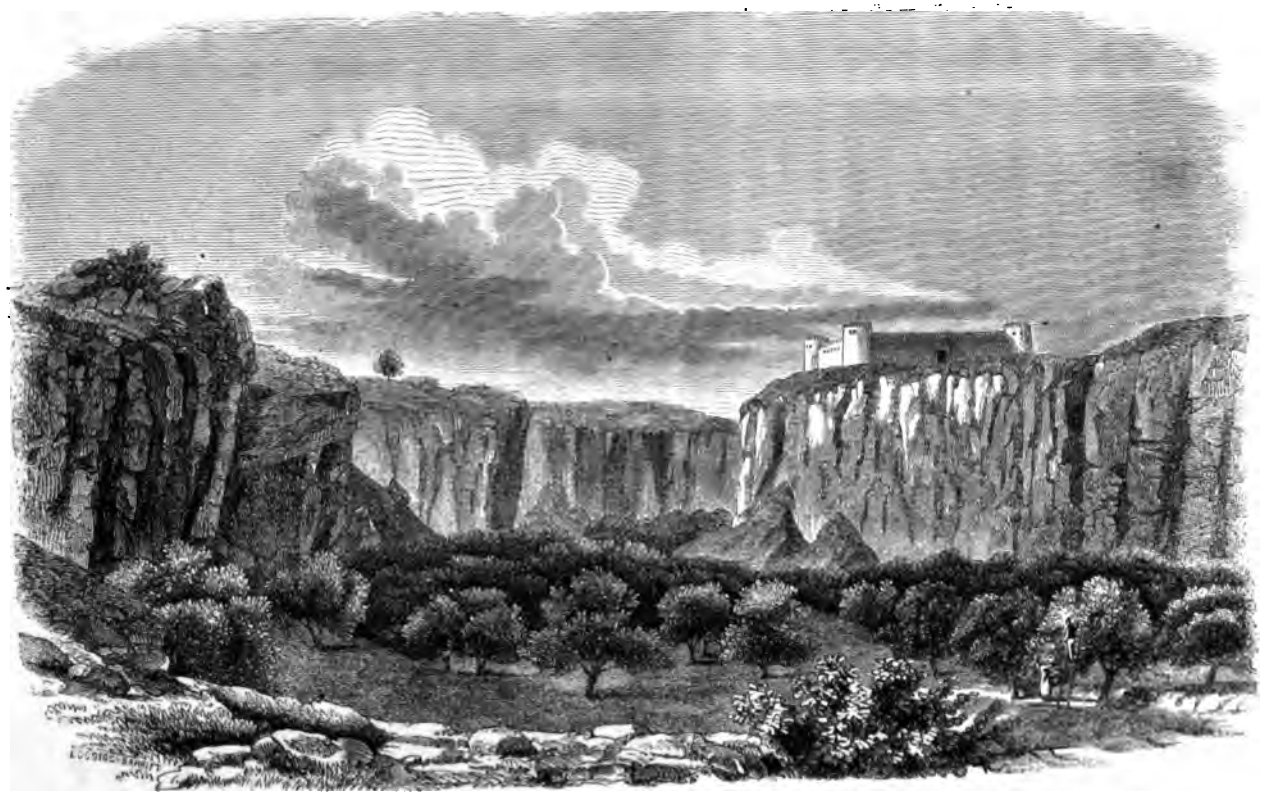
* I will only mention that the name "Hanshír" is evidently the same word with the "Hazeroth" of the Hebrew wanderers.

† The name of this part of the mountains has, I think, been erroneously brought into connection with these caves. For, from the word ghar, غار, the regular and only plural form besides اغوار is غيران. E' Sheikh e' Tijāni

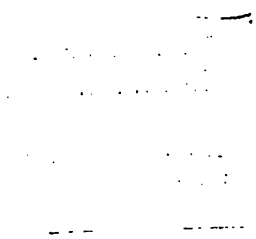
have originated principally with the Jews, who, from time immemorial, had become intimately connected with the Berbers, many of the Berber tribes having adopted the Jewish creed; and just in the same way as they are found mingling with the Berbers in these regions—for the original inhabitants of the Ghurián belong entirely to the Berber race—on friendly terms, so are they found also in the recesses of the Atlas in Morocco.

I then went to see the market, which is held every Thursday on the open ground at the east side of the castle, close to the northern edge of the ridge. Though much better supplied than that near Kasr Jebel, it was yet extremely poor; only a single camel was offered for sale. This results from the mistrust of the inhabitants, who, in bringing their produce to the great market at Tripoli, are less exposed to vexations than here. When taking leave of the Kaimakám, we found the whole castle beset by litigants. I saw in the company of the governor the chief of the Háj caravan, the Sheikh el Rakeb, of whose grand entrance into the town I had been witness. The aghá, wanting to show us their little paradise, accompanied us into the Wadi Rummána, which, in a direction from S.E. to N.W., winds along the southern foot of the ridge on which the castle is situated. Though it looks rather wild and neglected, it is a charming retreat for the leisure hours of a governor of a place like this. It is irrigated by a very powerful spring issuing from the limestone rock in a channel widened by art, and then dividing into several little rills, which are directed over the terraces of the slope. These, of course, have been raised by art, and are laid out in orchards, which, besides the pomegranates which have given their name to the valley, produce sferéj (sfarájel)—the Malum Cydonium—of an excellent quality, figs, grapes, and almonds. A path, practicable even for horses, leads down from the castle to the spring. Before I left this charming spot I made a sketch of the valley, with the castle on the cliffs, which is represented in the accompanying plate.

certainly (Journal Asiatique, série v., tom. i., p. 110) calls it expressly by this name, غيران. But we see from Ebn Khaldúm (tom. i., p. 275, transl.) that Ghurián was the name of a tribe.



LASR GHURIAN AND WADI RUMMANA.



CHAPTER III.

FERTILE MOUNTAIN REGION RICH IN ANCIENT REMAINS.

It was past three in the afternoon of Thursday, February 14th, when we started from the dwelling of our host in order to pursue our route in a southeasterly direction. We were agreeably surprised to see fine vineyards at the village called Jelíli; but the cultivation of olive-trees seemed almost to cease here, while the country became quite open, and afforded an unbounded prospect toward the distant southern range, with its peaks, depressions, and steep slopes. But the fine olive-grove of Sgáif proved that we had not yet reached the limit of this useful tree. We were just about to descend the slope into the broad valley called Wadi Rán, when, seeing darkness approaching, and frightened by the black clouds rising from the valley, together with a very chilly stream of air, we began to look seriously about for some secure shelter for the night. To our right we had a pleasant little hollow with olive-trees; but that would not suffice in such weather as was apparently approaching, and we therefore descended a little along the cliffs on our left, where our shoush knew that there were caverns called Merwán. Scarcely had we pitched our tent on the little terrace in front of these when the rain began to pour down, and, accompanied with snow, continued the whole night.

When we arose next morning, the whole country was covered with snow about an inch deep, and its natural features were no longer recognizable. Placed on the very brink of a bank partly consisting of rocky ground, with many holes, partly of marly soil, and, accordingly, very slippery, we could not think of starting. At half past six the thermometer stood at 34° Fahrenheit. Fortunately, our tent, which had been fitted by Mr. Warrington for every kind of weather, kept the wet out.

The caverns were very irregular excavations, used by the shepherds as temporary retreats, and full of fleas. The snow did not melt till late in the afternoon, and the rain fell without intermission the whole night.

February 16th. In the morning the bad weather still continued, but the cold was not quite so severe. Tired as we were of our involuntary delay in such a place, we decided upon starting, but it was difficult to get our half frozen people to go to work. At length we set out, accompanied by an old man whom we hired as guide, on the deep descent into Wadi Rán. The soil was often so slippery that the camels could scarcely keep their feet, and we were heartily glad when, after an hour and a quarter's descent, we at length reached stony ground, though still on the slope. Here the valley spread out before us to the right and left, with the village Usíne, inhabited by the Merabetín Selahát, situated on the top of a hill, and distinguished for the quality of its dates, which are of a peculiar kind, short and thick, with a very broad stone; while at the foot of the western heights another village was seen, and on the top of them the castle Bústam. Here the great valley is joined by a smaller ravine, called Wadi Nkhal, with a small village of the same name. We crossed two paths leading to Beni Ulíd, passing by Wadi Rán, which went parallel to our course on the right, and where there are two springs and a date-grove, while to the left we obtained a view of Sedi-ūris, situated on a cone overtowering the northern end of Wadi Kominshát. We then approached closely the steep glen of Wadi Rán, and, after some turnings, crossed the small rivulet which flows through it, and, a little farther on, recrossed it. Then, traversing the valley called Wadi Marníyeh, we entered a fine fertile plain surrounded on all sides by heights, among which the Kelúba Na'ame was conspicuous on our right.

But the camels found the marly soil, fully saturated as it was with rain, very difficult, especially after we had entered "Sh'abet sóda." For this reason, also, we could not think of following the direct path which leads over the hills. At the western end of the sh'abet are the villages Deb Beni 'Abas and Suadí-

yeh, with olive-groves. All the waters of the district are carried into Wadi Rán, which joins the Wadi Haera.

The country begins to exhibit decidedly a volcanic character, and from all the heights rise bare basaltic cones, while the lower part is covered with halfa. This character of the country seems to have been well understood by the Arabs, when they gave to these basins, surrounded by basaltic mounts, the name "Sh'abet," which we have already seen given to the crater of the Tekút. Here, at a short distance on our left, we passed "another Sh'abet," distinguished as "El Akhera."

At length we found an opening through the hilly chain on our right, behind an indented projection of the ridge called "Sennet el Osis," and then suddenly changed our course from N.E. to S.E. As soon as we had made the circuit of this mount, we obtained a view of the highest points of the Tarhōna, and directed our course by one of them, Mount Bíbel, which is said to be sometimes visible from Tripoli. Tales of deadly strife are attached to some localities hereabouts; and, according to our guide, the torrent which we crossed beyond Wadi Ruéra poured down, some years ago, a bloody stream. But at present the scene wants life, the Kasr Kuséba, situated on the apex of a cone, being almost the only dwelling-place which we had seen for five hours. Life has fled from these fertile and pleasant regions, and the monotonous character which they at present exhibit necessarily impresses itself on the narrative of the traveler.

At length, after having entered the gorges of the mountains, we reached the encampment of the Merabetín Bu-'Aáysha, and pitched our tent at a short distance from it. These people have considerable herds of camels and sheep; as for cattle, there are at present very few in the whole regency of Tripoli, except in the neighborhood of Ben-gházi. Their chief, 'Abdallah, who lives in Tripoli, is much respected. The valleys and plains hereabouts, when well saturated with rain, produce a great quantity of corn, but they are almost entirely destitute of trees. Having been thoroughly drenched to-day by heavy showers, we were in a very uncomfortable condition at its close.

Sunday, February 17th. About an hour before sunrise, when the thermometer stood at 41°, I set out to ascend an eminence north from our tent, which afforded me an excellent site whence to take the bearings of several prominent cones. After my return to the tent, we started together in advance of the camels, that we might have time to ascend the broad cone of Jebel Msíd, which had arrested our attention. We soon passed a well, or rather fountain, called Bir el 'Ar, which gives its name to some ancient monument ("sanem," or idol, as it is called by the Arabs) at a little distance, and which the guide described as a kasr tawíl Beni Jehel, "a high fortress of the Romans." The country was varied and pleasant, and enlivened, moreover, by flocks; but we saw no traces of agriculture till we reached the well called Hasi el abiár, beyond which we entered upon a volcanic formation. As we ascended along a small ravine, and entered another irregular mountain plain of confined dimensions, we found the basalt in many places protruding from the surface. The more desolate character of the country was interrupted in a pleasant way by the Wadi Nekhél, which has received its name from the number of palm-trees which grow here in a very dwarfish state, though watered by a copious spring. Following the windings of another small valley, we reached a plain at the foot of Mount Msíd, while on the right a large ravine led down from the heights. Here we commenced our ascent of the cone, and on the slope of the mountain we met with large pillars similar to those which I had seen in the ruins of Hanshír Settára. The pillars succeeded each other at regular distances up the slope, apparently marking the track to be followed by those ascending for religious purposes. The ascent was very gradual for the first twelve minutes, and twelve minutes more brought us to its summit, which was crowned with a castle of good Arabic masonry of about the thirteenth century. Its ruined walls gave us a little protection against the very strong blasts of wind; but we found it rather difficult to take accurate angles, which was the more to be regretted as a great many peaks were visible from this beautifully-shaped and conspicuous mount.

It was a little past noon when we pursued our journey from

the western foot of this once holy mount,* and, turning its southern side, resumed our northeasterly direction. We then soon came to the "Wadi hammám," which forms here a wider basin for the brook running along it toward Mejenín, so as to produce a pleasant and fresh green spot. Having watered our animals, we entered a plain from which detached basaltic hillocks started up; and some ruins of regularly-hewn stones, scattered about, bore testimony that the Romans had deemed the place worthy of fixed settlements. A small limestone hill contrasts handsomely with these black basaltic masses, among which the Leblú, the highest summit of a larger group to our right, is particularly remarkable. At the foot of the Jebel Jemm'a was an encampment of the Welád 'Ali, but I can not say in what degree they are connected with the family which has given its name to the valley in the Yefren. From this side in particular the Jebel Msíd presents the form of a beautiful dome, the most regular I remember to have ever seen. It seems to rise with a proud air over its humbler neighbors. Having then passed a continuous ridge of cones stretching S.S.E., and cleared the basaltic region, we entered a wide plain covered with halfa, and, cutting right across it, we reached the fertile low plain Elkeb, where another encampment of the Welád 'Ali excited the desire of our people to try their hospitality for our night's quarters; but some distance to the left two enormous pillars were to be seen standing upright, and thither we repaired. Here I had an opportunity of accurately investigating a very peculiar kind of ancient remains, giving a clew, I hope, to the character of the religion of the early inhabitants of these regions, though it seems impossible to give a satisfactory explanation respecting all the details of their structure.

It consists in a pair of quadrangular pillars erected on a common basis, which is fixed into the ground, and measures 3 ft. $1\frac{5}{12}'$ in length, and 2 ft. 10′ in width. The two pillars, which measure 2 feet on each side, being 1 ft. $7\frac{2}{10}'$ asunder, are 10 feet high. The western pillar has three quadrangular holes on the

* The ancient character of this mountain is most probably indicated by its present name "Msíd."

inside, while the corresponding holes in the eastern pillar go quite through; the lowest hole is 1 ft. 8′ above the ground, and the second 1 ft. ½′ higher up, and so the third above the second. The holes are 6 inches square.

Over these pillars, which at present lean to one side, is laid another enormous stone about 6 feet 6½ inches long, and of the same width as the pillars, so that the whole structure bears a surprising resemblance to the most conspicuous part of the celebrated Celtic ruins at Stonehenge* and other ruins in Malabar,† about the religious purpose of which not the least doubt remains at present. But, besides these, there are other very curious stones of different workmanship, and destined evidently for different purposes; some of them are large, flat, and quadrangular, very peculiarly worked, and adapted, probably, to sacrifices. One of them is three feet in length and breadth, but with a projection on one side, as is represented in the woodcut, and 1 ft. 2′ high. On the surface of this stone, and parallel to its sides, is carved a channel $4\frac{8}{10}$ inches broad, forming a quadrangle; and

* See especially the Plate No. 7, in Higgins's "Celtic Druids."

† See Plate No. 39, in Higgins's work.

from this a small channel branches along the projecting part. Several stones of similar workmanship lie about. There is also the remnant of an enormous stone 3 ft. 7½ inches at the back and across, but rounded off at the corners, looking like a solid throne, excepting that on the upper side there is an excavation measuring 1 ft. $3\frac{2}{10}$ in. at the back, $9\frac{6}{10}$ inches on the front, and 1 ft. $1\frac{2}{10}$ in. across, and about 10 inches deep, with a small opening. This stone looks very peculiar, and probably formed an altar.

These ruins are certainly very remarkable. Any one who looks at them without prejudice or preconceived opinion will be impressed with the belief that they belonged to a place of worship, though how this peculiar structure could be adapted to religious purposes I will not undertake to decide. It is well known that the most ancient idols were mere pillars or stones, not only of a round or conical shape, as symbols of the procreative power of nature, but even of a square form. It is also well known, from the examples of the columns in On or Heliopolis, of the two celebrated columns, Yakín and Bo'az, in front of the temple in Jerusalem, and from that of the two pillars of the Phœnician Hercules in Gades, that the power of the Deity was often represented by a pair. A pair of massive columns or pillars, covered with a similarly massive impost, may well serve to represent symbolically the firmness and eternity of the cosmical order, while the name of the chief deity of the pagan Berbers, 'Amún, may possibly have the original meaning of "the Founder, Supporter." But I will not enter here into such conjectures; I will only say that my distinct impression on the spot was, that the structure was a rude kind of sun-dial, combining the vertical with the horizontal principle. That it could not be intended as a common doorway, even if it were connected with another building, is evident from the narrowness of the passage; but it may have had the purpose of serving as a sort of penitential or purgatory passage in consecrating and preparing the worshipers,* previous to their offering sacrifices, by obliging them to squeeze themselves through this narrow passage, the incon-

* Compare what Higgins says, p. lx., in describing the Constantine tolmen in Cornwall.

venience of which was increased by the awful character attributed to this cromlech. Even in Christian and Mohammedan countries religious ordeals of a similar kind are not unknown; and a very analogous custom in the celebrated mosque of Kairowán may well have its origin in the older pagan practice of the aborigines. However this may be, the religious character of the whole structure can scarcely be doubtful, from the nature of the flat stone, the channel in which was certainly intended to carry off the blood of the victim.*

It must strike the observer, in regarding these ruins, that while they are so rude in principle, their style of execution evidently bears traces of art; and I think it not improbable that the art may be ascribed to Roman influence. We shall further on see another specimen of these curious pillars combined with the ground-plan of an almost regular Roman temple. But, from whatever this artificial influence may have proceeded, there can not be the least doubt that the character of the structure is, on the whole, not Roman, but indicates quite another race; and if we take into regard what I have just said about the influence of art visible in this structure, and that such influence could scarcely proceed from any other quarter than that of the Carthaginians or the Romans, we must attribute these remains to the Berber race, who, during the historical period, were the exclusive possessors of these inland regions. Analogous structures have been found, however, not only in England and Ireland on the one side, and in several parts of India, principally in the Nilgherries, on the other, but also in Circassia, Southern Russia, on the South Arabian coast, and in the Somali country. This analogy might certainly be explained by a similarity of principle in the simple religious rites of rude people; but there may be also in these curious remains a confirmation of the theories of Sir Henry Rawlinson respecting the wide extension of the Scythians. But while, with regard to other tribes, from the Dravidian group in Southern India to the Celtic in Ireland, such a connection of origin seems to be confirmed by analogy

* From this plain example it might seem that the flat stone in Stonehenge was intended for a similar purpose.

of language, there exist but very few points of analogy between the Berber and the Central Asiatic languages, except by means of the Coptic. In every respect, however, it may be better to call such remains by the general name of Scythian than by that of Druidical, which certainly can be justified only with regard to the northwest of Europe.

These remarkable ruins are at a short distance from the foot of a fortified hill, which is crowned with ancient fortifications of hewn stone, to which are added later works of small stones. Other ruins of cut-stone buildings lie about; and on an eminence at a little distance eastward is a small castle belonging to the earlier times of the Arabs, while on the highest top of the hilly chain behind the Arab encampment, and which is called Gábes, are likewise ruins. The ruins of a whole village, partly built of regularly-cut stone, and even exhibiting the ornament of a column, were found the next morning near our encampment, which our people had placed on the slope of the hills bordering the plain toward the northeast.

All these ruins are evident proofs that the fertile plain Elkeb, and the adjoining one, called Madher, were once well cultivated and thickly inhabited. Their situation is very favorable, as the direct road from Tripoli to Beni Ulíd and Sokna, by way of the valley Melgha, passes close by. We had here descended to an average height of about one thousand feet above the level of the sea.

February 18*th*. During the night there was heavy rain, which lasted till morning, and delayed our starting till rather late. After about a mile and a half's march, we ascended a little from the plain to the undulating pastures of the Dháhar Tarhóna, which soon became enlivened by the tents and herds of the Megaigera, and where I was glad to see at length a few cows. The ground, though scantily covered with herbage, was dotted with lilies, which my companion called balúdt, though this name is generally understood to signify the ash-tree. Our guide from Meruán informed me here that the water of this district takes its course, not toward the north, as might be expected, but toward the southeast, running from hence to Temásla, on

this side of Beni Ulíd, thence into the Wadi Merdúm, and thence into Wadi Sofejín, which, as is well known, descends toward Tawárgha. A little further on we left, on a small eminence to the left, another hanshír surrounded by cultivated ground. It had been an inconsiderable place, built chiefly of small stones; but even here two enormous pillars or slabs were to be seen standing in the midst of the rubbish. There were two holes in each of these pillars, going quite through, and widening on one side.

At half past nine o'clock, when passing the Hanshír Bu-Trehébe, at a distance of more than two miles on our left, we had a fine retrospective view of the various peaks of the Ghurián range, while on our left a lower range approached more and more, with two summits rising from it to a greater elevation. About noon we passed another site, called Hanshír Suán, where are the remains of a large castle, with an inner and outer fortification, built of small stones, but in a very neat and regular style. The country, chiefly owing to the murkiness of the sky, had begun to assume a very sombre character, and was crossed by stripes of red sand, which, however, affords the best soil for the growth of the pumpkin; but in the afternoon it improved greatly, showing fine pasture-ground and ample corn-fields, and, among the ruins of ancient times, the rare example of a well-proportioned and neatly-worked Ionic capital, which I found at the border of a ravine. Further on, upon a detached low rock, which had been hewn into rectangular walls, and surrounded with a ditch, were seen ruins of cut stones, very similar in appearance to those of Kasr Jahalíyeh, near Gargash. We at length found traces of living beings, in an Arab encampment situated in a green hollow, where we learned that the Kaïd or governor of Tarhóna, whose residence we were in search of, was at present encamped near the spring called 'Ain Shershára.

The country gradually assumes a more diversified aspect, agreeably succeeding its former monotony. A considerable mountain range, with manifold crags, peaks, and ravines, approaches from the S.S.W., and, turning N.E., presents an insurmountable barrier to an advance in that direction, while the

plain sweeps nicely in a concave toward its foot; but it is quite bare and desolate, and only now and then is seen a poor remnant of the large olive-grove, consisting, according to the statement of our shoush, of 10,000 trees, which Bey 'Abd Allah, in Masráta, my host on my former journey, had ventured to plant here five years ago. My people maintained, whether correctly or not I can not say, that the strong gales which prevail in this plain did not allow the young olive-tree to thrive. I think the failure is due rather to the character of the inhabitants, who, unaccustomed to this branch of culture, have not paid the necessary attention to the young trees.

Having passed a small wadi, we came in sight of the encampment of the governor, which stretched out in front of us in a well-chosen situation at the southern foot of a small cone. A Turkish officer's green tent, pitched a little in advance, was surrounded by several smaller ones, while another group of twelve Bedwín tents, in a higher position up the slope of the mount, contained the household. The governor received us in a very friendly but rather affected manner, which seemed peculiar to him, and might even be thought becoming in a man who has assisted his country's foes in exterminating all the members of his family, formerly one of the foremost in the country. His friends, who try to represent him as an honest man, say that he was forced to the deed, after having once entered into Turkish service. This man, Bel Kásem el Lohéshi Mahmúdi, has since played a conspicuous part in the present revolution; for he it was who led the Turkish force last year against Ghóma, his near relative but most bitter enemy, who, having been a prisoner in Trebizond for many years, suddenly made his escape from thence during the Russian war, and, issuing from the Tunisian frontier, appeared in Jébel Yéfren. El Lohéshi was routed, and taken prisoner, and, according to the first report, slain by the successful rebel. When we visited El Lohéshi, he had occupied his new post only for the last year, having been before governor of the Jebel. During all the period he had been in Tarhóna, he assured us he had not moved his encampment from this place; which I can well understand, as it is a very pleasant spot. His

principal business, of course, consists in collecting the tithes, in registering which he was busily employed. He knew very little of the province under his government, and it was to other men that I had to look for information.

Having pitched our tent near that of the governor, we proceeded to make ourselves acquainted with the locality, and, a few paces north from our encampment, stumbled upon the famous brook called 'Ain Shersher, or 'Ain Shershára, which, proceeding from the junction of three springs, forms here a cascade of about twenty-five feet over the firm calcareous rock. Running west a short distance, it then turns north, and, breaking through the mountain slope in a deep, picturesque glen, takes the direction of the Wadi Ramle, which, however, it only reaches during great floods.

It seems as if this pleasant spot had already been a favorite residence in the Roman times, as is amply shown by the fine ruins of a large building of hewn stone, which the torrent has rent asunder and scattered on both sides. From this place, ascending the side of a very wild ravine, we reached the height which overlooks the Bedwín encampment, and on the morning of the following day made a more distant excursion to the mount called Bu-tauwíl, about three miles north, which was represented to us as affording a very distant prospect, and the name of which seemed to promise more than ordinary elevation.

As to the view we were rather disappointed; yet we were well repaid for our trouble from the character of the country traversed, and the unexpectedly pleasing aspect of the terrace spread out at the western foot of the mountain, which must have formed a favorite retirement in the time of the Romans, so literally strewn is it with the ruins of buildings of hewn stone. In descending it, about 300 feet below the summit, we first came to a Roman tomb, 8 ft. 7 in. long, and 7 ft. 9 in. broad, rising in two stories, the lower being about ten feet high from the base to the moulding, and ornamented with pilasters at the corners. A little farther on, to the west, was another tomb, just on the brink of the slope into the valley below; but it has been destroyed, and at present the chief interest attaches to a monu-

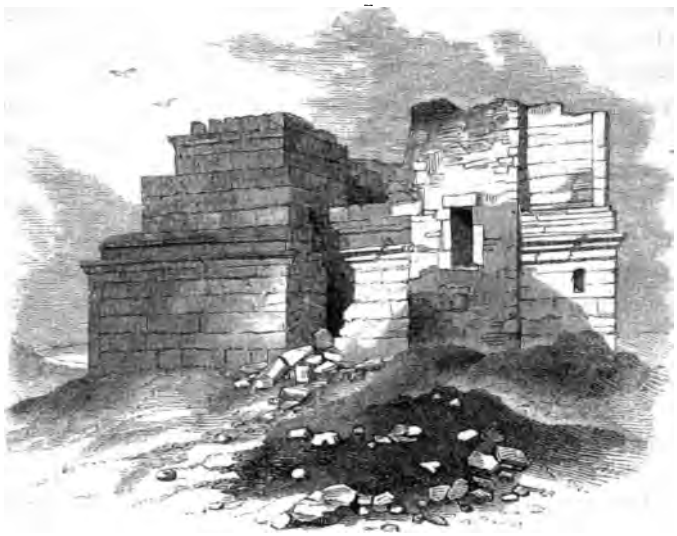
mental stone, which most probably stood upright on its top, and fell down when the monument went to pieces, so that it now lies in a merely casual position on the floor of the sepulchre, which has been repeatedly rifled by greedy hands. This stone is 7 ft. 2 in. long, and has on one side, in high relief, the figure of a man, of natural size, clothed in a toga. The workmanship is good, and certainly not much later than the time of Severus. Close at hand are other ruins lying about; and farther west are several groups of buildings. Three olive-trees and a palm-tree adorned this beautiful retired spot.

Having returned to our encampment, I and my companion resolved to separate for a few days, Overweg wishing to examine the neighborhood of the 'Ain Shershára for geological purposes, while I was rather bent upon executing the original plan of our route all round the mountain range. We agreed to meet again at the castle called Kasr el Jefára, in the plain near the sea-shore. We borrowed another tent from the governor for Mr. Overweg during his stay at this place, while I procured a horseman, with whom, together with Ibrahím, our shoush, and one of the camel-drivers, I was ready for starting an hour before noon; for the heat of the sun was not much to be dreaded at this season of the year. Overweg accompanied me as far as Kasr Dóga.*

Winding along narrow ravines, after about one mile's march we passed, on an eminence to our right, another specimen of large pilasters with an impost, and ruins of buildings of large square stones close by. After much winding, we cleared the narrow channel ascending the hills, which were covered with halfa; but here too there was not a single tree to be seen, and my guide says that there were no olive-trees in the Tarhóna except in Máta, a place situated between Mount Bu-tauwíl and Kasr Jefára, from which the tribe Máta derives its name. I have noticed before, as remarkable, the three olive-trees near Bu-tau-

* The principal tribes living in the district Tarhóna are the Hhamadát, the Drahíb, Welád Bu-Sid, Welád Bu-M'arah, Marghána, Welád 'Ali, W. Yusuf, Megaigerah, Firján, W. Meháda, W. Bu-Sellem, Na'aje, Máta, Khwárish, Gerákta, Bu-Saba, Shefátra, Welád Hámed, Erhaimíyeh

wíl. It was about one o'clock in the afternoon when we came in sight of the Roman monument called Kasr Dóga, and its brown



color almost induced us to conclude that it was of brick; but on approaching nearer, we found that it was built of hewn stone. We were astonished at the grand dimensions of the monument, as it appeared evident that it was originally a mere sepulchre, though in after times blocked up by the Arabs, and converted into a castle.

The front of the monument faces the south with ten degrees of deviation toward the west. The whole body of the building, rising upon a base of three steps, measures 47 ft. 6 in. in length, and 31 ft. 4 in. in breadth. The entrance or portal, equidistant from both corners, was 12 ft. 6 in. wide; but it has been entirely blocked up with hewn stone, so that it is now impossible to get into the interior of the monument without great labor, and only a glimpse can be obtained of a kind of entrance-hall of small dimensions. Of the interior arrangement, therefore, nothing meets the view; but on the top of the solid mass of building, rising to a height of 28 ft. 10 in., the ground-plan of the third story, which has been demolished to obtain materials for

closing the entrance, is distinctly visible. Here the vestibule measures 10 ft. 10 in., the wall of the interior chamber or cell being adorned with two columns, which are no less than 3 ft. 10 in. apart: the inner room itself measures 22 ft. 4 in. in length within the walls. The monument, although more massive than beautiful, is a fair proof of the wealth of this district in ancient times. Opposite to it, on a limestone hill of considerable elevation, is another specimen of the cromlech kind in good preservation, besides other ruins. In the hollow at the S.E. side of the sepulchre there are six deep and spacious wells sunk in the rock.

Here my companion left me, and I continued my route alone, passing through a well-cultivated tract, till I reached an encampment of the Welád Bu-Séllem, where we pitched our tent. Here I met a cousin of Haj 'Abd el Hádi el Meráyet, who had once been master of half the Tarhóna district, but was made prisoner by the Turks, and sent to Constantinople. This man also reappeared on the stage last year.

Wednesday, February 20th. We set out early in the morning, the country continuing flat as far as the chapel of Sidi 'Ali ben Salah, which, standing on a hill, is a conspicuous object for many miles round. A short distance from this chapel I observed the ruins of a castle built of large square stones taken from older buildings; it measures 42 feet in every direction, and exhibits a few bad but curious sculptures, among others an ass in relief. Around are the ruins of a small village, and flat stones of immense size, similar in workmanship to those described above, but no upright pillars.

Beyond the chapel of the saint the country became more hilly, and after some time we entered a ravine joining the Wadi Gedaera, which exhibited the remains of three broad and firmly-constructed dikes, crossing the ravine at the distance of about 800 yards from each other. They were built of small stones, and were evidently intended to exclude the water from the lower part of the valley. Another 800 yards below the innermost dike the ravine widens out into a fine verdant hollow, stretching from west to east, and provided with several wells. On a detached hill rising in the midst of this basin is situated the

Kasr Dawán, built partly of older materials of hewn stone, partly of small stones, and probably of the same age as the dikes. The whole floor of the basin is strewn with ruins; and a considerable village seems to have extended round the castle: where the ground was free from stones, it was covered with ranunculuses. Altogether, this spot was interesting—the stronghold of a chieftain who appears to have had energy and foresight, but whose deeds are left without a record.

As soon as we emerged from this ravine the whole character of the country changed, and through a pleasant valley we entered a wider plain, bordered in the distance by a high range of mountains, among which the Jebel Msíd, crowned with a zawíya or convent, is distinguished by its height and its form. It is rather remarkable, and of the highest interest as regards the ancient history of the civilization of these regions, that the two most conspicuous mountains bordering Tarhóna, one on the west, the other on the east side, should bear the same name, and a name which bears evident testimony to their having been places of worship in ancient times. Both of them have grandeur of form; but the western one is more regularly dome-shaped.

The fine pasturage which this plain affords to the cows of the Mehaedi enabled their masters to regale us with fine fresh sour milk, which interrupted our march very pleasantly. On the site of an ancient village near the margin of a small torrent, I found the opposite curious specimens of upright pilasters, together with the impost, remarkable for their height as well as for the rough sculpture of a dog, or some other animal, which is seen on the higher part of one of them. About 700 yards beyond the torrent called Ksaea, we had on our right a large building of hewn stone about 140 yards square, besides six pairs of pilasters together with their imposts; but some of them are lying at present on the

ground. These structures could never have been intended as doors or passages, for the space between the upright stones is so narrow that a man of ordinary size could hardly squeeze his way through them. Other ruins are on the left.

Here we entered the mountain chain which forms the natural boundary between the district of Tarhóna and that of Meselláta, and at the present time separates scenes of nomadic life from fixed settlements. The highest part of the chain round the Jebel Msíd remained on our left, while the heights on the right decreased in elevation. The chain has little breadth; and we had hardly reached its crest when the country that presented itself to our view had quite a different appearance from that just left behind, presenting, among other objects, the castle of Meselláta, surrounded by an olive-grove. In this spot, ancient sites and modern villages with stone houses are intermixed, while thick olive-groves enliven the whole, and constitute the wealth of the inhabitants.

Having passed a village called Fatír, lying in a ravine that runs S.W., we soon descried, in a hollow at the southern foot of the Kasr S'aade (a small ancient fortress), the first olive-plantation and the first orchards belonging to Meselláta. From this place onward they succeed each other at short intervals. Having passed a small eminence, with a fine olive-grove in the hollow at its foot, we entered the beautiful and well-inhabited plain of Meselláta. Here a great deal of industry was evinced by the planting of young cuttings between the venerable old olive-trees, or ghúrs Faraón as the Arabs call them. My shoush affirmed that the inhabitants of Meselláta are the most industrious and diligent people in the whole regency, taking good care of their plantations, and watering them whenever they need it. The whole country has here a different character from that of Tarhóna, the naked calcareous rock protruding every where, while in Tarhóna the plains generally consist of clayey soil. This district is only about one thousand feet above the sea, while the average height of the Jébel (Yéfren) and the Ghurián is about two thousand feet. Here the olives had been collected a month ago; in the former districts they remained still on the tree.

Cheered by the spectacle of life and industry around us, we continued our pleasant march, and having crossed an open space of rough rocky ground filled with cisterns, we reached the castle of Meselláta, an edifice of little merit, built with square stones from old ruins, and lying at the northern end of the village Kúsabát, which properly means "the Castles." While my people were pitching my tent behind the castle, on the only spot which would allow of the pegs being driven into the ground, I went to pay a visit to Khalíl Aghá, who resided in the castle; but I found it to be so desolate and comfortless that I left it immediately, taking with me the sheikh Mes'aud and a shoush named Ibrahím Tubbát, in order to view the Kal'a or Gell'ah, a very conspicuous object, visible even from the sea. Keeping along the western side of the village, which consists of from 300 to 400 cottages* built of stone, and occupies a gentle slope toward the south, the highest point of which, near the mosque, is 1250 feet† above the level of the sea, we reached a pleasant little hollow adorned with gardens, which, being fenced with hedges of the Indian fig-tree, rendered the spot extremely picturesque. From hence we ascended the naked calcareous eminence, from the top of which the fortress overlooks a great extent of country. Going round its demolished walls from east to west, I was able to descry and to take the bearings of a great number of villages belonging to the district of Meselláta, some of them peeping out of olive-groves, others distinguishable only by the smoke rising up from them.

The fortress itself is evidently a work not of Mohammedans, but of Europeans, and was most probably constructed by the Spaniards in the first half of the 16th century. It is built in the form of a triangle, one side of which, running N.W. and S.E., measures about 108 yards; another, running E.N.E. and W.S.W., measures 78½ yards; and the third, S. 5 W. and N. 5 E., 106½ yards. At the corner between the first and the second

* The quarter of the village nearest to the castle is principally inhabited by Jews.

† The elevation of this place was determined by Lieutenant (now Rear Admiral) Smyth in 1819.

wall is a polygonal bastion; between the second and third a round bastion; and a small one also between the third and the first wall. Descending from the fortress, I went with Mes'aud through the village, the dwellings of which are built in a much better style than is usual in the regency. It is also stated that, in comparison with the rest of the country, its inhabitants enjoy some degree of wealth, and that the market is well supplied.

Thursday, February 21*st.* I rose at an early hour in order to continue my route, and entered a very pleasant country, rendered more agreeable in appearance by the fineness of the morning. Winding along through hilly slopes covered with luxuriant corn-fields and wide-spreading olive-trees, we reached at half past eight o'clock an interesting group of ruins consisting of immense blocks, and among them one like the flat quadrangular stones represented above, but having on its surface, besides the little channel, a large hole; also a block of extraordinary dimensions, representing a double altar of the curious massive sort described above. Close to these remarkable ruins, in a fine corn-field, is a small castle, situated upon a natural base of rock, in which subterranean vaults have been excavated in a very regular way. Toward the south, at the distance of about half an hour's march, the large castle of Amámre rises into view. We then reached the fine plantation of Rumíyeh, while on a hill to the left lie other scattered ruins.

We met a good many people going to the Thursday market at Kúsabát. Farther on, near another little grove, we found a small encampment of the Jehawát, a tribe which claims the possession of this whole district. We then passed a castle irregularly built of large square stones about twelve yards square. Having crossed a hollow, we obtained a good view over the country, in which the "Merkeb S'aid n 'Ali" (the most advanced spur of this chain toward the coast) formed a distinguished point, while we had already reached the last low breaks of the mountain country toward the east. Meanwhile, the greater dimensions of the ruins remind the traveler that he is approaching the famous remains of Leptis. I found here, a little to the

right of our path, near a Bedwín encampment, the ruins of a temple of large proportions, called Sanem ben Hamedán, and of rather curious arrangement, the front, which faces the north, and recedes several feet from the side-walls, being formed by double ranges of enormous stones standing upright—they can scarcely be called pilasters—while the inner part is ornamented with columns of the Ionic order. The whole building is about 40 paces long and 36 broad, but the architectural merit of its details is not sufficient to repay the trouble of exact measurements. About a thousand yards farther on, to the east, are the ruins of another still larger monument, measuring about 77 paces in every direction, and called by the Arabs Kasr Kérker. It has several compartments in the interior, three chambers lying opposite to the entrance, and two other larger ones on the east side. Nearly in the middle of the whole building there is a large square stone like those mentioned above, but having on one of its narrow sides a curious sculpture in relief.

The camels having been allowed to go on, I hastened after them with my shoush as fast as my donkey could trot, and passed several sites of ancient villages or castles, and numerous fine hollows with luxuriant olive-trees. I scarcely ever remember to have seen such beautiful trees. The country continues undulating, with fertile hollows or depressions. We reached the camels at Wadi Lebda, which I found perfectly dry.

Close to our left we had cultivated ground and ruins. Near the sea-shore, the spacious and pleasant site of Leptis spread out on the meadow land, while a little farther on rose a small ridge, on the top of which is situated the village Khurbet Hammám. After we had passed a pleasant little hollow, the plain became for a while overgrown with thick clusters of bushes; but on reaching the plantation of Swail, an almost uninterrupt-

ed line of villages stretched along the sahel (sea-shore) amid corn-fields and groves of olive and date-trees. According to my shoush, a great deal of corn is cultivated also in the valleys behind this plain, and numerous well-trodden paths were seen leading from the sahel into the hilly country on its southern side. After plentiful rains, this part of the plain is inundated by the waters of the Wadi Bondári, which is called after the general name of the low range bordering the plain. Having passed several little villages of the sahel, and paid my due tribute of veneration to "El Dekhaele" (the oldest and tallest palm-tree in the whole district), a little before five o'clock in the afternoon I reached the village called Zawíya Ferjáni, where we pitched our tent in the stubble-field near a date-grove, and rested from our pleasant day's march, experiencing hospitable treatment from our hosts.*

The country hereabout is regarded as tolerably healthy, but 'Abd e' Sa'ade, a village a little further eastward, has suffered greatly from malignant fevers, which are attributed to the unwholesomeness of the waters of the Wadi K'aám, as I noticed on my former journey;† hence the population has become rather thin, and industry has declined. At some distance from the wadi, cultivation ceases entirely, and, instead of groves and gardens, a wide and wild field of disorder and destruction meets the eye. This rivulet, which is identical with the Cinyps, was in great vogue with the ancients, who knew how to control and regulate its occasional impetuosity. Immense walls, which they constructed as barriers against destructive inundations, remain to testify to their activity and energy. Of these, one group, forming a whole system of dikes, some transverse, some built in the form of a semicircle, is seen near the spot, where a

* The inhabitants of the Sahel in general, and those of Zlíten and Masráta in particular, are more attached to the Turks than almost any other tribe of the regency; they would rather be subjected to a foreign power than suffer oppression from their own brethren the Gedádefa and other tribes in the valleys of the interior. Hence, in the revolution in 1855, they remained faithful to the Turks; and a good many of them were killed in the first battle between the Turks and the rebel chief Ghóma.

† Wanderings along the Coasts of the Mediterranean, vol. i., p. 317.

beautiful subterranean aqueduct, which supplied Leptis, issues from the wadi; another enormous wall, 650 yards long, and from 4 to 4½ yards thick, stands about three quarters of a mile higher up the valley. But with the details of all these works, though to me they appeared so interesting that I measured them with tolerable exactness, I will not detain the reader, but shall hasten to carry him back to Tripoli.

Having started in the afternoon from the mouth of the wadi, I re-entered Zawíya 'Abd el Ferjáni from the rear; but, finding that my people had gone on to Leptis, I followed them, after a little delay, by the way of Wadi Súk, where, every Thursday, a market is held ("Súk el khamís," a name applied by Captain, now Rear Admiral, Smyth to the neighboring village), and then over the open meadow-plain, having the blue sea on my right, and came up with my people just as they were about to pitch my tent at the foot of an enormous staircase leading to some undefined monument in the eastern part of the ancient city of Leptis.

February 23*d.* During the forenoon I was busily employed in a second investigation of some of the ruins of Leptis, which have been so well described and illustrated by Admiral Smyth. Near the small creek called Mirsá Legátah, and a little east of the chapel of the Merábet ben Shehá, a small castle has been lately built by the Turks, about a hundred paces square. It has quite a handsome look with its pinnacles and small bastions.

Leaving the site of this celebrated city, we proceeded, early in the afternoon, through a diversified hilly country, till we reached the high hill or mount of Mérkeb* S'aid-n-'Ali, which is visible from a great distance. This I ascended in order to correct some of my positions, particularly that of el Gell'ah in Meselláta, but found the wind too violent. Passing an undulating country, overgrown with the freshest green, and affording ample pastures to the herds of numerous Arab encampments, I pitched my tent near a small dowar of the Beni Jéhem,† who treated us hospitably with sour milk and bazín.

* Mérkeb means here "the high seat."

† This tribe does not seem habitually to frequent this district, the indigenous

February 24th. The country continued varied, hill and dale succeeding each other; but beyond Kasr Aláhum (an irregular building of a late age), it became more rough and difficult, especially near the steep descent called Negási. Soon after this we descended into the plain, not far from the sea-shore, where we crossed several flat valleys. From the Wadi Bú Jefára,* where a small caravan going from Zlíten to the town overtook us, a monotonous plain, called Gwaea mt'a Gummáta, extends to the very foot of the slope of Meselláta. Having traversed the desolate zone called El Míta mt'a Terúggurt, whence may be descried the "úglah" near the shore, the residence of my old friend the sheikh Khalífa bú-Ruffa, we reached the broad and rock-bound valley Terúggurt itself, probably the most perfect wadi which this part of the coast exhibits. To my great satisfaction, I met Overweg at the Kasr Jefára.

K. Jefára is also called Karabúli, from the name of a Mamlúk who, in the time of Yusuf Basha, built here a sort of convent or chapel. It is rather a "funduk," or caravanserai, than a "kasr," or castle, and the gates are always left open; but its situation is important, and it is the residence of a judge or kaíd. A battle between Ghóma and the Turks was fought in 1855 at no great distance from it. The country around is a monotonous plain, enlivened only by three small clusters of palm-trees toward the north. The following morning we proceeded, and encamped on the eastern side of Wadi Raml. On Tuesday we returned to Tripoli, well satisfied with our little excursion, and convinced that the Regency of Tripoli is not by any means so poor and miserable as it is generally believed to be.

name of which is Khoms. The principal tribes of this stock named to me were as follows, viz., the Sambára, the Shuwaig, Ziadát, Legáta, Shekhátra, Drúga, Argúb, Jehawát, and Swaid.

* Smyth's Benzbárah, which he seems to have confounded in some degree with Wadi Terúggurt.

CHAPTER IV.

DEPARTURE FOR THE INTERIOR. — ARRIVAL AT MIẒDA. — REMAINS OF A CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

MEANWHILE the instruments provided by government had arrived, and proved in general well adapted for their purposes.* But the tents and arms had not yet reached us, and I thought it better to provide a strong, spacious, and low tent, which, even after the government tents arrived, did not prove superfluous, although perhaps rather too heavy. All tents intended for travelers in hot climates should be well lined and not too high. Those which we received were quite unfit for the country whither we were going, and while they were so light that they could hardly withstand a strong blast of wind, they scarcely excluded the sun, particularly after a little wear and tear. All the tents ought also to have top-ropes, which can alone secure them in a tornado such as are common in those climates. Mr. Richardson was soon obliged to provide himself with another tent, so that in the course of our journey we had all together five tents, but generally pitched only two, or, where we encamped for a greater length of time, four.

Mr. Overweg and I sustained a heavy loss in the secession of our black servant Ibrahím, who might have proved of great service to us in the interior, as he spoke the Bórnu and Bagrímma languages, and had himself wandered about a good deal in

* Unfortunately, the minimum and maximum thermometers were so deranged that Mr. Overweg was unable to repair them. We had no barometer, and the only aneroid barometer with which we had been provided, and which had been under the care of my companion, was damaged on our first excursion, so that nothing was left to us but to find the elevation of places by the boiling-point of water. I will here mention, for the use of future travelers, that I always wore not only my azimuth, but even my chronometer in my belt, and found this an excellent precaution against accidents of any kind.

those little-known districts between Mándara and Bagírmi. But he declared that he could not remain in our service along with our servant Mohammed ben Belál, the son of a liberated Góber slave, who was a very clever, but unscrupulous and haughty fellow, and bore the character of a libertine. But another cause of detention was the protest of his wives, who would not allow him to go unless he divorced them. We tried every means of settling the matter, but without success; so that we had only two servants, one of whom, Mohammed e' Zintáni, the lad I have mentioned before, would certainly not go farther than Fezzán.

At length all was ready for our outset except the boat, which caused Mr. Richardson a great deal of trouble, as it had been divided in Malta into two pieces instead of four. I proposed that we should pitch our tents for some days at 'Ain Zára, in order that we might be duly seasoned for our long journey. I would advise every traveler who would calculate upon all the means of insuring success to adopt a similar course. A few days' stay in his tent will familiarize him with the little store which is henceforward to form his principal, if not his only resource, and will enable him to bear the heat of the sun with ease.

It was late in the afternoon of the 24th of March, 1850, when Overweg and I, seated in solemn state upon our camels, left the town with our train, preceded by the consul, Mr. Crowe, in his carriage, by Mr. Reade, and by Mr. Dickson and his family, of whom we took a hearty leave under the olive-trees near Kasr el Haeni. We then continued our route, and in fine moonlight pitched our tent on the border of 'Ain Zára.

This locality takes its name from a broad swampy hollow or depression to the south, thickly overgrown with reeds and rushes. At present no one lives in it; the wells are filled up with earth, and the date-trees, cared for by nobody, are partly overwhelmed by the sand, which has accumulated in large mounds. Still it is an attractive spot, having just a little of cultivation and a little of sandy waste. A few olive-trees spread their fresh cool shade over a green meadow, forming a very pleasant

resting-place. It was at this very spot that, in August, 1855, on my joyful return, I again met Mr. Reade, the vice-consul, and passed a night there.

Here we remained encamped till Friday, the 29th. In the afternoon of the 27th, Mr. Frederick Warrington, who wished to escort us for a few days, came out, accompanied by the American consul, Mr. Gaines, and brought us the satisfactory news that on the following Friday Mr. Richardson would move from the town, and that we should meet him at Mejenín. I and my countryman required eight camels for our luggage, besides the two which we rode ourselves, and which were our own. I should have preferred having a donkey for myself, as it would have enabled me to go with ease wherever I liked; but in Tripoli there are no donkeys strong enough for such a journey, and a horse, including the carriage of barley and water for him, was too expensive for the means then placed at my disposal. But I had been so fortunate as to procure an excellent Arab camel, of the renowned breed of the Bú-Saef, which was my faithful companion as far as Kúkawa; and Mr. Warrington had made me a present of a handsome Ghadamsi saddle or basúr, with pillows, and a Stambúli carpet, so that I was comfortably mounted.

Friday, March 29th. After a great deal of trouble (the camel-drivers and our men being as yet unaccustomed to our unwieldy luggage), we at length succeeded in making a start. After leaving the olive-trees and the little palm-grove of 'Ain Zára, we very soon entered deep sand-hills, which sheltered us from the strong wind; and after more than two hours we came upon pasture-grounds, which furnished our camels with a variety of herbs and gramineæ, such as the sh'ade, the shedíde, and various others unknown to me. The progress of an Arab caravan (where the camels march each after its own inclination, straying to the right and to the left, nipping here a straw, and there browsing on a bush) must be rather slow in districts where the stubborn animal finds abundance of food. This way of proceeding is extremely tedious and fatiguing to the rider, and to obviate it the Tawárek, the Téb, and the people in the interior

fasten all the camels one behind the other. Owing to our slow progress, the sun was almost setting when we overtook Mr. Warrington, who had pitched his tent on a fine pasture-ground near Bir Sbaea. The last hour and a half's ride from the well Jenáwa lay along well-cultivated and flourishing corn-fields extending along the narrow wadi of Mejenín,* and intermingled with a rich profusion of flowers, principally the beautiful blue "khobbés."

Saturday, March 30th. Having indulged for some hours in the quiet enjoyment of a fine morning and an open, green country, I went with the shoush to look after Mr. Richardson's party. After an hour's ride through luxuriant corn-fields, and pasture-grounds enlivened by the horses of the Turkish cavalry, we found Mukni, the sailor, and all Mr. Richardson's baggage; but he himself had not yet come up. I could not persuade the people to remove our encampment, so I returned, after having paid a visit to the binbásha of the cavalry, who had been stationed here for the last seventeen years. He had contrived to procure himself a cool retreat from the sultry hours by forming a regular tank, about two feet and a half square, in the midst of his tent, and keeping it always full of water.

In the afternoon I made a long excursion with my Zintáni through the plain, beyond the chapel of Sidi Bargúb, in order to buy a sheep; but, though the flocks were numerous, none of the shepherds would sell, as pasturage was abundant, and every one had what he wanted. In 1846, when I first visited the regency, the people were starving, and selling their camels and every thing they possessed to procure food.

Sunday, March 31st. Foggy weather indicated that rain was approaching; and just in time Mr. Richardson with his party arrived, and pitched his enormous lazaretto tent opposite our little encampment. Mr. Reade also had come from the town, in order to settle, if possible, the misunderstanding with our servant Mohammed, and see us off. It is an agreeable duty for me to acknowledge the many services which this gentleman rendered us during our stay in Tripoli. Our whole party was

* The place probably derives its name from the *Ruta tuberculata*, "Mejnúneh."

detained here the following day by the heavy rains; and Overweg and I were happy to get hold of the black servant of the ferocious pseudo-sherif mentioned by Mr. Richardson, when that troublesome fellow was sent back to town, as we were much in want of another servant.

April 2d. We fairly set out on our expedition. The country became more diversified as we approached the defile formed by the Bátes and Smaera, two advanced posts of the mountain chain, while the varied forms of the latter, in high cones and deep, abrupt valleys, formed an interesting background. But the country hereabouts is cultivated with less care than Wadi Mejenín; and the ground, being more stony, presents, of course, more obstacles than the latter, while both districts are inhabited by the same tribes, viz., the Urgáat and the Akára. Even here, however, in the circle formed by the surrounding heights, was a fine extent of plain covered with corn-fields. Just at the entrance of the pass there is a well, where the road divides; and, after a little consultation, we took the western branch, as our people feared that on the eastern we should not find water before night. Changing, therefore, our direction, we seemed a while to keep off entirely from the mountain range till we reached the wide but very rugged and rocky Wadi Haera, which it was our object to reach at this spot, in order to fill our water-skins from the pools formed by the rains. The wadi, indeed, looked as if it sometimes bore in its floods a powerful body of water; and a considerable dike had been constructed in the early times of the Arabs, extending for two hundred paces from the wadi eastward; but it has fallen to ruin, and the path leads now through the breach.

Resuming our march, after a good deal of delay, we turned sharp off toward the mountains, and at an early hour encamped on a very pleasant spot adorned with numerous sidr-trees (*Rhamnus Nabeca*); but instead of enjoying it in quiet, Overweg and I felt disposed to direct our steps toward a hill called Fulije, about half an hour's walk eastward, which promised to be a convenient point for obtaining correct angles of the prominent features of the chain, and proved to be so in reality.

Having executed this task, therefore, we returned to our companions well satisfied, and spent the evening in the comfortable tent of Mr. Warrington. We had now reached the slope of the chain, where some of our people supposed that the boat would cause difficulties; but it could not well do so after being cut into quarters, which fitted to the sides of the camels rather better than the large quadrangular boxes. The most troublesome parts were the long oars and poles, which caused the camel much exhaustion and fatigue by constantly swaying backward and forward.

The ground, soon after we had started the next morning, became stony, and, at three miles distance, very rugged and intersected by a number of dry water-courses. The landscape was enlivened not only by our own caravan, composed of so many heterogeneous elements, but also by some other parties who happened to be coming down the slope: first, the Kaimakám of the Jébel, then a slave caravan, consisting of about sixty of these poor creatures, of whom the younger, at least, seemed to take a cheerful interest in the varied features of the country. The Wadi Bú Ghelán, where the ascent commences, is here and there adorned with clusters of date-trees. In about an hour the first camels of our party reached the terrace of Beni 'Abbás; and till the whole had accomplished the ascent, I had leisure to dismount from my tractable Bú-saefi, and to sit down quietly under a fine olive-tree near the chapel of the Merábet Sámes, watching them as they came up one by one, and cheered by the conviction that the expedition was at length in full train. The country was here hilly, and the path often very narrow and deeply cut in the marly soil. Further on, Overweg and I, together with our shoush, turned off a little to the right from the great caravan-road, and, passing through fine corn-fields interspersed with flowers of different kinds, reached the village Gwásem, lying at a short distance from the eastern foot of Mount Tekút, where we were treated with sour milk by a friend of our companions. When we had overtaken our caravan, I found time to pay a visit to the Roman sepulchre,* and ascertained

* See above, p. 61.

that the base measured 24 ft. in every direction, the principal body of the monument, containing the sepulchral chamber, having fallen in entirely. From this point we began to ascend the second terrace, and reached the level of the plateau at two o'clock in the afternoon. The country had now a much more interesting appearance than when I was here two months before, being at present all covered with green corn. Having started in the direction of the castle, we descended a little before reaching it, along the shelving ground toward Wadi Rummána, and encamped on the spot where the troops usually bivouac.

Here we remained the following day, when, in order to settle formally the demands of our camel-drivers, we had all our things accurately weighed by the officials of the castle. The little market did not grow busy till ten o'clock. The chief articles for sale were three head of cattle, one camel, some sheep and goats, a few water-skins, some barley, a few eggs, and sandals; but at noon it was moderately thronged. In the afternoon we paid a visit to several subterranean dwellings, but were disappointed in not getting access into an entirely new structure of this kind, formed of a much harder sort of clay. Our cheerful friend Mr. Warrington, in order to treat our party before he separated from it for a length of time which nobody could foresee, got an immense bowl of kuskus prepared, seasoned in the most savory manner; and our whole party long indulged in the remembrance of this delicate dish as a luxury beyond reach. The site of our encampment was most pleasant: below us the wadi, rich with varied vegetation; while toward the north the Tekút, with its regularly-shaped crater towering proudly over the lower eminences around, formed a most interesting object.

Friday, April 5th. Though busy at an early hour, we did not get off till late, for many things were still to be settled here. We separated from Mr. Warrington; and of the three travelers I was the only one whom he was ever to see again.

Our path was at first very winding, as we had to turn round the deep indentation of the Wadi Rummána, after which it took a straighter course, passing through several villages, with their respective olive-groves, till we reached Bu Sriyán, where the

cultivation of the olive-tree ceased entirely for some distance, and the country became more open. Here we made another considerable deviation from our southerly direction, and followed a wide valley with much cultivated ground. Having reached the village Sémsa, situated upon an eminence to our right, we turned off eastward into a very pleasant ravine with an olive-grove, and then began the steep ascent toward the height Kuléba,* which forms the passage over this southern crest of the plateau. While the camels, in long rows, moved slowly onward, with their heavy loads, on the narrow and steep rocky path, I, allowing my camel to follow the rest, ascended directly to the village, which is situated round the eastern slope, and is still tolerably well inhabited, although many a house has fallen to ruin; for it has a considerable extent of territory, and, owing to its situation as the southernmost point of Ghurián, the inhabitants are the natural carriers and agents between the northern districts and the desert. On the highest crest, commanding the village, there was formerly a castle, but it has been destroyed by the Turks.

Having descended a little into the barren valley, we encamped, at two o'clock in the afternoon, on the slope of the western hills, near the last scanty olive-trees, and not far from the well, from which we intended to take a sufficient supply of water to last us till we reached Mizda. While our people, therefore, were busy watering the camels and filling our water-skins, Overweg and I, accompanied by two of the inhabitants of the village who had followed us, ascended a conspicuous mount, Jebel Toëshe, the highest in the neighborhood, on the top of which a village is said to have existed in former times. We took several angles; but there is no very high point about Mizda which could serve as a landmark in that direction.

Saturday, April 6th. The country through which we were marching, along irregular valleys, mostly of limestone formation, exhibited scattered patches of corn for about the first three

* "Kuléba" or "kelúba" is a term of frequent occurrence in these districts for a high mountain-top. In some respects it seems to be identical with the term "thníye," used in other districts.

miles, after which almost every sign of cultivation suddenly ceased, and the "Twél el Khamér," stretching from N.W. to S.E., about two miles distant on the right, formed, as it were, the northern boundary of the naked soil. On its slope a few trees of the kind called radúk by the Arabs were seen from the distance. We then entered desolate stony valleys, famous for the bloody skirmishes which are said to have once taken place there between the Urfilla and the Welád Bu Séf, in the time of 'Abd el Jelíl. Refreshing, therefore, was the aspect of Wadi Ranne, which, extending from E. to S.W., was overgrown with green herbage, and had two wells.

A little beyond, near the hill, or rather slope called Sh'abet el Kadím, the latter part of which name seems, indeed, to have some reference to antiquity, we found the first Roman milestone, with the inscription now effaced; but farther on, Mr. Overweg, who went on foot and was far behind the main body of our caravan, succeeded in discovering some milestones with inscriptions, which he regretted very much not being able to show to me. Hereabouts commences the region of the batúm-tree, which, with the fresh green of its foliage, contributes a good deal to enliven and adorn some favored spots of this sterile, gravelly tract. To the left of our path were some remarkable basaltic cones, starting up from the calcareous ridge. The ground was strewn with numerous flint-stones. About four o'clock P.M. I went to look at a curious quadrangular and regularly-hewn stone, three feet in breadth and length, but only eight inches thick, which was standing upright at some distance from the caravan. It was evidently meant to face the west, but no trace of an inscription was to be seen. About a mile farther on we encamped at the foot of the western chain, which rose to a height of about 300 feet, and formed a narrow cleft with the eastern chain, which at this point closes upon it. In this corner (which collects the humidity of two valleys), besides several batúm-trees, a little corn had been sown. Panthers are said to be numerous in this region.

The next day we directed our march toward the pass, crossing the dry beds of several small torrents, and a broader chan-

nel bordered by plenty of batúm-trees. After an hour's march we had reached the summit of the pass, which now began to widen, the heights receding on each side, and a more distant range bounding the view. We found in the holes of the rocky bottom of Wadi Mezummíta, which we crossed about half past eight, several pools of rain-water, affording us a most refreshing drink; but it was quite an extra treat, owing to recent heavy rains which had fallen here, for in general the traveler can not rely on finding water in this place. The ground becoming very stony and rugged, our progress was excessively slow—not above half an English geographical mile in seventeen minutes. The hills on our right displayed to the view regular layers of sandstone. Another long defile followed, which at length brought us to a plain called Wadi Lilla, encompassed by hills, and offering several traces of former cultivation, while other traces, farther on, bore testimony to the industry of the Romans. A small herd of goats, and the barking of a dog, showed that even at present the country is not wholly deserted. In our immediate neighborhood it even became more than usually enlivened by the passage of a slave-caravan, with twenty-five camels and about sixty slaves, mostly females.

After having passed a small defile, we at length emerged into the northwest branch of the valley of Mizda, called here Wadi Udé-Sherâb, the channel of which is lined with a considerable number of batúm-trees. Crossing the stony bottom of this plain, after a stretch of three miles more we reached the western end of the oasis of Mizda, which, though my fancy had given it a greater extent, filled me with joy at the sight of the fine fields of barley, now approaching maturity—the crop, owing to the regular irrigation, being remarkably uniform—while the grove of date-trees encompassed the whole picture with a striking and interesting frame. So we proceeded, passing between the two entirely-separated quarters, or villages, distinguished as the upper, "el fók," and the lower, "el utah," and encamped on the sandy open space a little beyond the lower village, near a well which formerly had irrigated a garden. People going to Tripoli encamp at the other end of the oasis, as was done by a caravan

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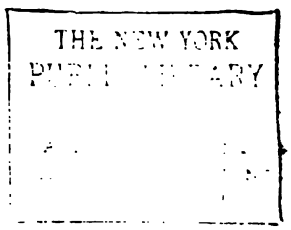
of Ghadamsi people with slaves from Fezzán, on the following day.

Mizda, most probably identical with the eastern "Musti kome" of Ptolemy, appears to have been an ancient settlement of the indigenous inhabitants of North Africa, the Berbers, and more particularly of a family or tribe of them called "Kuntarár," who even at present, though greatly intermixed with Arabs, have not entirely forgotten their Berber idiom. The oasis lies in the upper part of Wadi Sófejín, or rather a branch of it, stretching out from S.W. to N.E., which has in some parts a great breadth. The natural advantage, or productive principle, of the locality seems to lie in the circumstance that the humidity carried down by the Wadi Sherâb is here arrested by a hill, and absorbed by the clayey soil. This hill is of a lengthened form, and consists entirely of gypsum. From its summit, which affords the best prospect of the whole locality, I made a view of the western village; while from a more elevated height farther west, called Madúm, I made the accompanying sketch of the whole locality.

The wells have little depth, and the water is drawn to the surface by means of oxen; but there being at present only three specimens of this precious animal in the place, the wells are far from being made use of to the extent which is practicable and has been once practiced, as may be concluded from the pillars which extend to a considerable distance on the plain. The town, as I said, consists of two distinct quarters or villages, of which the western one, situated at the eastern foot of the hill, is by far the larger; it is built exactly in the character of the ksúr of the Algerian Sahara, with high round towers decreasing a little in width toward the upper part, and furnished with several rows of loop-holes. The wall, purposely built with a great many salient and retiring angles, is in a state of decay, and many of the houses are in ruins; but the village can still boast a hundred full-grown men able to bear arms. The chief of this village always resides in it, while that of the other generally lives at some distance under tents. The circumference of the village, together with the palm-grove attached to its eastern side, and consisting of about 200 trees, is 2260 paces.

MEDINA.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The lower or southeastern village, the circumference of which is 600 paces, is separated from the former by an interval of about 400 paces, and has at present no palm-grove, all the gardens having been destroyed or ruined by neglect, and only twenty or thirty palm-trees now remaining scattered about the place. About 100 paces farther down the declivity of the valley is a group of three small gardens surrounded by a wall, but in bad condition; and at about the same distance beyond, another in the same state. The only advantage peculiar to this quarter is that of a large "zawíya," the principal articles in the inventory of which are eight holy doves. But this also has now become but an imaginary advantage, as, according to its learned keeper's doleful complaints, it is very rarely visited. In this as well as in the other quarter, all the houses are built of gypsum. As Mizda is a very remarkable feature in the country, I thought it worth while to make a particular sketch of the oasis also from this side.

This oasis is very diminutive; but two caravan routes, one from Múrzuk and one from Ghadámes, join at this point. The inhabitants are of a mild disposition, and enjoy the fame of

strict honesty. Every thing is here considered as secure, and the camels which can not find food in the neighborhood are driven into the green valley at four or five miles' distance, and left there without a guardian. I make these statements advisedly, as reflections of a different kind have been made on their character. The people seem to suffer much from sore eyes. When we asked them about the most remarkable features of the road before us, they spoke of a high mount, Teránsa,* which, however, we did not afterward recognize.

In the afternoon I made an excursion with Overweg to Jebel Durmán, situated at the distance of a mile and a half southeast. It is rather a spur of the plateau jutting out into the broad valley, and, with its steep, precipitous, and washed walls, nearly detached and extremely narrow as it is—a mere neck of rock—looks much like a castle. Upon the middle of its steep side is a small zawíya belonging to the Zintán. The prospect from this steep and almost insulated pile could not, of course, be very extensive, as the mount itself is on the general level of the pla-

* Mount Teránsa, if it be identical with the Teránsa mentioned above, must be to the east, along the north side of Wadi Sófejín.

teau; but we obtained a fine view over the sea of heights surrounding the broad valley and the several tributaries of which it is formed. Night was setting in, and we returned to our tent.

Having heard our Zintáni make frequent mention of an ancient castle with numerous sculptures, and situated at no great distance, I resolved to visit it, and set out tolerably early in the morning of the 9th of April, accompanied by the Arab and one of our shoushes.

We had first to send for one of our camels, which was grazing at about three miles' distance, in the sandy bottom of the wadi S.E. from our encampment. It was only on this occasion that I became aware of the exact nature of the valley of Mizda, and its relation to the Wadi Sófejín; for we did not reach this latter wadi until we had traversed the whole breadth of the sandy plain, and crossed a mountain spur along a defile called Khurmet bu Mátek, at the distance of at least eight miles from our encampment. This is the famous valley mentioned in the eleventh century by the celebrated Andalusian geographer El Bekri,* and the various produce of which the Arabs of the present day celebrate in song:

rás-há e' ttín ú merjín
ú wost-há bazín
ú ghár-há 'ajín.

Figs and olive-trees adorn its upper part, which is said to stretch out as far as Erhebát, a district one day and a half beyond Zintán; barley is cultivated in its middle course, while wheat, from which the favorite dish 'ajín is made, is grown chiefly in its lower part, near Tawárgha. The valley seems worthy of better fortune than that to which it is reduced at present; for when we marched along it, where it ran S. 20 W. to N. 20 E., we passed ruins of buildings and water-channels, while the soil exhibited evident traces of former cultivation. I listened with interest to the Zintáni, who told me that the valley produced an excellent kind of barley, and that the Kuntarár, as well as the

* There can not be the least doubt that this valley is meant in the passage cited in "Notices et Extraits," vol. xii., p. 453. Compare Journal Asiatique, série v., tom. i., p. 156.

people of Zintán, his countrymen, and the Welád Bu-Séf, vied with each other in cultivating it, and, in former times at least, had often engaged in bloody contests for the proprietorship of the ground. When I expressed my surprise at his joining the name of his countrymen with those of the other tribes hereabouts, he gave me the interesting information that the Zintán had been the first and most powerful of all the tribes in this quarter before the time of the Turks, and held all this country in a state of subjection. Since then their political power and influence had been annihilated, but they had obtained by other means right of possession in Mizda as well as in Gharíya, and still farther, in the very heart of Fezzán, by lending the people money to buy corn, or else corn in kind, and had in this way obtained the proprietorship of a great number of the date-trees, which were cultivated and taken care of by the inhabitants for a share of the produce. Formerly the people of Zintán were in possession of a large castle, where they stored up their provisions; but since the time of the Turkish dominion, their custom has been to bring home the fruits of their harvests only as they want them. In Wadi Sháti we were to meet a caravan of these enterprising people.

While engaged in this kind of conversation we entered a smaller lateral valley of Wadi Sófejín, and reached the foot of a projecting hill on its western side, which is crowned with a castle. Here it was that I was to find marvelous ancient sculptures and drawings; but I soon perceived that it would be as well not to cherish any high expectations. The castle, as it now stands, is evidently an Arab edifice of an early period, built of common stones hewn with some regularity, and set in horizontal layers, but not all of the same thickness. It forms almost a regular square, and contains several vaulted rooms, all arranged with a certain degree of symmetry and regularity. But while we pronounce the main building to be Arab, the gateway appears to be evidently of Roman workmanship, and must have belonged to some older edifice which the Arab chieftain who built this castle probably found in the place—a conjecture which seems to be confirmed by several ornamental fragments lying about.

It is a pity that we know so little of the domestic history of these countries during the period of the Arab dynasties, though a step in advance has been made by the complete publication of Ebn Khaldún's history, else we should regard with more interest these relics of their days of petty independence. This castle, as well as another, the description of which I shall subjoin here, though it was visited some days later, is called after a man named Khafáji 'Aámer, who is said to have been a powerful chief of great authority in Tunis no less than in Tarábolus (Tripoli).*

The other ruin, related to this one as well by name as by the style of its workmanship, but in many respects more interesting, having been evidently once a place of Christian worship, stands on a narrow and detached neck of rock in the Sh'abet Um el Kharáb, and, from its whole plan, appears to have been origin-

* For this statement there may be, indeed, some historical foundation. We know that, from the year of the hejra 724 (1323 A.D.) till the year 802 (1399), there reigned in Tripoli a dynasty of the Beni 'Aámer (Haji Khalfa's Chronological Tables, p. 167), who most probably were related to the dynasty of the same name which for a long time maintained its dominion over Tripolis in Syria.

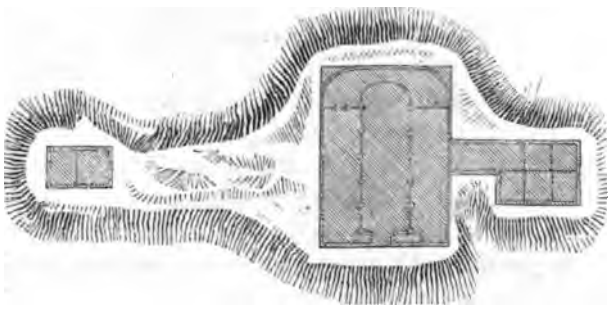
ally and principally a church about forty-three feet square, sufficiently large for a small congregation, and with more art and comfort than one can easily suppose a Christian community in these quarters ever to have possessed. Hence greater interest attaches to this building than it would otherwise deserve. It closes with a plain apsis, in which there are two openings or doorways leading into an open room stretching behind it and

the side-naves, and is divided into three naves, the middle one of which is eight paces, and the lateral ones six and a half wide.

The naves are divided from one another by columns with differently-ornamented capitals supporting arches, all in the so-called round style of architecture. I made purposely a sketch of two different capitals, in order to show their designs, and I think they are very characteristic. But it is curious to observe that the walls also appear to have been originally painted on stucco, though at present but a small piece of it remains near the corner; hence I conclude that the date of the painting was later than that of the erection of the church.

The front of the building has suffered in some degree from the depredations of the Arabs, who are said to have carried away a great many sculptures from this place—as much, indeed, a man from Mizda would have made me believe, as fifty-five camel-loads. However exaggerated this statement may be, it is evident that the whole layer over the entrance was originally covered with ornamental slabs, while now only two remain to the left of the doorway; and these, though in the same style of sculpture as the capitals, would rather seem to have been taken from another edifice. There are many debatable points involved in the consideration of this building. The first fact clearly shown is the existence of a Christian community or a monastery in these remote valleys, as late as the twelfth century at least, under the protection of a powerful chief; and this is not

at all improbable, as we know that Mohammed expressly ordered that zealous priests and monks should be spared, and as we find so many monastéries in several other Mohammedan countries. That it was not merely a church, but a monastery, seems plainly indicated by the division into apartments or cells, which is still clearly to be seen in the upper story. Attached to the north



side of the church was a wing containing several simple apartments, as the ground-plan shows; and on the south corner of the narrow ridge is a small separate tower with two compartments. Near this ruin there is another, which I did not visit, called Ksaer Labayed mt'a Derayer, while a third, called Ksaer el Haemer, has been destroyed.

CHAPTER V.

SCULPTURES AND ROMAN REMAINS IN THE DESERT.—GHARÍYA.

April 11*th.* We lost the best part of the morning, our men not being able to find their camels, which had roamed over the whole wadi. Our road was almost the same as that by which I had returned the previous day; and we encamped in the Wadi Sófejín, on a spot free from bushes. From this place, accompanied by the Zintáni, I visited, the next morning, the castle or convent in Sh'abet Um el kharáb, which I have described, and thence struck across the stony plateau in order to overtake our

caravan. It was a desolate level, rarely adorned with humble herb or flower; and we hastened our steps to reach our companions. Here I heard from the Zintáni that his father came every year about this season, with his flocks, to the valleys east of our road, and that he would certainly be there this year also. He invited me to go thither with him, and to indulge in milk to the extent of my wishes; as for myself, I declined, but allowed him to go, on condition that he would return to us as soon as possible.

Even after we had overtaken the caravan, the country continued in general very bare; but we passed some valleys affording a good deal of herbage, or adorned with some fine batúm-trees. About five o'clock P.M. we encamped in Wadi Talha, not far from a Roman castle or tower on a hill to our left. On visiting the ruin, I found it built of rough stones without ce-

ment, being about twenty feet square in the interior, with rounded corners, and with only one narrow gate, toward the east. But this was not the only remnant of antiquity in the neighborhood, for in front of us, on the plateau, there appeared some-

thing like a tower of greater elevation; and proceeding early the next morning, when our people had only begun to load, to examine it, I found it to be a Roman sepulchre, originally consisting apparently of three stories; but of these only the base and the first story remain, while the stones belonging to the upper one are now scattered on the ground, and show that it was ornamented with small Corinthian columns at the corners. Even in the most desolate spot, every thing left by the Romans has a peculiar finish. The first story, being all that at present remains, measures 5 ft. 4 in. on the east and west, and 5 ft. 9 in. on the north and south sides. Not far from this sepulchre are the ruins of another one, of which, however, nothing but the base remains, if, indeed, it was ever completed. By the time my drawing was finished, the caravan had come up.

I then passed several detached cones, the steep precipitous sides of which, formed by the breaking away of the strata, looked like so many castles, and, traversing Wadi Marsíd, reached the camels. They marched to-day at a very good rate, the quickest we had as yet observed in traveling, namely, half a mile in twelve minutes, making a little less than 2½ miles an hour; but we afterward found that this had now become our usual rate, whereas before reaching Mizda we had scarcely ever exceeded 2 miles an hour. The loads of the camels, of course, had been heavier in the beginning; but this can hardly be the only reason of the difference. The greater dreariness of the country, and the impulse of our camel-drivers and their beasts to get to their homes, must be taken into account. I must here observe that Overweg and I measured our rate repeatedly with a chain provided by government, although it was a very fatiguing labor, and injurious to our dignity in the eyes of our people. Gradually the day grew very uncomfortable, a hot west wind driving the sand into our faces, and totally obscuring the sky. Keeping along the Wadi Téroth, sometimes more than a mile wide, we had on our left a broad mount, rising first with a gradual ascent, but in its upper part forming a steep and lofty wall called el Khaddamíyeh. Here too, according to the information of my faithful Arab, there is said to be a Roman sepulchre.

Having passed a small defile, and crossed another valley, we had other Roman ruins on our right, a castle as it seemed, and near it something like a sepulchre; but the sand-storm hardly allowed us to look, still less to go in that direction.

At three o'clock in the afternoon we turned off to the west into Wadi Tagíje, and encamped near the bed of a torrent eight feet deep, which amply testifies that, at times, a considerable stream is formed here, a fact confirmed by the fresh and luxuriant herbage springing up in many parts of the valley among thick bushes and brushwood. Nor was it quite desolate even now; for the flocks of the Welád Bu-Séf were seen, and their tents were said to be not far off. The upper part of the valley is called El Khúrub.

This hot day proved a *dies ater* to my Arab, who had gone to visit his family. Having brought his old father with him, together with a goat, as a present, and a skin of milk, he unluckily arrived too late in the morning at our last night's encampment. He then sent his father back with the goat, and began to follow us in the hope of soon overtaking the caravan; but he was obliged to march the whole intensely-hot day without water, and he could not drink the milk in the skin, which became quite hot, so that he suffered greatly, and arrived in a very exhausted state.

The fine herbage procured us a whole day's rest, as the camel-drivers were in no haste to bring up their camels. Not knowing this, but yet convinced that we should not start at an early hour, as the well was at some distance, and following the information received from the Zintáni, who was himself too lame to accompany me, I had taken my gun and pistols at an early hour in the morning, and gone in the direction of the valley to look after a monument. After nearly two hours' march I distinguished something like a high pillar, and, proceeding straight toward it, found it to be one of the richest specimens of this kind of monument bequeathed to us by antiquity, and an indisputable proof that these regions, now so poor, must have then supported a population sufficiently advanced in taste and feeling to admire works of a refined character.

The monument rises, upon a base of three steps and in three stories, nearly to a height of forty-eight feet. The base contains a sepulchral chamber 4 ft. 10½ in. long, and 4 ft. ⅛ in. broad, with three niches, one on the north, and two on the east side.

This side was the principal face of the monument, forming its most ornamented part. The first story measures at its base on the E. and W. sides 5 ft. 5⅜ inches, and on the N. and S. sides 4 ft. 10⅛ inches: it consists of six layers of stones, on the lowest of which is represented a pair of wild animals, probably panthers, with their fore legs or paws resting upon a sepulchral urn, as if they were watching it; on the next layer above is seen the handsome bust of a young female; two layers intervene without sculpture; and the fifth is ornamented on all the four sides with hunting scenes. The frieze on every side is formed by four rosettes; but that on the north side had some additional decoration, the second rosette on that side, from the east, exhibiting a group of centaurs, and the fourth a cock. Upon this part of the frieze is a garland of clusters of grapes; then follows the moulding.

In the second story the third layer forms the sill and lower part of a false door very richly ornamented, and on the fifth layer a pair of genii hold a coronal over the door of the sepulchre, a representation which seems to intimate Christian ideas. Above it a niche contains the busts of a man and his wife; but on the north side an elderly woman occupies a niche with her bust, probably in her character as proprietress of the single sepulchral niche of the tomb below. Above is an ornament with two bunches of grapes; and then follows the frieze, of the common Ionic order. The moulding is surmounted by a pyramidal roof about 12 feet high, which has lost its summit; otherwise the whole monument, with the exception of the sepulchral chamber, which has been broken up in search of treasures, is in the best state of preservation, notwithstanding its very slender proportions—a circumstance very remarkable, after the lapse of at least more than sixteen centuries. No wonder that the natives of these regions now regard these tall sepulchral monuments, so strange at present in this land of desolation, as pagan idols, and call them "sanem;" for I myself, when alone in front of the monument in this wide, solitary valley, and under the shadow of the deep, precipitous side of a plateau adjoining the Khaddamiye on the east, felt impressed by it with a certain degree of awe and veneration.

My sketch being finished, I was still attracted to a greater distance up the valley by something which seemed at first to be another monument; but it was only a mark fixed by the Arabs, and served but to lengthen my march back, which was more slow, as the heat had set in. But I was well satisfied with my morning's work, and my companions were greatly astonished when they saw the sketch. In the afternoon I made with Overweg another excursion in the opposite direction, when, after an hour's march, we ascended a height and obtained a most interesting view over this singular tract, which seems to be the fragmentary border of a plateau torn and severed by ravines and precipices, so that only wall-like cliffs, rising like so many islands out of a sea of desolation, indicate its height. A high craggy ridge toward the west, with precipitous pinnacled walls, looked like a castle of the demons. Just in a ravine on the border of this wild scene of natural revolutions, my companion had the good luck to find some very interesting fossils, particularly that beautiful specimen which, after him, has been called Exogyra Overwegi; but our zeal had carried us too far, and it grew dark as we commenced our return, so that we had some difficulty in groping our way back to the encampment, where we arrived weary and fatigued, after having caused our people a good deal of apprehension.

April 14th. We were roused from our refreshing sleep as early as two o'clock after midnight; but this was a mere sham of our camel-drivers, who feigned making up for the loss of yesterday, and, after all, we did not get off early. Our road carried us from wadi to wadi, which were generally separated from each other by a defile, occasionally presenting some difficulty of passage. We left a castle of Roman workmanship, as it seemed, in the distance to the left, and further on, to the right, a slight stone wall called Hakl el Urínsa, dating from the petty wars between the Arab tribes. We had already passed a few small ethel-bushes; but now we came to a most venerable-looking old tree called Athelet Si Mohammed fi Useát, spreading out its weather-beaten branches to a considerable distance: under this I sat down quietly for a while, waiting for our peo-

ple, who were still behind. The caravan at length came up; and, continuing our march, we soon passed, on our right hand, the chapel of a great Merábet of the Welád Bu-Séf, called Si Rashedán. The Welád Bu-Séf in general enjoy great authority with the other tribes for their sanctity of life and purity of manners; they allow no stranger to come near their villages, but pitch a tent for him at a distance, and treat him well. The person at present most distinguished among them for learning seems to be an old man named Sidi Bubakr, who exercises great influence, and is able to grant serviceable protection to travelers in time of war.

The Welád Bu-Séf are remarkable for the excellent breed of their camels, which they treat almost as members of their families. It is curious that this tribe, intent upon right and justice, has waged war incessantly from ancient times with the Urfílla, the most warlike and violent of the tribes of these regions. It is difficult to make out whether they are related to the Welád Bu-Séf of the western part of the desert, who are likewise distinguished by their peculiar manners, but who, it seems, would scruple, on religious grounds, to call a man 'Abd e' nebi (Slave of the Prophet), which is the name of the ancestor of the Eastern Bu-Séf.

Emerging from a defile, upon high ground, early in the afternoon, we obtained a view over Wadi Zémzem, one of the most celebrated valleys of this part of North Africa. It runs in general from W. to E.N.E., and is furnished with a great many wells, the most famous of which are El Abiadh, Sméla, Nákhala, Urídden, Halk el Wadi, and, a little further down, Téder. In half an hour we encamped in the valley, full of herbage and with a goodly variety of trees. A caravan coming from the natron-lakes, and carrying their produce to Tripoli, was here encamped. I could not withstand the temptation of ascending, in the afternoon, a projecting eminence on the south side of the valley, which was broken and rent into a great variety of precipices and ravines; but its summit, being on a level with the plateau, did not afford me such a distant view as I had expected. The cliff was formed of strata of marl and gypsum, and contained many fossil shells.

Monday, April 15th. As soon as we left the bottom of the valley, the path, which became rugged and stony, led up the southern cliffs, went round the east side of the conspicuous promontory, and then continued to wind along between the slopes of the higher level of the plateau. A hill, distinguished from among the surrounding heights by the peculiar shape of its cone, has here received the significant name Shúsh el 'abíd —the Slaves' Cap. A little farther on the roads separate, that to the left leading along the principal branch of the valley to the little town Gharíya, while the eastern goes to the well Taboníye.

One might suppose that in a desolate country like this, and just at the entrance into a desert tract of great extent, the caravans would gladly avail themselves of those abodes of life which still exist; but such is not the case; they avoid them intentionally, as if a curse were attached to them, and those places, of course, fall every day more and more into decay. After a little consultation, the path by Taboníye was thought preferable, and we took it. The rough and stony character of the country ceased, and we gradually entered a fine valley, called Wadi Tolágga, richly clothed with a variety of trees and bushes, such as the sidr, the ethel, the ghurdok, and several others. After meeting here with a caravan, we caught the gladdening and rare sight of an Arab encampment, belonging to the Urinsa, and obtained some milk. Without crossing any separation or defile, but always keeping along the same valley, we approached the well Taboníye. But near it the vegetation is less rich; the soil is intermixed with salt, and covered with a peculiar kind of low tree called by the present inhabitants of the country fr'o—a term which, in pure Arabic, would only mean "a branch."

While our people were busily employed pitching the tents, I went at once to examine a monument which, for the last hour of our march, had stood as a landmark ahead of us. I reached it at the distance of a mile and a quarter from our encampment, over very stony and rugged ground. It was well worth the pains I had taken; for, though it is less magnificent than the monument in W. Tagíje, its workmanship would excite the in-

terest of travelers, even if it were situated in a fertile and well-inhabited country, and not in a desolate country like this, where a splendid building is, of course, an object of far greater curiosity. It is a sepulchre, about twenty-five feet high, and rising

in three stories of less slender proportions than the monument above described, and is probably of a later period. The preceding sketch will suffice to give an exact idea of it.

Near this is another sepulchre, occupying a more commanding situation, and, therefore, probably of older date, but it is almost entirely destroyed; and a third one in an equally ruinous state, but of larger proportions than either, is seen further S.E. These monuments serve to show that the dominion of the Romans in these regions was not of momentary duration, but continued for a length of time, as the different styles of the remains clearly proves. It may be presumed that no common soldier could pretend to the honor of such a tomb; and it is probable that these sepulchres were destined to contain the earthly remains of some of the consecutive governors or officers stationed at the neighboring place, which I shall soon describe.

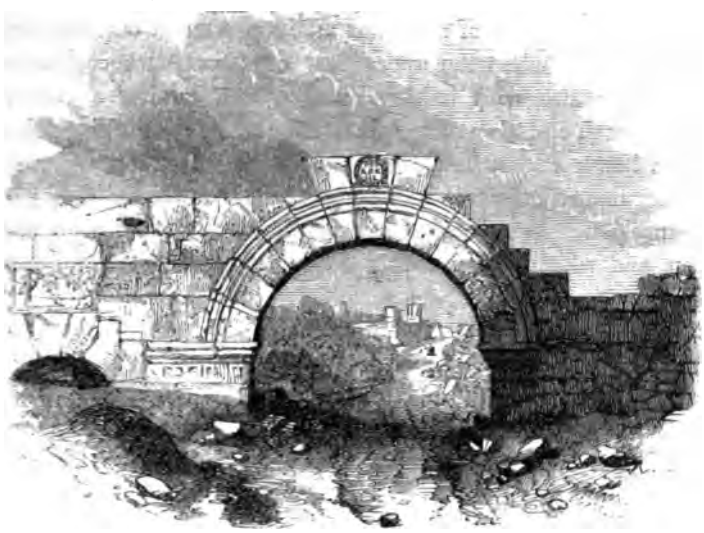
Like a solitary beacon of civilization, the monument rises over this sea-like level of desolation, which, stretching out to an immense distance south and west, appears not to have appalled the conquerors of the ancient world, who even here have left behind them, in "lithographed proof," a reminiscence of a more elevated order of life than exists at present in these regions.

The flat valley below, with its green strip of herbage, stretches far into the stony level; and beyond, northeastward, the desolate waste extends toward Ghariya.

I returned to the encampment, which meanwhile had sprung up on the open space round the well, and was anxious to quench my thirst with a draught of the precious liquid; but the water was rather salt, and disagreed with me so long as I continued to use it, that is, for the next seven days. That we might make good use of our leisure hours, all three of us went the next day to Ghariya, or rather Ghariya el gharbiya—*i. e.*, western, to distinguish it from the more distant eastern place of the same name.

Cheerfully as we set forward, we were heartily glad when, after a three hours' march, we saw the northern tower of the place become visible over the monotonous stony plain, the wide

and unbounded expanse of which seemed to indicate something above a single day's excursion. After having also descried the half-ruined dwellings of the village, we were eagerly looking out for the palm-grove, when we suddenly reached the brink of a deep ravine, in which, on our left, the fresh green plantation started forth, while all around was naked and bare. We crossed the ravine, leaving the grove on our left, and ascended the opposite cliffs toward the ruined cluster of miserable cottages, when, having traversed the desolate streets, we encamped out-



side the Roman gate, the massive and regular architecture of which formed a remarkable contrast to the frail and half-ruined structures of the village. We were greatly astonished to find such a work here.*

It has but little resemblance to the Roman castle or station at Bonjem, such as it is seen in Captain Lyon's drawing;† for,

* A copy of my drawing of this interesting monument, of its ground-plan, and of the inscription, was sent by me to Dr. Patrick Colquhoun in May, 1850; and a short and learned treatise on it was published by John Hogg, Esq., in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. iv., new series.

† Captain Lyon's Travels, p. 67.

while the latter represents a single gateway flanked by two quadrangular towers, the building at Ghariya consists of three archways, flanked by towers with receding walls. The two smaller gateways have been almost entirely filled with rubbish; the upper layer likewise is gone, and only those stones which form the arch itself are preserved, the centre stone above the principal arch bearing the inscription "PRO. AFR. ILL." (provincia Africæ illustris), encircled by a coronal, while that above the eastern side-gate is ornamented with a large sculpture, the lower part of which it is difficult to make out distinctly, except the trace of a chariot and a person in curious attire following it,* while the upper part represents two eagles in a sitting posture, with half-extended wings, holding a coronal, and at each end a female genius, in a flying posture, stretching out a larger and a smaller coronal. Besides this, and a few Berber names,† there is no inscription now on the building; but an inscription found in another place, which I shall soon mention, and which was probably originally placed over the small archway on the right,‡ seems to leave no doubt that this fortification dates from the time of Marc. Aurel. Severus Antoninus,§ and if not built in the years between 232 and 235 after Christ, at least was then in existence.

As the ground-plan, which is here subjoined, evidently shows, this is not by itself a complete building, and could only afford quarters to a very limited number of soldiers acting as a guard

* This might represent the subjugated nation or prince.

† Among these the following names can be made out with certainty, leaving only the short vowels, which are not expressed, in some doubt. Umaghmaghdúmer or úmaghem ghedúmer, Múthemaghem. besmeter. menmenýr. The letters underlined are not certain. It is scarcely necessary to say that these inscriptions were made upon the building at a later period, and that Mr. Hogg was wrong when, taking them for Punic, and thinking that I had overlooked "the most remarkable portions of this remain," he believed them to be taken from some older Punic building.

‡ This is a very probable conjecture of Mr. Hogg.

§ Although the name ANTONINO has suffered a little in the inscription, yet, copying it, as I did, without any prejudice, I found sufficient traces of the letters composing this name, and I hardly think that I have been mistaken. If so, it is a curious and remarkable instance of this title, which Severus Alexander is said to have refused. See Gibbon, vol. i., p. 289.

—in fact, it can only be the well-fortified entrance into the Roman station; but of the station itself I was unable to discover any traces, though a great quantity of stones from some building lie scattered about in the village. The only ancient building which I was able to discover, besides the gate, was a cistern at the N.W. corner of the wall, near the slope into the wadi, which is here very precipitous. It was probably 60 ft. long, for at 30 ft. there is an arch dividing it; but one half of it, except a space of about 8 ft., has been filled with rubbish; its breadth is 5 ft. 3½ in. Perhaps the whole fortification was never finished; the inner edge of the stones would seem to intimate that not even the gateway received its entire ornament.

While I was busy making a drawing of the ruins, Overweg, who, in order to measure the elevation of the place by boiling water, had directed his steps to a rising ground some distance north of the village, which was crowned with a tower, sent to inform me that on the tower was a large Roman inscription, which he was unable to make out, and as soon as I had finished my sketch I went thither. It is a round Arab tower, only two large ancient stones having been made use of as jambs, while a large slab, covered with an inscription, is used as an impost, owing to which circumstance the inhabitants generally regarded even the tower as a Christian or Roman building. The inscription, which was evidently taken from the fortified station, is $32\frac{7}{12}$ in. long, and $15\frac{10}{12}$ in. high, and consists of nine lines. It has been read and interpreted by Mr. Hogg in the following manner:

I(mperatori) Cæs(ari) M. Aurelio Severo Alexandro* P(atri) P(atriæ) P(i)o Felici Aug(usto) Et pagus et senatus et castr(um) [*or* castrum munitum] et municipium.....d. d.; poni curavit Severianæ P. Nero situs vexillationis leg(ioni)s

* See note, p. 122.

IV. S(cythicæ); [*or* legionis XXI. Victricis Severianæ] dec(urio) Maurorum e(t) solo (o)pere (e)andem vexillationem instituit.

"To the Emperor Caesar M. Aurelius Severus, Father of his Country, Pious, Happy, Augustus, the district, the senate, the camp, and free town of.....dedicate (this).....P Nero, Decurion of the Moors, caused the station of the Severian regiment (horse) of the 21st Legion, Victorious, Severian, to be established; and he instituted by his own act the same regiment."

Though in this interpretation many words are very uncertain, it is clear from it—as it is more than probable that the inscription was taken from the former monument—that here was the station of a squadron of horse, or rather of an *ala sociorum;* but at the same time we have to regret that the name of the place is among the words entirely effaced. I, however, think it extremely improbable that it was a municipium. I will here only add that this direct western road to Fezzán and Jerma was not opened before the time of Vespasian, and received then the name "(iter) præter caput saxi," most probably on account of its crossing the mountain chain near the coast at its steepest part.*

As for the tower, or nadhúr, it was evidently erected in former times in order to give timely notice when a band of free-booters—"el jaesh" (the army), as they are called here—was hovering around this solitary village; for this seems to have been the chief cause of its destruction, the Urfílla being said to have been always watching and lying in ambush round this lonely place, to attack and rob small parties coming from or going to it; they are said even to have once captured the whole place. The consequence is that it has now scarcely thirty male inhabitants able to bear arms, and is avoided by the caravans as pestilent, the water, they say, being very unwholesome. The small remnant of the inhabitants have a very pale and ghastly appearance, but I think this is owing rather to the bad quality of their food than to that of the water. In former times it is said to have been celebrated on account of a merábet of the name of Sidi M'adi.

* Plinius, H. N., l. v., c. 5: "Ad Garamantas iter inexplicabile adhuc fuit. Proximo bello, quod cum Œensibus Romani gessere auspiciis Vespasiani Imperatoris, compendium viæ quatridui deprehensum est. Hoc iter vocatur *Præter caput saxi.*"

As soon as I had sufficiently examined the ruins and the village, I hastened to the bottom of the ravine. The contrast between the ruined hovels of the village, perched on the naked rock, and the green, fresh plantation, fed by a copious supply of water, is very great. Thick, luxuriant, and shady clusters are here formed, principally around the basin filled by the spring, which rushes forth from beneath a rock, and gives life to the little oasis. Its temperature I found, at half past one o'clock P.M., 70½° Fahr., while that of the air was 70°. The number of the date-trees, though small, is nevertheless larger than in Mizda, and may be nearer to 350 than to 300. The water of the ravine, after a heavy fall of rain, joins the Wadi Zemzem, the principal valley of this whole district, which, together with Wadi Sófejín and Wadi Beï', carries all the streams collected hereabouts to the sea.

Such is the character of Gharíya el gharbíya, uniting, even in its present state of decay, great historical interest with that attaching to a conspicuous and remarkable feature in the country. Whether her eastern sister, Gharíya e' sherkíya, awakens an equal or a still greater interest, it is difficult to say, but it seems to have quite the same elements of attraction as the western place, namely, a date-grove and Roman ruins. I had a great desire to visit it, but that was not possible, as we were to start next day from Taboníye.

According to our Zintáni, the path leading to it from the western village first lies over the hammáda, then crosses a ravine called Wadi Khatab, leads again over the plateau, crosses another wadi, and at length, after about ten miles, as it seems, reaches the ravine of Gharíya e' sherkíya,* stretching from W. to E., the grove, of about the same extent as in the other oasis, being formed at the N. and W. bases of the rocky height upon which the place stands. At the side of the village there is, he said, a large Roman castle far larger than that in the western one, of about eight or ten feet elevation at present, but without an arched gateway of that kind, and without inscriptions. On

* It is scarcely necessary to mention that Mr. J. Hogg has been greatly mistaken in identifying this place with Ghirza, which lies at a great distance.

the east side of the eminence are only a few palms, and on the south side none. The village is distinguished by a merábet called Bu-Sbaeha. Neither from the Zintáni nor from any body else did I hear that the inhabitants of these two solitary ksúr are called by the peculiar name Waríngа; I learned it afterward only from Mr. Richardson's statement,* and I have reason to think that the name was intended for Ursína.

We returned by a more northern path, which at first led us through a rather difficult rocky passage, but afterward joined our path of yesterday. Overweg and I had no time to lose in preparing for our journey over the hammáda, or plateau, while Mr. Richardson was obliged, by the conduct of the ill-provided and ill-disciplined blacks who accompanied him, to follow us by night. We therefore got up very early next morning, but lost a good deal of time by the quarrels among our camel-drivers, who were trying, most unjustly, to reserve all the heavy loads for the camels of the inexperienced Tarki lad 'Ali Karámra, till they excited his indignation, and a furious row ensued. This youth, though his behavior was sometimes awkward and absurd, excited my interest in several respects. He belonged to a family of Tawárek, as they are called, settled in Wadi el Gharbi, and was sent by his father to Tripoli with three camels, to try his chance of success, although members of that nation, with the exception of the Tinylkum, rarely visit Tripoli. He was slender and well formed, of a glossy light-black complexion, and with a profile truly Egyptian; his manners were reserved, and totally different from those of his Fezzáni companions.

At length we were under way, and began gradually to ascend along the strip of green which followed the shelving of the plateau into the valley, leaving the Roman sepulchre at some distance to our right. The flat Wadi Lebaerek, which is joined by Wadi Shák, was still adorned with gattúf and rétem. It was not till we had passed the little hill called Lebaerek, and made another slight ascent, that we reached the real level of the terrible Hammáda; the ascent, or shelving ground, from Taboníye to this point being called el Mudhár mt'a el Hammáda,

* Vol. i., p. 60.

and the spot itself, where the real Hammáda begins, Bú-safar, a name arising from the obligation which every pilgrim coming from the north, who has not before traversed this dreaded district, lies under, to add a stone to the heaps accumulated by former travelers.

But, notwithstanding all the importance attached to the dreary character of this region, I found it far less naked and bare than I had imagined it to be. To the right of our path lay a small green hollow, of cheerful appearance, a branch of which is said, probably with some degree of exaggeration, to extend as far as Ghadámes; but the whole extent of the Hammáda is occasionally enlivened with small green patches of herbage, to the great relief of the camel. And this, too, is the reason why the traveler does not advance at a rate nearly so expeditious as he would expect. In the latter part of our preceding journey we generally had made almost as much as two and a half miles an hour, but we scarcely got over two on this level open ground. Of course, the wider the space, the wider the dispersion of the straggling camels; and much time is lost by unsteady direction. At the verdant hollow called Garra mt'a e' Nejm the eastern path, which is called Trík el mugítha (*via auxiliaris*), and passes by the village of Gharíya, joined our path.

At Wadi M'amúra I first observed the little green bird generally called asfír, but sometimes mesísa, which lives entirely upon the caravans as they pass along by picking off the vermin from the feet of the camels. In the afternoon we observed, to our great delight, in the green patch called El Wueshkeh, a cluster of stunted palm-trees. Hereabouts the camel-drivers killed a considerable number of the venomous lizard called bu-keshásh; and the Tarki in particular was resolute in not allowing any which he saw to escape alive. After a moderate march of little more than ten hours and a half, we encamped in a small hollow called, from a peculiar kind of green bush growing in it, El Jederíya. A strong cold wind, accompanied by rain, began to blow soon after we encamped. The tent, not being sufficiently secured, was blown down in the night, and we had some trouble in pitching it again.

Continuing our march, we passed, about ten o'clock in the morning, a poor solitary talha-tree bearing the appellation of El Duhéda. Farther on we found truffles, which in the evening afforded us a delicious truffle-soup. Truffles are very common in many parts of the desert; and the greatest of Mohammedan travelers (Ebn Batúta) did not forget them in relating his journey from Sejelmása to Waláta, in the middle of the 14th century.* The sky was very dark and hazy; and the moon had an extraordinary "dára," or halo. We slept this night without a tent, and felt the cold very sensibly.

April 19th. The march of the following day was a little enlivened by our meeting with two small caravans: the first, of five camels; the second, belonging to Ghadámsi people, and laden with ivory, of fifteen. With the latter was also a woman, sitting quite comfortably in her little cage. Shortly after half past one o'clock in the afternoon we had reached the highest elevation of the Hammáda, indicated by a heap of stones called, very significantly, Rejm el erhá, 1568 feet above the level of the sea. We encamped soon after, when a very heavy gale began to blow from N.N.W., driving the swallows, which had followed our caravan, into the tent and the holes formed by the luggage; but the poor things found no protection, for our tent, which was light and high-topped, was blown down again during the night, while a heavy rain accompanied the storm, and we, as well as our little guests, were left a while without shelter, in a very uncomfortable situation.

We started rather late the following morning, entering now upon the very dreariest part of the Hammáda, called El Hómra. So far there had been only one track over this stony plateau; but in the afternoon a path, called Msér† ben Wáfi, branched off toward the left. This path, which leads to the eastern parts of Wadi Sháti, formed formerly the common road to Fezzán, the road by way of El Hasi being considered as too insecure, on

* Journal Asiatique, 1843, série iv., tom. i., p. 189.

† The name Msér, being pure Arabic, testifies to its antiquity; for at present no Arab hereabouts would call a track or path by this name. It is properly the journey itself.

account of the robberies of the Urfilla. Hence the latter is still called the new road, "Trik el jedíd." Richardson, who had had enough of the inconveniences of traveling by night, easily got in advance of us this morning, after our short march of yesterday, and had advanced a good way by daytime. We were therefore anxious to come up with him; and on our way we encountered a heavy shower of rain before we pitched our tent.

Sunday, April 21st. The whole caravan being once more united, the increased variety of our own party relieved a good deal of the feeling of monotony arising from the desolate character of the country through which we traveled. After marching about seven miles, we arrived at the greenest and largest hollow of the Hammáda, called Wadi el Alga, which we ought to have reached yesterday, in order to be able to get this day as near the well as possible.

As it was, when we encamped in the afternoon, we had still a long day's march before us, and therefore the next day, from general impulse, in order to make sure of our arrival at the well, we started at an early hour, keeping the caravan together by repeated shouting. After a march of about twelve miles, we reached the first passage leading down from the Hammáda, and called Tníe* Twennín; but it was too steep and precipitous for our rather heavily laden caravan, and we had to continue till we reached the Tníe el 'Ardha, a little after eleven o'clock, when we began to descend from the plateau along a rough winding pass. The sandstone of which it is formed presented to us a surface so completely blackened, not only in the unbroken walls of the ravine, but also in the immense blocks which had been detached from the cliffs, and were lying about in great confusion, that at first sight any body would have taken it for basalt; but when the stones were broken, their real nature became apparent. Over this broad layer of sandstone, which in some places covered a bed of clay mixed with gypsum, there was a layer of marl, and over this, forming the upper crust, limestone and flints.

* Tn'e, or, rather, thníye, ثَنِيَّة is a classical and still popular Arabic expression for a winding pass over high ground or up a hill.

After a winding course for an hour, the narrow ravine, shut in by steep, gloomy-looking cliffs, began to widen, and our direction varied less; but still the whole district retained a gloomy aspect, and the bottom of the valley was strewn with masses of black sandstone, while the country ahead of us lay concealed in a hazy atmosphere, which did not admit of an extensive view. Eager to reach the well, the caravan being scattered over a great extent of ground, we three travelers, with one of the shoushes, pushed on in advance, the south wind driving the sand, which lay in narrow strips along the pebbly ground, into our faces. We cherished the hope of finding a cool little grove, or at least some shade, where we might recline at ease after our fatiguing march; but, to our great disappointment, the sand became deeper, and nothing was to be seen but small stunted palm-bushes. But even these ceased near the well, which was dug in the midst of the sandy waste, and had once been protected by an oval-shaped building, of which nothing but crumbling ruins remained.

It was a cheerless encampment after so fatiguing a march; but there was at least no more fear of scarcity of water, for the well had an abundant supply. No name could be more appropriate to this place than El Hasi (the well). There is no need of any discriminating surname; it is "the Well" — the well where the traveler who has successfully crossed the Hammáda may be sure to quench his own thirst and that of his animals. But it is not a cheerful resting-place, though it is the great watering-place on this desert road, as he has to cross the fearful "burning plain" of the Hammáda before he reaches the spot.* There are several wells hereabouts, which might easily supply with water the largest caravan in an hour's time; for the water is always bubbling up, and keeps the same level.

The well at the side of which we had encamped is rather narrow and deep, and therefore inconvenient for a large party; but it is, though slightly, protected by the ruins around against the wind, which is often very troublesome, and was particularly so

* El hammáda is a very common name in North Africa for a stony level plain; but it is generally accompanied by a surname. The name is mentioned and explained by Ebn Khaldún, vol. ii., p. 358, trans. M. de Slane.

on the evening of our arrival. Formerly there was here a sort of fortified khan, such as is very rarely seen in these parts, built by the tribes of the Notmán and Swaíd,* in order to protect their caravans against the pillaging parties of the Urfílla, originally a Berber tribe. This building consisted of simple chambers, twenty, as it seems, in number, lying round an oval court which has entrances from north and south. It is thirty paces long by sixteen wide, the centre being occupied by the well, which, as it is dug in the sandy soil, bears the general name Hasi. It has a depth of five fathoms; and its temperature was found to be 71½° Fahr. The quality of the water, in comparison with that of Taboníye, was very good. The elevation of this place was found by Overweg to be 696 feet; so that we had descended from the highest point of the Hammáda 742 feet.

As it was, we felt heartily glad when, our steady and heavy Tripolitan tent being at length pitched, we were able to stretch ourselves without being covered with sand. All the people were greatly fatigued, and required repose more than any thing else. Out of regard to the men as well as to the camels, we were obliged to stay here the following day, though the place was comfortless in the extreme, and did not offer the smallest bit of shade. The accompanying sketch, which I made this day, of the place, with the slope of the Hammáda in the background, will give but a faint idea of its desolate character. Scarcely any of our places of encampment on the whole journey seemed to me so bad and cheerless as this. If I had had an animal to mount, I would have gone on to a cluster of three or four date-trees, which are said to be at the distance of about three miles west from the well, and belong to the people of Zintán, to enjoy a little shade; but our camels were too much distressed.

* The Swaíd were formerly a very powerful tribe in Algeria, and are often mentioned by Ebn Khaldún. In vol. i., p. 94, 101, their subdivisions are enumerated.

CHAPTER VI.

WADI SHÁTI.—OLD JERMA.—ARRIVAL IN MÚRZUK.

Wednesday, April 24th. THERE are three roads from El Hasi: the westernmost, called Trík e' duésa, after a small cluster of palm-trees; the second, called Trík e' safar, stony and more desolate than the former, but half a day shorter; and the third, or eastern, leading directly to Bírgen. When we at length left our uncomfortable encampment at El Hasi, our camel-drivers chose the middle road, which proved to be dismal and dreary. But the first part of it was not quite so bad, the appearance of granite among the rocks causing a little variety, while tamerán and shí'ah clothed the bottoms of the valleys; and we had a single specimen of a beautiful and luxuriant batúm-tree. When, however, we began to enter the region of the sand-hills, intermixed with rocky ridges and cliffs, the character of the country became desolate in the extreme.

We travelers, being in advance, chose our resting-place for the first night near a high rocky mass called El Medál, against the wish of the camel-drivers, who would rather have encamped in the Sh'abet e' talha, further on. The summit of the rocky eminence afforded a very interesting prospect over this singular district; and our younger shoush discovered, lower down, some scrawled figures. He came running up to inform me of his discovery; but it was of no interest, a cow and a sheep being the only figures plainly recognizable. The Fezzáni people come hither in spring, when the rain-water collects in the cavities of the rocks, and stay some months, in order to allow the camels to graze on the young herbage, which then shoots up here in profusion. Ben Sbaeda, during such a stay here, had lost a son, near whose tomb the camel-drivers said a prayer, or zikr, early the next morning.

Thursday, April 25th. Continuing our march, we soon came to the Sh'abet e' talha, the bottom of which is clothed with the

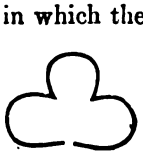
brushwood called arfish, and with the rétem, or broom. Further on, when we came upon the higher rocky ground, the country grew more sterile, though we were so fortunate as to catch two gazelles. Black masses of sandstone jutted out on all sides, and gave a wild air to the desolate region through which we were passing. The sterile character of the scene underwent no change till next morning, when, on advancing about a mile and a half, we came to the Wadi Siddre, which was enlivened by a few talha-trees. A narrow defile led us from this place to the Wadi Boghár, whence we entered another defile. Midday was past when we obtained a distinct view of the date-grove in Wadi Sháti,* and the high sand-hills which border the valley on the south. Toward the north it was rather open, and we hastened on to escape from the hot desert through which we were marching; but a good while elapsed before we reached the border of the valley, which on this side abounded in herbage. After a mile and a half we reached the first wild palm-trees, thriving in separate and casually-formed groups. Then followed a belt of bare black ground, covered with a whitish crust of salt. The town, on the top of a broad terraced rock, seemed as far off as ever. But I urged on my Bu-Séfi along the winding path over the hard ground; Richardson and Overweg followed close behind, while the camel-drivers had fallen back to exchange their dirty costume for one more decent. At length we reached the northwestern foot of the picturesque hill, and chose our camping-ground beyond the shallow bed of a torrent between the date-trees and the corn-fields, near the largest fountain—a very agreeable resting-place, after the dreary desert which we had traversed.

We had felt tired so long as the place was yet ahead of us; but we had no sooner reached it than all fatigue was gone, and Overweg and I, under the guidance of a m'allem, went forth to view the interesting features of the locality. It is certainly a very rare spectacle in this quarter of the world to see a town on the top of a steep terraced hill in the midst of a valley, and

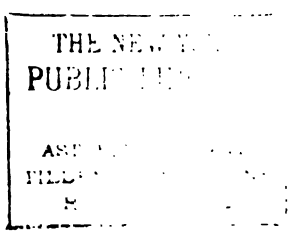
* So the name is generally pronounced, the correct form being Shiyáti, "the rent."

occupying an advantageous position which might be supposed to have given the place great importance from very ancient times. E'deri seems to have been a considerable place till fourteen years ago, when the independent spirit of its inhabitants was broken by the despotism of 'Abd el Jelíl ben Séf e' Nasr, the famous chief of the Welád Slimán. The old town on the top of the hill having been destroyed, and there being no longer a necessity for a fortified residence, under the civilized though exhausting government of the Turks, the new village was built at the northern foot of the hill, on which side lies the chapel of the Merábet Bu-Derbála, and another of less fame, a little east of the former, called Sidi 'Abd e' Salám.

The new village has two gates. Crossing it, we ascended the steep narrow streets of the old town, which seems to have been densely inhabited, and from the highest part, which is 190 feet above the bottom of the valley, obtained a very interesting view over a great part of the wadi, with its varied features — here, black sandstone, which in several places forms hills of considerable extent; there, green fields of wheat and barley; then, again, a large grove of date-trees scattered in long narrow strips behind the high sand-hills bordering the valley on the south. The black ground, covered with a whitish crust, lay bare and naked in many parts, while in others it was entirely overgrown with herbage. Toward the south the slope of the rock on which the town stands is rather steep and precipitous. On this side lie the caverns which have been already noticed by Oudney, and which are interesting only on account of the oval-shaped form in which they have been excavated, as they are neither remarkable for dimensions nor for regularity; their general shape is this. A larger group of caverns has been made in a detached rocky eminence, upon which at present the cemetery is situated; but it is only seventy-two feet in length, and its ground-plan is far from being regular.



From this place I went through the adjoining grove, which, with a little more care, might easily become a very beautiful plantation; for there are a great many wells of very little depth,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and the water is led through the channels with slight trouble. Our encampment in the beautiful moonlight, with not a breath of wind to disturb the tranquillity of the scene, was pleasant in the extreme, and we all felt much delighted and greatly restored.

Early on Sunday morning, after having finished my sketch of the village on the hill, with our encampment in the foreground, I took a walk all round the scattered groups of the plantation, which must have suffered a great deal from 'Abd el Jelíl, even though the number of 6000 trees, which he is said to have cut down, be an exaggeration. Toward the east side the salt crust is still thicker than on the west, and is very unpleasant for walking. I found here that, in addition to wheat and barley, much amára was cultivated in the garden-fields, besides a few figs; but I saw no grapes. Several families were living here outside in light huts or sheds made of palm-branches, and seemed to enjoy some degree of happiness. At the southeast end of the plantation rose a hill also formed of marl, and very similar to that on which the town is situated. The names of the villages along the valley, proceeding from west to east, are the following: after E'deri, Témesán; then Wuenzerík, Berga (a couple of villages distinguished as B. el foka and B. el utíyah), Gúta, Turut, El Ghurda, Meherága, Agár, Gógam, Kosaer Sellám, Támezawa, Anerúya, Zeluáz, Abrák, Gíreh, Debdeb, and Ashkiddeh. The valley has two kaíds, one of whom, 'Abd el Rahmán, resides at present in Temesán, while the residence of the other, 'Agha Hassan e' Rawi, is in Támezawa. Meherága seems to be the most populous of the villages. Abrák has the advantage of a school.

April 28th. We left our picturesque encampment in order to commence the passage over the sand-hills which separate the shallow "rent" of Wadi Shiyáti from the deeper valley, the Wadi el Gharbi, the great valley *par excellence.* It is rather singular that even the higher ground, which is elevated about fifty feet above the bottom of the valley, is entirely covered with a crust of salt. Having traversed this, we began the ascent of the sand-hills, which in several favored spots present small clus-

ters of palm-trees, which too have their proprietors. Mukni, the father of Yusuf, Mr. Richardson's interpreter, is said to have killed a great many Welád Slimán hereabouts. The most considerable of the depressions or hollows in the sand, which are decked with palm-trees, is the Wadi Shiúkh, which afforded, in truth, a very curious spectacle—a narrow range of palm-trees half buried between high sand-hills, some of them standing on the tops of hillocks, others in deep hollows, with the head alone visible. At length, after a good deal of fatigue, we encamped in Wadi Góber, another shallow cavity between sand-hills with brackish water and a few palm-trees. Here our camel-drivers themselves possessed a few trees, and, of course, were more interested in the inspection of their own property than in starting at an early hour the next day.

When we resumed our march we found our work more difficult than before, the sand-hills assuming a steepness most trying for the camels, particularly at the brink of the slopes. We were several times obliged to flatten away the edges with our hands, in order to facilitate the camel's ascent. I went generally a little in front, conducted by Mohammed ben Sbaeda, one of our camel-drivers, who, from the moment we had entered Fezzán, had exchanged the quarrelsome character by which he had made himself disagreeable to us, for very obliging and pleasing manners, and was anxious to give me every information. He told me that this belt of sand extended in a southwest and northeast direction from Dwésa as far as Fukka, a place, according to him, five days' march on this side of Sókna. He added, that however high and steep we might think these sand-hills, they were nothing in comparison with those in the direction of the natron-lakes; but, in making this remark, I think he wanted to excuse himself and his companions for taking us this long way round by the west. He knew that it was our desire to visit the natron-lakes, and that our direct way to Múrzuk led by those lakes, while their object was to take us to their native village Ugréfe. Mohammed stated that each district in Fezzán has its own peculiar dialect; and he contended that, while the inhabitants of Wadi Sháti speak a good sort of Arabic, similar

to that spoken in Mizda, the people of the great wadi (Wadi el Gharbi) make use of a corrupt dialect.

Meanwhile the caravan remained very far behind, and we thought it prudent to wait for them in Wadi Tawíl, particularly as the path divided here. It was so hot that my camel, when I let it loose to browse a little, would not touch any thing. When the other camel-drivers at length came up, there was a dispute as to the path to be followed; but the truth was, that while there could be no doubt about the direct road to Murzuk, some of the camel-drivers wished to take us to Ubári. But at length the other party, interested only in carrying us westward as far as Ugréfe, which was a great deal out of our route, got the upper hand, and we left the road to Ubári, which passes only two wadis, or hollows, called Tekúr and Uglah, both with bad water, to the west, and followed the road to Ugréfe.

About four o'clock in the afternoon we encamped in the Wadi Mukméda, near the sand-hills bordering its southern side, under the shade of a wild palm-bush. Close to it was very good water only two feet below the surface; but as the hole had only just been made, it contained much sulphureted hydrogen. The following day we crossed several smaller valleys with a few palm-trees (but a larger grove adorned the Wadi Jemál), all belonging to one of our camel-drivers of the name of Bu Bakr. He also possessed here a magazine, built of bricks, and probably several centuries old, but entirely covered with sand, where he had deposited forty camel-loads of dates. They were of the kind called tefsirt, of very large size and exquisite taste, and were eagerly devoured by our people. After having refreshed ourselves for a moment, we went on, having just before us the very steepest ascent that occurs on the whole road. I was obliged to dismount from my beautiful Bu-Séfi in order to get him over it. This ridge being once behind us, we were told that all the "wár" was over; there were, however, still a few "difficult passes" before us. In the Wadi Gellah, which we next crossed, we found the footsteps of a flock of sheep and of a single camel, which latter animal finds plenty of food in this sandy district, and, at the shallow well in Wadi Uglah, is

able to quench its thirst without the assistance of man. Thence we descended into Wadi Tigidéfa, where we encamped near a couple of palm-trees, the only ones in the wadi; a copious well of very good water was near them, overshadowed by a thick cluster of palm-bushes. It was altogether a very satisfactory camping-ground, except that it swarmed with camel-bugs, as such places in the desert generally do.

Wednesday, May 1st. With a general impulse of energy, we started this morning at a very early hour, twenty minutes past two o'clock in the morning, in order to get out of the sands, and to arrive in "the Wadi." After seven hours' constant march, we at length got a fine view of the steep cliffs which inclose the Wadi on the south side, and which contrasted marvelously with the white sand-hills in the foreground; for, stretching out in a horizontal dark line which faded away at each end, they exhibited an illusive picture of a lake spread out before us in the remote distance. The cool east wind, which had blown in the morning, and promised a fine day, changed, as is very common in these regions, toward noon into a hot south wind, and made us very uncomfortable and susceptible of the fatigue of a long march, particularly as the distance proved much greater than we had expected. Indeed, it was not till nearly two o'clock in the afternoon that Mr. Richardson and I, who were much in advance of the caravan, reached the border of the Wadi, and shortly afterward the well Moghrás, at the foot of two tall palm-trees, where we found a woman with two neatly-dressed children. They belonged to the Azkár-Tawárek, who, leaving their miserable abodes, migrate to these more fertile districts, where they build themselves light cottages of palm-branches, and indulge in a patriarchal life, breeding camels and rearing sheep. Near almost every village in the Wadi, outside the palm-grove, in the bare naked bottom of the valley, these poor people form a sort of suburb of frail huts; but nevertheless they keep up family ties with their brethren near Ghát, and respect in some degree the authority of the chief Nakhnúkhen. That this state of things might become very unfavorable to Fezzán in an outbreak of hostilities between the Turks and the

Tawárek, is obvious; I shall have occasion to say more on this subject further on. A belt of saline incrustation, of more than half a mile in breadth, runs through the middle of the valley, forming a line of demarcation between the separate palm-groups and the continuous grove.

On reaching this grove we soon caught sight of the famous village Ugréfe, the residence of our camel-drivers, which was to them the grand point of attraction, and, in truth, the only cause of our taking this westerly route. It consisted of about thirty light and low dwellings made of clay and palm-branches, and lay near an open space where we were desired to encamp; but, longing for shade, we went a little further on, and encamped near two splendid ethel-trees (*Tamarix orientalis*), the largest I ever saw before I reached E'geri. When the camels came up and the tents were pitched, the encampment proved most agreeable.

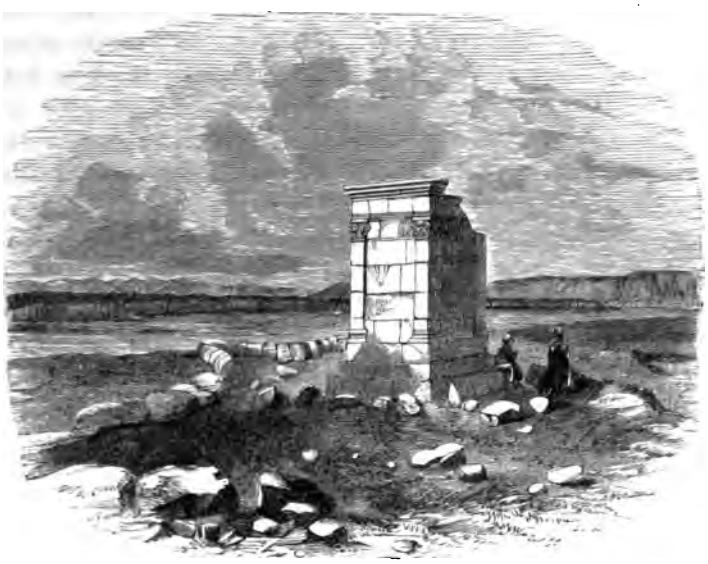
Early next morning I was again in motion, roving over the plantation, and was very much pleased with its general character. The corn, which was a fine crop, was just ripe and about to be harvested; and close to our camping-ground two negro

slaves were employed in cutting it, while three or four negresses carried it away to the stores. The negroes were powerful young fellows; the women were rather ugly, excepting one, who had a very handsome figure, and by coquettish demeanor tried to make herself more attractive. All of them accompanied their work with singing and wanton movements, and gave distinct manifestations of the customs of this district, which is notorious for the familiarity of its female inhabitants with the large caravans of pilgrims who annually pass through the Wadi on their way to or from Mekka. The fields are watered from large holes or wells, which are sunk through layers of variegated marl.

Being anxious to visit Old Germa, and to convince myself of its identity with the Garama of the Romans, I hired a miserable little donkey, and, accompanied by the stupid young son of Sbaeda, set out on an exploring expedition into the eastern part of the valley. Keeping in general along the southern border of the plantation, and having on my right the precipitous rocky cliff of from 300 to 400 feet elevation, I went on slowly till I reached the southwest corner of Jerma kadím, fortified with a quadrangular tower built of clay, and exhibiting a very curious arrangement in its interior. The whole circumference of the town, which was deserted long ago, is about 5000 paces. Here, near the town, there are no Roman ruins whatever, but the remains of several large and strong towers, built of clay, are to be seen a little farther on; and, being unable to make out the sepulchre described by Dr. Oudney,* I was obliged to go to Tawásh, the village inhabited by the Merabetín. It is divided into three distinct parts, a Tarki village, consisting of huts of palm-branches, an outer suburb of scattered dwellings built of clay, and a small quadrangular place of very regular shape, surrounded by earthern walls, and furnished with two gates, one on the east, and the other on the west side, and regular streets crossing at right angles. Having here obtained a guide from Háj Mohammed S'aídi, a wealthy man and the owner of almost all our camels, I started for the Roman monument, situated in

* Excursion to the Westward of Mourzuk, p. xlvii., Denham and Clapperton.

a wide opening of the southern recess. I found it in tolerably good preservation, and without delay made a sketch of it, as it seemed to me to be an object of special interest as the southernmost relic of the Roman dominion. It is a remarkable fact, that several years before the beginning of our era the Romans should have penetrated so far as this place; and that their dominion here was not of a merely transitory nature, this monument seems clearly to show. It is only one story high, and



seems never to have been loftier. This is evidently characteristic of the age in which it was built, and I am persuaded that it is not later than the time of Augustus. Those high steeple-tombs which I have described above seem not to have come into fashion before the middle of the 2d century after Christ.* The base measures 7 ft. 9½ in. on the west and east sides, and

* Lucius Balbus Gaditanus, the conqueror of Cydamus (Ghadámes) as well as of Garama (Jerma), celebrated his triumph in the year 18 B.C. or A.U. 735. (Plin., N. H., l. v., c. 5; Velleius Patercul., ii., 51; Strabo, iii., 169; Marmor Capitolin.) The names and pictures of the other nations and towns, which Balbus carried in his triumph (Plinius, l. c.), were evidently a mere show, comprising, most probably, all the information which he had been able to obtain of the interior.

at least 7 ft. 4 in. on the other two sides, including a spacious sepulchral chamber or burial-room; but while the base forms almost a quadrangle, the sides of the principal structure are of very different dimensions, measuring not more than 5 ft. 8½ in. on the north and south, and 7 ft. on the west and east sides. It is adorned with pilasters of the Corinthian order. The whole monument is covered with Tefínagh or Berber writing, which was not only intelligible to me, but also to our young camel-driver 'Ali Karámra, whose family lives in this part of the wadi, in a homely little dwelling of palm-leaves. However, as the writing was very careless, and my time was fully taken up with sketching the more important subjects, I did not copy the inscriptions, which indeed are only names; but, of course, even names might contribute something toward elucidating the history of the country.

By a direct path I returned from this place to our encampment, and felt rather fatigued, having been in motion during all the heat of the day. The south wind still increased in the evening, and we could distinctly see that it was raining toward the longed-for region whither we were going, while we had nothing from it but clouds of sand. Overweg, meanwhile, had ascended in the morning the highest cliff of the sandstone rocks forming the southern border of the valley, and had found it to be 1605 feet high, or 413 feet above the ground at our encampment.

Friday, May 3d. Having heard, the day before, in the village of the Merabetín, that Háj Mohammed, the owner of our camels, ordered the boy who was with me to tell Sbaedo, his father, that they should not start before this evening, I was not surprised at our camel-drivers not bringing the camels in the morning. It was almost four o'clock in the afternoon when Overweg and I at length pushed on, entering the extensive grove of New Jerma—a miserable place, which, being entirely shut in by the palm-grove, is almost deserted. The grove, however, exhibited a very interesting aspect, all the trees being furnished with a thick cluster of palm-bush at their roots, while the old dry leaves were left hanging down underneath the young fresh

crown, and even lower down the stem, not being cut off so short as is customary near the coast. But picturesque as the state of the trees was, it did not argue much in favor of the industry of the inhabitants; for it is well-known to Eastern travelers that the palm-tree is most picturesque in its wildest state. Beyond the town the grove becomes thinner, and the ethel-tree predominates over the palm-tree; but there is much palm-bush.

We entered another grove, which stretches far northward into the valley, its produce being, according to our camel-drivers, entirely reserved for the poor. Having passed Tawásh, with its little grove, we entered the fine plantation of Brék, enlivened by the bleating of sheep and goats. Here, in the small fields where corn is cultivated, the ground is thickly incrusted with salt and soda. We at length encamped near the grove of Tewíwa, close to the village of the same name, and to the north side of the Merábet Sidi e' Salám.

The next morning, while the camels were loading, I visited the interior of the village. The walls have given way in several places, and the whole made the impression of a half-deserted place; but the little kasbah, which is never wanting in any of these towns, was in tolerable condition. One of the inhabitants, on being asked why the village was so much decayed, told me that a torrent had destroyed a great portion of it nine years ago, in consequence of which the greater part of its population had dispersed abroad, only about twenty families now remaining. But this is the condition of nearly all the places in Fezzán; and it can be partially accounted for only by supposing that many of the male inhabitants go off to Negroland, to avoid being made soldiers. A very extensive grove belongs to Tewíwa; but the plain between the village and the rocks is rather open, only a few patches of corn-field being scattered thereabouts. Three vast and detached buttresses, which jut out from the cliffs into the plain, give a very picturesque appearance to the groves and villages which we passed on our route.

We were just proceeding in the best manner, when a halt was ordered, from very insufficient reasons, a little south from the village Tekertíba, where we were to pass the heat. Meanwhile

I ascended a ridge of rocks, which, a little farther down, crossed the valley from the southern border. The ridge was a narrow, steep, wall-like cliff, which afforded a very interesting view of the end, or rather beginning, of the fertile Wadi, which was close at hand.

From the highest point of the ridge I descended northward, crossing a small defile, which is formed between the two rocky buttresses to the north and south, the latter being the more considerable. Along it runs a path, connecting the two valleys. Here I obtained a view of the fresh green valley on the one side, and the destructive sand-hills on the other, and directed my steps to the plantation, where young people were busily engaged in drawing water from the large pond-like wells. The beams, by means of which the water is drawn up, require to be strongly constructed, the whole of the khattár having a height of from sixty to eighty feet. These draw-wells are always placed in pairs; and a couple of miserable asses, partners in suffering, do all the work. The young male laborers all wore straw-hats, and had an energetic appearance.

The northern border of the plantation is now menaced by the approach of the sand-hills, which have already overwhelmed the last range of palm-trees. There is a curious tradition in Tekertíba, that from the highest peak of the cliffs bordering the valley on the south side, a rivulet or brook, issuing from a spring, runs down into the valley underground. There were, it is related, originally several canals or stream-works leading down to this subterranean aqueduct; but they have been all filled up. The village itself, on the south border of the plantation, is tolerably large, but is inhabited by only forty families at the utmost, though it is the most populous place in the valley next to Ubári.

By the exertion of much energy, I at length succeeded in the afternoon in getting our little caravan again under way; and we left the Great Wadi through the defile, which appears to have been once defended by walls, and, having crossed some irregular depressed plains, encamped at seven o'clock in the evening in a wadi with a moderate supply of herbage. Starting on the following morning at an early hour, we soon emerged into a more

open level, beautifully adorned with fine talha-trees, and, having with difficulty dragged on our camel-drivers, who shortly afterward wanted to encamp in Wadi Resán, we entered a dreary wilderness, from which we did not emerge till we arrived at the plantation of Aghár, where we encamped.

Monday, May 6th. All the people were eager to reach to-day the first great station of the journey; but, owing to the straying of some of the camels, we were unable to start quite as early as we wished. The country in general was very sterile, presenting only a few small date-groves, which we passed at greater or less distance, and at length, when we reached the plantation of Múrzuk itself, we were far from finding in it that picturesque and refreshing character which we had admired in the palm-groves of the Wadi. These had formed a dense beautiful shade and fine groups, while the plantation of Múrzuk was scattered about in thin growth, so that it was scarcely possible to determine exactly where it began or where it ended. Thus we reached the wall of the town, built of a sort of clay glittering with saline incrustations; and going round the whole western and northern sides, which have no gate wide enough for a caravan, we halted on the eastern side of the town, not far from the camp of the pilgrims who were returning from Egypt to Marocco and Tawát, till Mr. Gagliuffi came out of the town and brought us in. Mr. Richardson had arrived about an hour before us. I was lodged in a cool and airy room on the N. E. corner of Mr. Gagliuffi's house, which had within the court a very pleasant half-covered hall. Mr. Gagliuffi treated us with all possible hospitality, and did all in his power to render our stay in the town agreeable.

CHAPTER VII.

RESIDENCE IN MÚRZUK.

UNFORTUNATELY, our stay in Múrzuk seemed likely to become a very long one, as the chiefs from Ghát, who were to take us under their protection, were not yet sent for. The courier with our letters, to which was added a missive from the acting governor promising perfect security to the chiefs, did not set out till the 8th of May. No doubt, in order to visit Aïr, a country never before trodden by European foot, with any degree of safety, we wanted some powerful protection; but it was very questionable whether any of the chiefs of Ghát could afford us such, while the sending for them expressly to come to Múrzuk to fetch us would, of course, raise their pretensions very high, and in the same degree those of other chiefs whose territory we should enter hereafter. Be this as it may, this mode of procedure having been once adopted, the question arose whether all three of us should proceed to Ghát; and it was decided, the very next day after our arrival, that the director of the expedition alone (Mr. Richardson) should touch at that place, in order to make, if possible, a treaty with the chiefs in that quarter, while Mr. Overweg and I were to proceed with the caravan by the southern route directly to the well Arikím, and there to await Mr. Richardson.

Providentially, a man had been sent to act as mediator between us and the countries to which we were about to direct our steps. He had been recommended to us in the very strongest terms by Hassan Bashá, the former governor of Fezzán, whom we had frequently seen in Tripoli, and who knew something about the men of influence and authority in Negroland. This man was Mohammed Bóro, who, with the title Serki-n-turáwa, "Lord of the Whites," resided generally in A'gades, but had also a house and many connections in Sókoto, and at present

was on his home journey from a pilgrimage to Mekka. It was a great pity that Mr. Gagliuffi, H. M.'s agent and our host, influenced I know not by whom, greatly underrated the importance of this man, and treated him with very little consideration. He was represented to us as an intriguer, who, besides, arrogated to himself much more consequence than he was really entitled to—a man, in short, whose friendship was scarcely worth cultivating, at least not at any sacrifice.

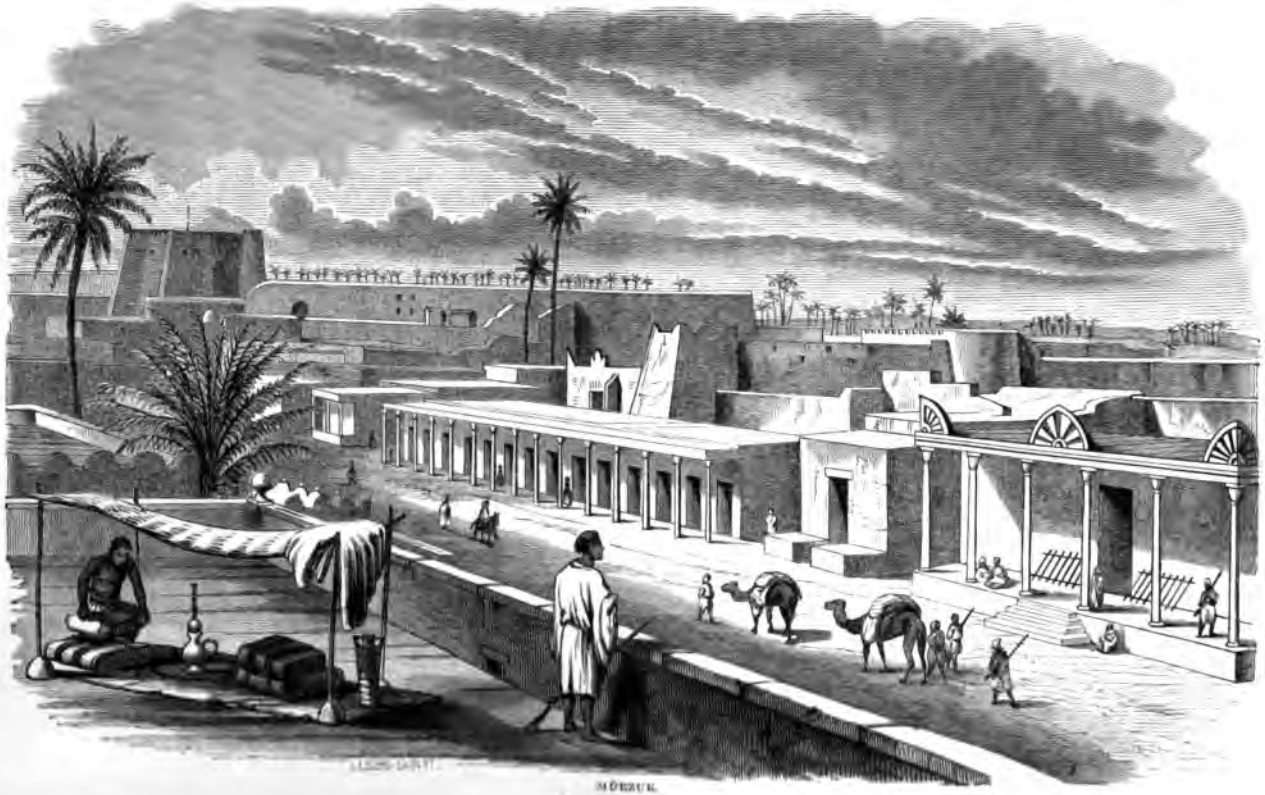
Mohammed Bóro called upon us on the 8th of May at Gagliuffi's house. He was an elderly, respectable-looking man, wearing a green bernús over white under-clothes. He could speak but little Arabic, but received Mr. Gagliuffi's empty and rather ironical assurances that the whole welfare and success of the expedition were placed in his (Mohammed Bóro's) hands with a continual strain of "el hamdu lilláhi"s. In his company were his eldest son and another man of Asben. He afterward sent us some gúro, or kola-nuts, of which he seemed to have a great stock, and which he also sold in the market. Gagliuffi sent him, as an acknowledgment, a very lean sheep, which, with a small loaf of sugar, was all he got from us in Múrzuk. Instead of gaining his friendship, this treatment served only to irritate him, and was productive of some very bad consequences for us. This interesting person will appear in his true character and importance in the course of this narrative.

The appearance of Múrzuk is rather picturesque, but its extreme aridity is felt at once, and this feeling grows stronger on a prolonged residence.* Even in the plantation which surrounds it there are only a few favored spots where, under the protection of a deeper shade of the date-trees, a few fruit-trees can be cultivated, such as pomegranates, figs, and peaches. Culinary vegetables, including onions, are extremely scarce; milk, except a little from the goats, is, of course, out of the question.

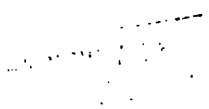
* I will here only remark that the degree of heat observed here by Captain Lyon, which has astonished and perplexed all scientific men, is not the real state of the atmosphere, but evidently depended upon the peculiar character of the locality where that enterprising and meritorious traveler had placed his thermometer.

The town lies in a flat hollow, "Hófrah," which is the appropriate native name of the district, but nevertheless at the considerable elevation of 1495 ft., surrounded by ridges of sand; and in this hollow lies scattered the plantation, without the least symmetry of arrangement or mark of order. In some places it forms a long narrow strip, extending to a great distance, in others a detached grove, while on the southeast side of the town the desert approaches close to the walls in a deep inlet. Toward the east a little grove apart forms, as it were, an advanced post. The densest and finest part of the grove is toward the north, where also are the greatest number of gardens and fields in which wheat, barley, gédheb (or, rather, kédheb), and a few vegetables, are cultivated with much labor. In the same quarter also the greatest number of cottages are to be found, including huts (large and small) made of palm-branches, the former consisting of several apartments and a small court-yard, the latter having generally only one room of very narrow dimensions.

In the midst of this plantation lies Múrzuk. It is situated so as not to face the cardinal points, but with a deviation from them of thirty degrees, the north side running N. 30° E., S. 30° W., and so on: it is less than two miles in circumference. The walls, built of clay, with round and pointed bastions, but partly in bad repair, have two gates, the largest on the east, and the other on the west side. There is only a very small gate on the north side, and there is none toward the south. This quarter of the town has been greatly contracted by 'Abd el Jelíl, as the remains of the old wall of the time of Mukni clearly show; but the town is still much too large for its scanty population, which is said now to amount to 2800, and the greatest part of it, especially in the quarters most distant from the bazar, is thinly inhabited and half in ruins. The characteristic feature of the town, which shows that it has more points of relation with Negroland than with the lands of the Arabs, is the spacious road or "dendal" stretching out from the eastern gate as far as the castle, and making the principal part of the town more airy, but also infinitely more exposed to the heat.

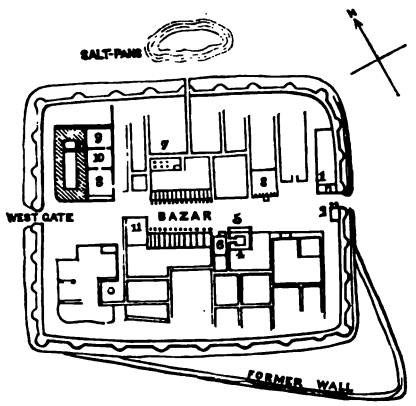


MÜRZUK.



The bazar, of course, is the most frequented part of the town. It lies nearly half way between the east and west gates, but a little nearer to the former, and affords, with its halls of palm-stems, a very comfortable place for the sellers and buyers. The watch-house at the east end of the bazar, and almost opposite Mr. Gagliuffi's house (from the terrace of which the accompanying view was taken), is ornamented with a portico of six columns, which adds to the neat appearance of this quarter of the town. The kásbah is the same as in Captain Lyon's time, with its immense walls and small apartments; but the outer court has been much improved by the building of a barrack or kishlah, which now forms its northern portion. It is a large quadrangular building, with a spacious esplanade in the interior, around which are arranged the principal apartments. The building is said to be capable of containing 2000 men, though at present there are but 400 in the garrison, who are well lodged and fed.

The accompanying sketch of a ground-plan will give a tolerably exact idea of the whole character of the town.



1. Custom-house.
2. Guard-house.
3. Watch-house.
4. Mr. Gagliuffi's house.
5. Garden
6. House of the agent of Bórnu.
7. Mosque.
8. First court-yard of kásbah.
9. Kishla.
10. Staircase leading to the upper apartments.

With regard to commerce, the condition of Múrzuk is very

different from that of Ghadámes. The latter is the residence of wealthy merchants, who embark all their capital in commercial enterprises, and bring home their own merchandise. But Múrzuk is rather the thoroughfare than the seat of a considerable commerce, the whole annual value of imports and exports amounting, in a round sum, to 100,000 Spanish dollars; and the place, therefore, is usually in great want of money, the foreign merchants, when they have sold their merchandise, carrying away its price in specie—the Mejábera to Jálo, the Tébu to Bílma and Bórnu, the people of Tawát and Ghadámes to their respective homes. Few of the principal merchants of Múrzuk are natives of the place. The western or Sudán route is more favorable to commerce than the route to Bórnu. On the latter the Tawárek are always ready to furnish any number of camels to carry merchandise and to guarantee their safety, while the road to Bórnu, which is the nearest for Múrzuk, is in such a precarious state that the merchant who selects it must convey his merchandise on his own camels and at his own risk. As for the routes through Fezzán, the Hotmán, the Zwáya, and the Megésha are the general carriers of the merchandise; while, on the route to Sudán, the conveyance at present is wholly in the hands of the Tinýlkum.

As soon as Gagliuffi learned distinctly the plan of our expedition, he made an agreement with these people to take our things as far as Selúfiet; and they were anxious to be off. After much procrastination, they fixed upon the 6th of June for taking away the merchandise with which we had been provided here. We were to follow on the 12th; but the luggage not being ready at an early hour, our final departure was fixed for the 13th.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DESERT.—TASÁWA.—EXACTIONS OF THE ESCORT.—DELAY AT ELÁWEN.

Thursday, June 13th. ACCOMPANIED by Mr. Gagliuffi, the Greek doctor, and the Bin-básha, we left Múrzuk by the western gate. My parting from Mr. Gagliuffi was cordial. He had received us and treated us hospitably, and had shown an earnest desire to further our proceedings, and to secure, if possible, the success of our expedition; and if, in his commercial transactions with the mission, he did not neglect his own advantage, we could not complain, though it would have been infinitely better for us if we had been provided with a more useful sort of merchandise.

In leaving the town, we kept, in general, along the same path by which we had first entered it, and encamped during the hot hours of the day in the scanty shade afforded by the trees of Zerghán, the well close by affording us delicious draughts of cool water, not at all of that brackish, insipid taste which is common to the water of Fezzán. We had started in the belief that we should find our luggage in O'm el hammám; but in this place we learned from the poor ragged people who come occasionally hither to take care of the trees that it was gone on to Tigger-urtín. Not knowing, however, the road to the latter place, we took the path to O'm el hammám, and encamped about seven o'clock in the afternoon a little north of it.

O'm el hammám is a half-decayed and deserted village, built of clay, which is strongly incrusted with salt, the inhabitants at present living entirely in huts made of palm-branches. The plantation, being intermixed with a large number of ethel-trees (*Tamarix orientalis*), and interspersed with gardens, exhibited a more varied aspect than is generally the case with these groves; and, having pitched our tent near a large ethel-bush,

we felt very comfortable, especially as we had the good luck to obtain a few eggs, which, fried with plenty of onions, made a very palatable supper.

Next morning we directed our course to Tigger-urtín, making almost a right angle toward the north, and crossing a desolate plain incrusted with salt, after we had left the fine plantation of O'm el hammám. Having reached the village of our camel-drivers, which consists entirely of huts of palm-branches, we looked long in vain for a tolerable camping-ground, as the strong wind filled the whole air with sand. At length we pitched our tents a few paces south from the well. It was an extremely sultry and oppressive day, and the wind any thing but refreshing.

In the afternoon we went to pay our compliments to Mohammed Bóro, who had left Múrzuk several days before us. He informed us that he had consumed all his provisions, and that he would have left to-day for Tasáwa, in order to replenish his stores, if he had not seen us coming. We consoled him with the intimation that we hoped our whole party would be soon ready for starting, and sent him a quantity of dates and corn.

The next day I went roving through the valley, which, a little further to the N.W., was much prettier, and had several fine clusters of palm-trees; but the most picturesque object was the old village, built of clay, now entirely in decay, but surrounded by a dense group of fine date-trees. Opposite is a sketch of it.

At the southwest end of the grove also is a little village, likewise deserted. Here I met a Felláta or Pullo slave, a full-grown man, who, when a young lad, had been carried away from his native home, somewhere about Kazaure, and since then had been moiling and toiling here in this half-deserted valley, which had become his second home. He told me that fever had driven away the old inhabitants of the village long ago, after which the Tinýlkum seem to have taken entire possession of it, though it is remarkable that its name seems rather to belong to the Berber language, its original form being Tigger-odén (ŏdē means the valley), which has been changed into the more

general form Tigger-urtín. The whole valley, which makes a turn toward the southwest, is full of ethel-bush, and affords shelter to a number of doves. Groups of palm-trees are scattered about.

June 16*th.* In the morning I took a walk round the village of the Tinýlkum, which exhibited some lively and interesting scenes. All the men were saying their prayers together upon a sand-hill on the north side of the principal cluster of cottages, while the women were busy in getting ready the provisions for the long journey about to be undertaken by their husbands, and the children were playing among them. About fifty or sixty huts were lying hereabouts, most of them formed into groups, others more detached. Some of them had pointed roofs, while others were flat-roofed; but all of them had a neat and orderly appearance. Besides camels, which constitute their principal wealth, as by means of them they are enabled to undertake those long annual journeys to Sudán, they possess a good many sheep. Two of our camel-drivers, Ibrahím and Slimán, whom I shall have occasion to mention repeatedly, together with their mother and sister, were in possession of a

flock of about 200 head, which they were sending to the fine pasture-grounds of Terhén in Wadi Berjúsh. Besides the latter valley, the Tinýlkum also use the valley Táderart as their chief pasture-grounds.

On the E.N.E. side of the village rose a hill about 100 feet high, and affording a fine view over the valley-plain. From its highest summit, where a niche for prayers has been laid out with stones on the ground, it stretches from east to west, and forms a kind of separation in the flat valley, limiting the etheltree to its western part, all the sand-hills in the eastern prolongation being covered with palm bushes, which, from a distance, have the appearance of a thick grove. Descending from this hill northward, I came to the handsomely-decorated sepulchre of Háj Sálemi, the brother of the sheikh, who resides in Múrzuk, and farther on met a party of Tinýlkum *en route* for the wadi, where numbers of them are residing. Another division dwells about Sebhha; but the whole body of the tribe comprises from 350 to 400 families, which are united by the closest bonds, and act as one body—"like meal" (to use their own expression) "falling through the numerous holes of a sieve into one pot." About noon arrived the pilgrim-caravan of the Tawáti, which had been long encamped near Múrzuk, on their way home; it had been this year only 114 persons strong, with 70 muskets, while sometimes it musters as many as 500 persons. Their chief, or sheikh el rákeb, was an intelligent person of the name of 'Abd el Káder, a native of Timímun, who had been leader of the caravan several times. They encamped at no great distance from us on the open ground.

Being obliged to buy another camel for myself (in order to be able to mount our servant Mohammed el Túnsi on a camel of our own, the Tinýlkum being very particular about their beasts, and not liking to see a man often mounting them), I bought, in the afternoon, a fine tall méheri from Háj Mohammed for 69 Fezzán riyals, or 55 Spanish dollars.

June 17th. I made a longer excursion along the eastern part of the wadi, which here, where it is lower and collects more humidity, is adorned with some beautiful wild groups of palm-trees

left quite to themselves; the valley extends toward Wadi Ghodwa, which it joins. Keeping on in that direction, I came to a poor hamlet called Márhhaba, inhabited by a few families, who bitterly complained of their poverty. Here was formerly a village built of clay, and a large spacious castle about sixty-five paces square. All is now deserted, and only a small part of the available ground is under culture, forming about six or seven small fields. The same picture is met with all over Fezzán, where the only places exhibiting to the eye some degree of life and prosperity are Sokna and Múrzuk. The population of this wide expanse of country falls short of even sixty thousand souls.

The heat of the day had already set in when I returned to the tents, where I was extremely rejoiced to see the different members of our caravan collecting at last, so as to afford a fair prospect of our soon setting out for unknown and more interesting regions. There had arrived Mohammed el Sfaksi, a man with whom Mr. Gagliuffi had entered into a sort of partnership for a commercial journey to Negroland, and whom he had supplied with a tolerable amount of merchandise, and in the afternoon came the boat. The following day Yusuf Mukni, Mr. Richardson's interpreter, came with the rest of the luggage, so that gradually every thing fell into its right place, and nothing was now wanting but the Tawárek chiefs to set our whole body in regular motion. We therefore procured a load of dates from Aghár, and, getting every thing ready, roused our spirits for the contemplation of novelties and the encountering of difficulties; for the latter could certainly not be wanting where the former were at hand.

Wednesday, June 19th. While the greater part of the caravan took the direct road to the well Sháraba, Mr. Overweg and I, with the remainder, chose the road to Tessáwa, or, rather, more accurately, Tasáwa; but, though our party formed but a small body of people, yet it presented a very animated spectacle. The lazy Arab mode of letting the camels go singly, as they like, straggling about right and left, strains and fatigues the traveler's attention; but his mind is stimulated and nerved to

the contemplation of great distances to be traversed when he sees a long line of camels attached one to the other, and led by a man at a steady pace without any halt or interruption. As for myself, riding my own méheri, I was quite at liberty to go before or fall behind, just as the circumstances of the road called for observation, or presented something worthy of attention.

Having passed some tolerably deep sand-hills accumulated in the wadi, we obtained a sight of an advanced spur of the plantation of Aghár to our left, when the ground became firm and the country more open. Then, keeping along the southern border of the principal plantation, we passed the village and our former camping-ground, and having left farther on some deserted villages and a few scattered huts of palm-leaves, still inhabited, a little on one side, about noon we again entered a sandy region with a few detached palm-groups. Here I observed a specimen of a very rare sort of bifurcated or divided palm-tree (not the dúm, which is generally so), with two distinct tufts hanging down on the opposite sides: this is the only specimen I ever saw. We then passed the village of Tasáwa,* which, with its clay walls and towers, looks much more considerable from afar than it appears when viewed from among the deserted houses within it; still it is one of the more wealthy and important places of the country. A little beyond it we encamped on the open sandy ground, when, as our small tent had by mistake gone on in advance, and our large tent was too bulky to be pitched for one night's rest, we contrived a very tolerable airy shade with our carpets.

We had scarcely made ourselves comfortable when we received the joyful news that Hatíta, with two sons of Sháfo, had just arrived from Ghát, and were about to call on us. Their arrival, of course, had now become a matter of the utmost importance, as Mr. Richardson had made his mind up not to start without them, though it might have been clear, to every one well acquainted with the state of things in the interior, that their pro-

* This is evidently a Central African name, and appears to belong to the original black population of Fezzán. But it seems to stand in some sort of relationship to Asáwa, the name of one of the original seats of the Aurághen.

tection could not be the least guarantee for our favorable reception and success in the country of Aïr or Asben, inhabited and governed by an entirely distinct tribe. And, on the other hand, the arrival of these chiefs made our relation to Mohammed Bóro extremely disagreeable; for, after waiting so long for us, he now clearly saw that Mr. Gagliuffi, in declaring that we relied entirely on him for success, while we were, in fact, placing ourselves wholly at the disposal of the chiefs of Ghát, was only trifling with him. He therefore flew into a violent passion, threatening openly before the people that he would take care that we should be attacked on the road by his countrymen; and these were not empty threats.

After a hot day followed a very fine evening, with a beautifully-clear moonlight; and cherishing the fervent hope that, with the assistance of the Almighty, I should succeed in my dangerous undertaking, I lay down in the open encampment, and listened with hearty sympathy to the fervent prayers of the Tinýlkum, which, in melodious cadence, and accompanied with the sound há, há, sometimes in a voice of thunder, at others in a melancholy, unearthly plaint, were well adapted to make a deep impression upon the mind, the tall palm-trees forming majestic groups, and giving a fanciful character to the landscape in the calm moonlight.

It is a remarkable fact that, while the Mohammedan religion in general is manifestly sinking to corruption along the coast, there are ascetic sects rising up in the interior which unite its last zealous followers by a religious band. The particular sect to which belong the Tinýlkum, who in general are Máleki, has been founded by Mohammed el Médani, who established a sort of convent or oratory (zawíya) near Masráta, and endowed it with a certain extent of landed property, from the produce of which he fed many pilgrims. The best feature of this creed is the abolition of the veneration of dead saints, which has sullied in so high a degree the purity of Islám. Mohammed el Médani is said to have died a short time ago; but his son continues the pious establishment.* It is a sort of freemasonry, and promises

* From what Major Burton says in his "Pilgrimage," vol. ii., p. 390, it would

to make a great many proselytes. I am not one of those who think it a sign of progress when Mohammedans become indifferent to the precepts of their religion, and learn to indulge in drinking and such things; for I have not given up my belief that there is a vital principle in Islám, which has only to be brought out by a reformer in order to accomplish great things.

In Tasáwa also reside a few Tinýlkum, who, however, have been intimately intermixed with the Arabs, while the others in general keep their blood pure, and do not intermarry with the people of Fezzán.

Having assured ourselves that, owing to the arrival of the Tawárek chiefs, we should have to make some stay here, we determined to pitch our large tent early the next morning, while the chiefs had a long dispute with Mohammed e' Sfaksi, the subject of which I must relate, as it throws some light on the history and the present state of this country. The northern Tawárek, when they occupied the country round Ghát, established a sort of tribute, or gheráma, to be paid by merchants passing through their territory, and on payment of which the trader should be no further molested, but enjoy full protection. At that time the Masráta—a section of a very powerful Berber tribe—had made, as we shall see, a colonial settlement in A'gades, and, owing to their great power, commercial activity, and near connection with the Tawárek, were considered wholly exempt from any tribute, while the inhabitants of Tunis, who seem to have excited the jealousy or hostility of the great lords of the desert, were subjected to the highest personal exaction, viz., ten dollars a head. Now Gagliuffi's partner was a native of Sfákes; but, having long resided in Masráta, he insisted upon being free from tribute, like the inhabitants of the latter place; but our friends were not to be cheated out of their right, and made him pay as a Tunisian.

Having settled this little business, they came to us. There were Hatíta Inek (the son of) Khóden of the Manghásatangh, Utaeti (the eldest son of Sháfo), a younger son of the latter, and

appear that Mohammed Ibn 'Abdallah e' Snúsi, which is his full name, is still living.

several more. The first, who had enjoyed the friendship of Captain Lyon, behaved throughout like a man well acquainted with Europeans; but Utaeti conducted himself like a strict Tarki, neither showing his face nor speaking a single word. Hatíta expressed the wish that we should not proceed until he returned from Múrzuk, where he assured us he would remain but a short time; and we engaged to do our best to keep back the camel-drivers, who were but little inclined to stay here long.

In consequence of this state of things, I determined to return to the town, in order to ascertain the terms entered into between the parties; and accordingly, starting at five in the evening, and resting a few minutes after midnight in Zerghán, I reached Múrzuk on Friday morning at seven o'clock. I found that Mr. Gagliuffi had been very ill during the hot weather of the last few days, but to-day he was fortunately a little better.

Having waited in vain for the chiefs the whole of Saturday, we received a visit from them on Sunday, when they appeared in the finery with which they had been dressed by Mustapha Bey, but would not come to any terms; and it was not till Monday, when they took up their residence in the house belonging formerly to Mukni, but now to the Wakíl of Borno, that they concluded an arrangement. The sum which they then received would have been moderate had they undertaken to see us safe under the protection of Annur, the chief of the Kél-owí. I urged, with Mr. Gagliuffi, the necessity of having a written copy of the agreement; but to this the chief would not listen, and thus confessed that there was really no distinct contract, as we had been given to understand, to the effect that Utaeti should not leave us till he had committed us to the care of the chief Annur.

This business being concluded, I was in great haste to return to Tasáwa; and starting immediately afterward, at one o'clock in the afternoon, arrived at our tent a little before midnight. Our tent, indeed, was still there; but all the Tinýlkum (Músa alone excepted) and all our things were gone on, and Overweg and I were obliged to follow the next day, without waiting for Mr. Richardson.

Accordingly, on the 25th of June we left Tasáwa, and, after having crossed some sand-hills, entered upon harder soil, with ethel-bushes crowning the little hills, the whole scene making the impression that a considerable current of water had at one period flowed along here and carried away the soil, which had once extended to the top of the hills. The whole district, which is a narrow and very long strip of land, affording a little herbage for cattle and sheep, bears the name of Wadi Aberjúsh or Berjúsh, and soon exhibits a more pleasant character; the encircling borders increase a little in height, while the sand ceases and a great deal of herbage begins to cover the soil. But after about another hour's march we entered upon pebbly ground like that of the Hammáda, and continued descending through a bare country till we reached the well Sháraba, where we encamped a little to the north, near a talha-bush. It is an open well, only three feet below the surface of the ground, which here forms a very remarkable hollow, almost six hundred feet below the level of Múrzuk, but nevertheless contains water only for two or three months in the year. It is, however, evident that, in case of heavy rains, a large pond or lake must be temporarily formed here by the torrent, which, sweeping along Wadi Berjúsh, finds no outlet.

Toward evening the locality was enlivened for a short time by a small slave-caravan, led by Mohammed Trumba or 'Akerút, an active, energetic man, whom I met several times in the course of my travels, and incurred some obligation toward him, as it was he who, on my setting out from Zinder to Timbúktu in the beginning of 1853, brought me a supply of one thousand dollars, without which I could scarcely have succeeded in my undertaking. He had come in only sixty-five days from Zinder, and thirty-three from Asben, having been obliged to pursue his journey as fast as possible, because, owing to the expedition of the Kél-owí against the Welád Slimán, provisions were very scarce in Asben. He estimated the number of fighting men who had gone on that expedition at seven thousand, and stated that the Tawárek were acting in concert with the Dáza, a tribe of Tébu, whose real name is Búlgudá. He stated that E'

Núr (or Annur, as the name is pronounced), the chief of the Kél-owí, was at present in Tasáwa (that is to say, the town of that name on the borders of Negroland), but would soon return to Asben. He confirmed the report of plenty of rain having fallen in the desert, in consequence of which the wells were full; but he begged me to beware of the cold during the nights, which he represented as very intense. He had twenty-three female slaves with him and only five camels, and hastened on to Tasáwa, in order to obtain dates for his famished people.

Wednesday, June 26th. Owing to the camels having strayed, it was very late when we left our encampment, and entered a sort of flat valley, from which we ascended to a higher level. From this we obtained a distant glance, toward the W.S.W., of the ruins of a fortress called Kasr Sháraba, the history of which, as it is connected with the struggles of yore between the Tébu and the inhabitants of Fezzán, would be full of interest, if it could be made out distinctly. Toward noon the country wore a more genial aspect, being adorned with several groups of palm-trees. We had to go round a rather steep hill, about 350 feet high, from the summit of which I obtained an interesting view over the desert. The whole country presented a very irregular structure, and scarcely allowed the continuous line of the Wadi Berjúsh to be traced by the eye, hills of considerable height and black pebbly tracts succeeding each other. Over such a desert we continued our march, until, late in the afternoon, we reached a spot where the sight of a true wadi, full of herbage and bordered by a strip of talha-trees, gladdened our hearts, and we encamped. It was a pleasant open ground, and the night being cool and refreshing, we felt very much invigorated when we rose the next morning to continue our march.

The talha-trees continued, but the herbage was principally limited to resú, an herb which has a very strong taste, and is not relished by camels for any length of time. The green strip took an irregular, winding course, sometimes approaching the sand-hills which we had always on our left at a certain distance, sometimes keeping more to our right; and Músa, our grave but cheerful camel-driver, dwelt in terms of the highest praise on

the great superiority of this wadi, which, he said, is joined by as many as a hundred smaller branches. It evidently forms the natural high road between Fezzán and the western desert, and about a month ago must have exhibited a more varied aspect, enlivened as it then was by a considerable torrent sweeping along it. In the afternoon we saw several spots where the eddying stream had formed itself a bed about five feet deep, and had turned up the ground all around; the crust of mire which covered the bed of the torrent had not yet dried. We encamped on a pleasant spot called Hamáwa, without pitching our tent, so delighted were we to enjoy the fresh air of the desert. Here we were joined by a man from Tasáwa, who wanted to seize a debtor, who had attached himself to Bóro's party in order to make his escape into Sudán—a practice very common with the people of Fezzán.

By repeated measuring with our chain, we had found that, on tolerably even ground, our ordinary rate as the Tawárek travel was half an English geographical mile in thirteen minutes. It is the general custom of these people, who do not allow their camels to feed on the march, to leave them the whole night on the pasture, and not to fetch them till morning, for which reason they never start very early, and often at a rather late hour.

Friday, June 28th. About an hour after we had begun our march along the line of green herbage, we came to a temporary well called Ahitsa,* containing very fine rain-water, but only for a period of about two months in the year. Having filled two of our water-skins, we continued our march, and soon, to our great joy, got sight of two white tents belonging the one to Mohammed Bóro, the other to Mohammed e' Sfaksi, and pointing out to us the encampment of the caravan. It had been pitched on open ground, in the midst of the strip of green herbage, and surrounded with a rich border of talha-trees. The place offered good pasture for the camels; and a small encampment of other Tinýlkum, not belonging to our caravan, but merely pasturing

* The commencing vowel-sound "a" is generally inaudible, at least by a strange ear, if the word be not very distinctly spoken; but nevertheless it is characteristic of these Tawárek names.

their camels and goats here, had been formed near the trees. The whole presented an animated picture. Our camel-drivers are said to possess, in the sand-hills bordering this valley on the south side, considerable stores of dates and corn, and to have taken from thence their supplies for the road. The whole character of this landscape appeared to me so peculiar that, the following morning before we started, I made a sketch of it from the elevated stony ground to the north of the channel, which here exhibited evident traces of a small waterfall formed by the heavy rains. Stones had been laid here in the form of a circle as a place of prayer. The whole valley was about four miles broad; the locality is called Tesémmak.

When we started next morning we formed a tolerably large

party, with sixty-two camels, which were arranged in four strings, one of which consisted of thirty-three animals, each fastened to the tail of the preceding one. The valley was enlivened by a small herd of gazelles, which Overweg and I tried for a moment to pursue. Having passed a well called Tafiyúk, at a place where the sand-hills jut out into the valley, we encamped

about half an hour beyond, near another well containing rain-water for a short time of the year, and called Em-éneza. Two branches of the wadi unite here; and distinct traces of the great force of the last torrent remained in the broken condition of the ground.

Here we remained encamped for the two following days, in order to allow Mr. Richardson and the Azkár chiefs to come up. I spent the time sometimes writing and studying, at others roving about or musing while seated on some elevated rocks at the border of the rising ground. Musa was our constant visitor, and gave us all the information required, though he was not very intelligent. There had been some small differences between us and our camel-drivers, who, though in other respects not uncouth or uncivil, had, from religious principles, sometimes assumed a rather hostile position toward us. We now effected a general reconciliation, and there was every reason to believe that we should go on well with them.

Tuesday, July 2d. Being informed that our companions were near, we moved on a little, and at length got out of the eternal Wadi Aberjúsh, with all its little side-branches, which are divided from the main wadi by a gently-rising ground covered with black pebbles. Then after a little we reached the Wadi Eláwen, forming a broad depression running from the north, where it is joined by several branch channels descending from the plateau toward the sand-hills on the south, and encamped on its western side, between tall sebót shooting up from the sandy ground, and near some fine talha-trees. We soon discovered, to our great delight, that only two hundred paces above our encampment, the floods, descending from the higher ground in two large branches, and carrying down with them bushes and brush-wood in abundance, had formed a pond at present about 100 feet long and 50 feet broad, which contributed greatly to enliven the district. All the world was bathing and playing about the water; and flights of thirsty birds, of the kinds *Numida* and *Pterocles*, were hovering about, watching a favorable moment to come in for their share. Every where in the bottom of the valley there was water at a little depth; and we obtained ex-

cellent potations from a well dug by our people close below our tents.

About five o'clock in the afternoon we were at length joined by Mr. Richardson and the chiefs of the Azkár; but the unsatisfactory way in which the business had been concluded with these chiefs in Múrzuk led to a break-up sooner even than I had suspected. The next evening Hatíta summoned us to a divan, and declared distinctly that he required a month's time to make the necessary preparations for the journey to Aïr. Hence it would be necessary for us to separate from the caravan, and, taking our luggage with us to Ghát, to hire or buy other camels there. In reply to this unjust and absurd demand, we declared that we had no other choice but to follow the direct Sudán road in the company of the caravan, and that it was our firm intention, at any rate, not to lose more than seven days in Ghát. Hatíta having left us rather dissatisfied at our decision, our servants, who would gladly have idled away one or two months in Ghát as they had done in Múrzuk, insolently told us that we were very much mistaken in thinking that the road to Aïr was in any degree open to us, for it would first be necessary to send a courier to ask the permission of the chiefs of that country to enter it, and we must wait for the answer.

While remaining firm in our resolution, we of course consented to go to Ghát, and tried at the same time to come to some final arrangement with our camel-drivers, promising them a small allowance for every day they should wait for us. They at length promised to spend ten days on the way to Arikím, a well three days' march south from Ghát, where they would wait six days, and then go on directly to Aïr. Attacking the old chief, therefore, on his weakest side, we sent him word the next morning that, as we had but little money with us, he would not succeed in getting any thing of value from us if he should try to keep us in Ghát for any length of time; and I insisted, with Yusuf Mukni, upon the dishonesty of the chief's conduct in trying to make an entirely new bargain after he had got all he demanded. His answer was satisfactory; and with the fervent hope that we should not be baffled in our attempt to discover

new regions and new tribes of men, we left the further development of the affair to time.

While these disputes were going on, I employed my leisure hours in roving about our encampment, in different directions, up and down the valley. The eastern of the two branches, which by their junction form the valley, was peculiarly rich in herbage, and commanded by a hill starting up from the plateau, which afforded a very interesting view around, though this was almost surpassed by the prospect from a mound a little to the W.S.W. of our tent. The lower part of the valley was more diversified by numerous branches, which joined it on the S.E. side. One of these, which was bordered by high ridges of sandstone, was evidently a favorite play-ground of the gazelles, the fresh footmarks of which checkered its sandy bottom like a net. Pursuing this direction, I approached the sand-hills which form the southern border of this whole district.

Fatigued by my long walk, I was the more able in the evening to do full justice to our supper, which was diversified by a variety of birds that had been shot in the course of the day near the pond.

CHAPTER IX.

SINGULAR SCULPTURES IN THE DESERT.—THE MOUNTAIN PASS.

June 5th. WE had to separate from the Tinýlkum and from our luggage without having any certainty as to where and when we might overtake them. The chiefs of Ghát, too, had started in advance. The country had been rising all the way from Wadi Sháraba, which seems to form the lowest point in this whole region, and we ascended to-day very considerably. Pushing on in advance of our little troop, and passing a small caravan which was laden with provisions and merchandise belonging to the pilgrim-caravan of the Tawáti, I soon came up with Hatíta and his companions. They were civil and kind; but the old friend of the English, who had an eye to a new marriage

with some pretty Amóshagh girl some forty or fifty years younger than himself, gave me sundry expressive hints that I should spare him something of my outfit—either a pair of pistols, or a carpet, or a bernús, or any other little article. My refusal in no wise rendered him uncivil. While he was riding by my side, I took the opportunity of making a slight sketch of him, his

English gun, the gift of some previous traveler, forming a striking contrast to his large shield of antelope hide, ornamented with a cross. Having crossed another valley of some extent, we descended into Wadi Elghom-udé (the Valley of the Camel), which, richly clothed with herbage, forms an inlet in the stony plateau from north to south, and has a very cheerful aspect. The encampment, spread over a great extent of ground, formed quite an ethnographical museum, comprising as it did six distinct small caravan-troops from different parts of Africa, and even of Europe.

Saturday, June 6th. A splendid morning, cool and fresh. We were happy to meet a small caravan coming from Sudán, which brought us some important pieces of news: first, that they had come to Ghát in the company of five men belonging to the family of A'nnur (the chief of the Kél-owí), who, after a short stay, would return to their country; and, secondly, that the expedition of the Kél-owí had returned from Kánem, after having totally annihilated the Welád Slimán. They brought with them seventeen slaves, among whom were fifteen females, one with a very engaging countenance. After less than three

miles' march, our companions looked about in the Wadi Telí-saghé for a camping-ground. The valley proved of more than ordinary interest. It was hemmed in by steep cliffs of rock, and adorned with some fine talha-trees. With no great reluctance we followed the Tawárek chiefs, who kept along its steep western border, and at length chose the camping-ground at a spot where a western branch joins the principal wadi. Scarcely had we pitched our tents when we became aware that the valley contained some remarkable sculptures deserving our particular attention.

The spot where we had pitched our tents afforded a very favorable locality for commemorating any interesting events, and the sandstone blocks which studded it were covered with drawings representing various subjects, more or less in a state of preservation. With no pretensions to be regarded as finished sculptures, they are made with a firm and heavy hand, well accustomed to such work, and, being cut to a great depth, bore a totally different character from what is generally met with in these tracts.

The most interesting sculpture represented the following subject, the description of which I am unfortunately able at present to accompany with only an imperfect woodcut, as the draw-

TELÍSAGHÉ.

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ing which I made of it on the spot was forwarded by me to England to Mr. Birch, the celebrated Egyptian archæologist, and seems to have been mislaid.

The sculpture represents a group of three individuals, of the following character and arrangement: To the left is seen a tall human figure, with the head of a peculiar kind of bull, with long horns turned forward and broken at the point; instead of the right arm he has a peculiar organ terminating like an oar, while in the left hand he carries an arrow and a bow—at least such is the appearance, though it might be mistaken for a shield: between his legs a long tail is seen hanging down from his slender body. The posture of this figure is bent forward, and all its movements are well represented. Opposite to this curious individual is another of not less remarkable character, but of smaller proportions, entirely human as far up as the shoulders, while the head is that of an animal which reminds us of the Egyptian ibis, without being identical with it. The small pointed head is furnished with three ears, or with a pair of ears and some other excrescence, and beyond with a sort of hood (which, more than any other particular, recalls the idea of Egyptian art), but it is not furrowed; over the fore part of the head is a round line representing some ornament, or perhaps the basilisc. This figure likewise has a bow in its right hand, but, as it would seem, no arrow, while the left hand is turned away from the body.

Between these two half-human figures, which are in a hostile attitude, is a bullock, small in proportion to the adjacent lineaments of the human figure, but chiseled with the same care and the same skillful hand, with the only exception that the feet are omitted, the legs terminating in points, a defect which I shall have occasion to notice also in another sculpture. There is another peculiarity about this figure, the upper part of the bull, by some accident, having been hollowed out, while in general all the inner part between the deeply-chiseled outlines of these sculptures is left in high relief. The animal is turned with its back toward the figure on the right, whose bow it seems about to break. The block on which it was sculptured was about

four feet in breadth and three in height. It was lying loose on the top of the cliff.

No barbarian could have graven the lines with such astonishing firmness, and given to all the figures the light, natural shape which they exhibit. The Romans, who had firmly established their dominion as far as Garama, or Jerma, might easily have sent emissaries to this point and even further; but the sculptures have nothing in them of a Roman character. Some few particulars call to mind the Egyptian sculptures. But, on the whole, it seems to be a representation of a subject taken from the native mythology, executed by some one who had been in intimate relation with the more advanced people on the coast, perhaps with the Carthaginians. Be this as it may, it is scarcely doubted that the subject represents two divinities disputing over a sacrifice, and that the figure at the left is intended for the victor.

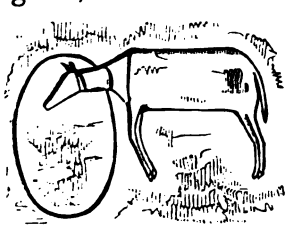
On the cliff itself there is another sculpture on a large block, which, now that the western end is broken off, is about twelve feet long and five feet high. The surface of the block is quite smooth, protected as it has been, in some degree, by the block above, which projects considerably; nevertheless, the sculpture has suffered a good deal. It bears testimony to a state of life very different from that which we are accustomed to see now in these regions, and illustrates and confirms Saint Augustine's* statement, that the ancient kings of this country made use of bulls for their conveyance. It represents a dense group of oxen in a great variety of positions, but all moving toward the right, where probably, on the end of the stone which is now broken off, the pond or well was represented from which the beasts were to be watered. Some of these bulls are admirably executed, and with a fidelity which can scarcely be accounted for, unless we suppose that the artist had before his eyes the animals which he chiseled. My sketch gives only a faint idea of the design, which is really beautiful. The only defect, as I

* Augustin., Op., vol. xvi., p. 526, ed. Bassan.: "Garamantum regibus tauri placuerunt.

have already remarked above, is in the feet, which, from some reason or other, have been negligently treated.

If we consider that the sculpture described is close to a watering-place on the high road to Central Africa, we are reduced to the conjecture that at that time cattle were not only common in this region, but even that they were the common beasts of burden instead of the camel, which we here look for in vain. Not only has the camel no place among these sculptures, but even among the rude outlines which at a much later period have been made on the blocks around, representing buffaloes, ostriches, and another kind of birds, there are no camels; and it is a well-known fact that the camel was introduced into the western part of Northern Africa at a much later period.*

There was a similar group on another block of this interesting cliff, but too much effaced to allow the particulars to be distinguished; but the figure of an ass among the oxen was quite clear, as well as that of a horse, which was, however, ill drawn. Not far off, Overweg found another sculptured stone representing, as the annexed sketch shows, an ox jumping through



* See my Wanderings along the Shore of the Mediterranean, vol. i., p. 5, ff.

It is, however, to be remarked, that even now, when the quantity of water all over the ancient world has certainly decreased a great deal, oxen are sometimes used on this Sudán road by way of Ghát soon after the rains. I have been assured that in 1847 or 1848 the well-known Tébu Haj Abérma traveled with oxen from Kanó as far as Ghát, about the time of the 'Aïd el kebír—that is to say, in the month of December—the oxen being watered every second day.

or falling into a ring or hoop, which I should suppose to have an allegorical meaning, or to represent a sacrifice, rather than, as Mr. Richardson thought, to represent any games of the circus. There was a circle regularly laid with large blocks of rock at the southwestern slope of the cliff: these, I should suspect, belong to the same period as the sculptures before mentioned.

To a later period belong innumerable inscriptions in Tefinagh, with which the cliffs on the other side of the valley and overhanging the water-pond are covered. These are mere scribblings, and are interesting merely as they serve to render evident, by contrast, the superior merit and age of the adjacent sculptures. It appeared to me remarkable that on this side, where the water now principally collects, not a single drawing should be seen; and I formed the conclusion that in more ancient times the water collected in the other side.

The valley is formed by the junction of two branches coming from the north, of which the western is the more considerable, being joined by some smaller wadis. Just at the place of our encampment it changed its direction, and extended from W. to E., having run in its upper course from N.W. to S.E. After the junction the valley runs from N. to S., and loses for a moment almost the character of a wadi while running over pebbly ground; but it soon becomes once more well bordered and adorned with fine groups of talha-trees, and in some places exhibits a river-bed eight feet deep, and still wet. Near a shepherd's cave there was a very luxuriant tree, under whose shade I lay down. Toward evening the pilgrim-caravan of Haj 'Abd el Káder, which had delayed so long in the wadi, arrived. The whole valley resounded with the cries of the men and their camels, who were all eagerly pressing toward the pond at the foot of the steep cliffs. Fortunately, we had already laid in a supply of water, else we should not have been able to obtain any fit to drink.

Sunday, July 7th. Owing to the camels having strayed to a great distance, we started at a late hour, still leaving the Tawárek chiefs behind, who wanted to settle some business with

the Tawáti, and, for this purpose, had changed their dirty traveling-dress for showy caftans and bernúses. We ascended the higher level, and continued along it, crossing some small beds of water-courses overgrown with herbage, till, after a little more than four miles, we had to descend into a deep and wild ravine which led us to a vale. Having again ascended, we then came to the wide and regular valley called Erazar-n-Hágarné, bordered by steep cliffs from 150 to 200 feet high, and richly clothed with herbage. Following the windings of this large wadi, which evidently has received its name from the circumstance that the Hogár or Hágara pasture their camels chiefly hereabouts, we reached the point where it is joined by the valley called A'man sémmedné, and encamped near a fine talha-tree in order to allow Hatíta to come up. This valley has its name from the cold water which at times descends from the plateau in floods, of which the deeply-worn channel bears evident traces; it is joined at this place by an important branch-valley and several smaller ravines.

When the heat of the sun began to decline, I took a walk through the valley; and being attracted by a circle laid out very regularly with large slabs like the opening of a well, I began to ascend the steep cliffs opposite the mouth of the valley of A'man sémmedné, rising to a height of about 500 feet, and which, as I clearly saw, had been repeatedly ascended. The cliffs are here, as is usual in this formation, broken into regular strata, and steep flat blocks standing upright give them an imposing appearance. My search here, however, led only to the discovery of the well-chiseled form of a single bullock, in exactly the same style as that in Wadi Telísaghé, though it had suffered a little from its exposed situation; but the whole appearance of the locality shows that in former times it contained more of this kind. On the plain above the cliffs is another circle regularly laid out, and, like the many circles seen in Cyrenaica and in other parts of Northern Africa, evidently connected with the religious rites of the ancient inhabitants of these regions. Quartz pebbles were scattered about this part of the valley.

Our people, meanwhile, had been busy laying in provision of dry herbage for the next marches, during which we were told our camels would scarcely find any thing to feed upon; and our Tawárek friends, when they at length arrived for their supper, did the same.

Monday, July 8th. The caravan of the Tawáti having passed by our encampment at an early hour, we followed betimes, having an interesting day's march before us. For the first three miles we still kept along the large valley, into which masses of sand had been driven down from the plateau by the strong east winds; farther on it became dry and bare. To this succeeded an irregular knot of hollows and plains between the sides of the plateau, which, in some places, formed imposing promontories and detached buttresses, all on one and the same level. We then began to ascend along a sort of broad valley, which gradually assumed a regular shape, and bore the name of Tísi. The slope of the plateau was shaped into regular strata, the uppermost of which form steep precipices like the walls of a castle; the lower ones slope down more gradually. Here we discovered ahead of us, at the foot of the southern slope, the encampment of the pilgrim-caravan, who were resting during the heat of the day. We continued our march, always ascending, till a little after noon we reached the edge of the pass, a perfect water-shed, of more than 2000 feet elevation, descending more gradually toward the east as far as the well of Sháraba, while toward the west it formed a steep precipice, passable only along a most interesting gully cut into it by the water toward the Valley of Ghát. The higher level, which rises above the pass about 300 feet, seems to be considerably depressed in this place, where it collects large floods of water, such as could alone cut the remarkably wild passage through the sandstone cliffs which we were about to descend: it is called Rálle.

The first part of it was more rough than wild, and the cliffs of the sandstone rather rugged and split than precipitous and grand; but after half an hour's descent it bore evident traces of the waters that descend from the heights, and which, being here collected into one mighty stream, with enormous power

force their way down through a narrow channel. The defile was here encompassed by rocky walls about a hundred feet high, half of which consisted of sandstone, while the other half was formed by a thick deposit of marl; and a little farther down it was not more than six feet wide, and the floor and the walls were as smooth as if they had been cut by the hand of man; but the course of the defile was rather winding and not at all in a straight line, forming altogether a pass easily to be defended by a very small power, and affording the Tawárek a stronghold against any designs of conquest on the side of the Turks, although it does not form the frontier, but is regarded as entirely belonging to Fezzán. At the narrowest point Tawárek, as well as Arab travelers, had recorded their names.

Where the channel began to widen, there were some curious narrow gaps or crevices on both sides, the one to the right, with its smooth rounded surface, bearing a great similarity to the famous Ear of Dionysius in Syracuse. The walls contained strata of chalk and ironstone, and Overweg found here some interesting petrifactions. The crevice to the left was less deep, and rather resembled a cell or chamber.

Having here waited some time for the boat to come up, we started together, but had still to get through two more narrow passes of the wadi, and at four o'clock in the afternoon entered another very narrow defile, the steep cliffs forming it being covered with inscriptions. At length, after a descent of altogether four hours, we emerged into the open plain some 600 feet below, and had a wide view of the high precipitous cliffs of the plateau, stretching out in several buttresses into the plain, which is interrupted only by detached hills. Among these was a rather remarkable one upon a terrace-like base, and opening with three caverns toward the road side. Ascending the terrace, I found the westernmost of the caverns vaulted, as if by art, in the shape of a large niche, but it was a little filled with sand; I found, however, no inscriptions, nor any thing but four round holes, about nine inches in diameter, hollowed out in a slab on the terrace in front of the cavern. Beyond this hill, where Hatíta told us that he had once passed the heat of the

day with 'Abd Allah (Clapperton) and the tabíb (Oudney), the country is quite open toward the north. About sunset we encamped in the deep Erazar-n-Tése; there were a few talha-trees and some herbage.

The following day our route lay over the dreary plain, where nothing but the varied form of the rocky buttresses projecting from the plateau into the plain interrupted the monotony of the prospect. Near the slope the country seems a little less desolate, and the valley Támelelt, which extends between two of the promontories, has even a great reputation among the natives. In the afternoon we entered a sandy region, when we began to ascend gradually till we reached the summit of the sand-hills. We then continued on the higher level, where chalk protruded to the surface. After a long march, we encamped on stony ground covered only with a scanty growth of sebót.

On the 10th we descended a good deal from this higher ground. At first the descent was gradual, but beyond the valley In-kássewa, which, running through high rocky ground, is not so poor in herbage, we descended about two hundred feet by steep terraces, having before us the peculiarly serrated crest of the Akakús, and in front of it some lower offshoots covered with sand. The bottom of the plain was a broad and entirely naked level, with hard calcareous soil, surrounded by irregular, half-decayed hilly ridges. It forms the boundary between Fezzán and the country of the Hogár. The character of the country underwent no change till we reached the valley Telíga, where, at an early hour in the afternoon, we encamped near a group of talha-trees, not far from the well, and remained for the next two days at an elevation of 1435 feet.

The valley is very shallow, now and then interrupted by some sand-hills, and adorned with some fine specimens of the ethel-tree, while broad strips of herbage cover the more favored spots. It runs N.W., nearly parallel with the range of the Akakús, which remained at a distance of three miles. It joins the valley Ilághlaghén, which again unites with the Titábtarén, and this valley runs toward a favored spot called Sérdales, which we were unfortunately prevented from visiting, as Hatíta thought

we should be annoyed by the begging propensities of the people. Copious springs, from which the whole locality takes the name of El Awenát, irrigate and fertilize the soil, and support a village of about the same size as Tigger-odé, inhabited by about a hundred families, while in the gardens corn, melons, and ghédeb are produced in tolerable quantity. The water of the springs is said to be warm. We saw a party of Hágara from that place, who called on our friends. They were fine men, and neatly dressed.

The water of our well was not very good; from being at first discolored, it gradually acquired a taste like that of ink, and when boiled with tea became entirely black. Late in the evening, our best and most steady servant, Mohammed, from Gatrón, was wounded, but whether stung by a scorpion or bitten by a snake he knew not, and was much alarmed. We applied spirits of hartshorn to the wound; but he was very ill for the next twenty-four hours, and totally disabled, so that we were obliged to bind him on the camel during the next day's march.

Saturday, July 13th. There had been much talk for some days to the effect that we travelers, together with Hatíta, should take the nearer but more difficult road to Ghát, across the range, while our luggage should go by the longer but smoother road round the mountains; but it was at length decided that we should all go by the longer road, and none but the Sfaksi, who was anxious to overtake the caravan as soon as possible, took the more difficult path, which, for geological observations, might have proved the more interesting. Going sometimes on pebbly, at others on sandy ground, after five miles we reached the shallow valley Ilághlaghén, running from east to west, and handsomely overgrown with bushes; and after another stretch of about the same length, we entered the range of mountains, consisting of remarkably cragged and scarred rocks, with many narrow defiles. Altogether it presented a very curious spectacle.

When the rocks assumed a smoother appearance, we suddenly descended into a deep ravine, which at the first glance appeared to be of a volcanic nature, but, on closer inspection, all the black

rocks composing these dismal-looking cliffs proved to consist of sandstone blackened by the influence of the atmosphere: farther on it was disposed in regular strata very much like slate. The western and highest part of the range seems to consist of clay-slate. The valley changed its character in some degree after its junction with a side valley called Tipérkum, which bears distinct marks of great floods occasionally descending along its channel from the mountains. Here we collected some fire-wood, as we were told that farther on we should find none, and then entered a defile or glen with an ascent of about a hundred feet above the bottom of the valley. Beyond this the scene grew more open, and irregular plains, interrupted by steep buttresses, succeeded each other.

At half past four o'clock in the afternoon we had gradually begun to change our direction from N.W. by W. to S. The valley was bordered by a deep chasm and craggy mountain to the right, and a range of grotesque promontories toward the left, the slope of which was broken into a variety of terraces, with several cones rising from them. At length, turning round the edge of the mountain range, we entered the broad valley of Tánesof, having before us the isolated and castellated crest of Mount I'dinen, or Kasr Jenún, and on our left the long range of the Akakús, beautifully illuminated by the setting sun, and forming a sort of relief in various colors, the highest precipitous crest, with its castles and towers, being white, while the lower slope, which was more gradual and rugged, disclosed regular strata of red marl. Toward the west, the valley, about five miles broad, was bordered by sand-hills, whence the sand was carried by the wind over its whole surface. We ourselves encamped at length on sandy soil without the least herbage, while at the distance of about two miles a strip of green was seen running along the valley.

Starting at an early hour the next day, we kept along the broad barren valley straight for the Enchanted Castle, which the fanciful reports of our companions had invested with great interest. Notwithstanding, or perhaps in consequence of, the warnings of the Tawárek not to risk our lives in so irreligious

SKETCH OF THE I'DINEN.

and perilous an undertaking as a visit to this dwelling of the demons, I made up my mind to visit it, convinced as I was that it was an ancient place of worship, and that it might probably contain some curious sculptures or inscriptions. Just at noon

the naked bottom of the valley began to be covered with a little herbage, when, after another mile, beyond a depression in the ground which had evidently at one time formed a considerable water-pond, talha-trees and ethel-bushes broke the monotony of the landscape, while between the sand-hills on our right a broad strip of green was seen coming from the westernmost corner of the I'dinen. Keeping still on for about five miles, we encamped in the midst of a shallow concavity of circular shape, surrounded by herbage, and near a large mound crowned by an ethel-tree. At some distance S.E. we had the well Táhala, the water of which proved very good.

As it was too late to visit the I'dinen to-day, I sat down in the shade of a fine talha and made the preceding sketch of it.

In the evening we received a visit from two men belonging to a caravan laden with merchandise of Ghadamsíyin (people of Ghadámes), which was said to have come, by the direct road through the wadi, in thirty days from Tripoli.

Monday, July 15th. This was a *dies ater* for me. Overweg and I had determined to start early in the morning for the remarkable mountain; but we had not been able to obtain from the Tawárek a guide to conduct us from thence to the next well, whither the caravan was to proceed by the direct road. Hatíta and Utaeti having again resisted all our solicitations for a guide, I at length, determined as I was to visit the mountain at any cost, started off in the confidence of being able to make out the well in the direction indicated to me. By ill luck, our provision of zummíta (a cool and refreshing paste on which we were accustomed to breakfast) was exhausted the day before, so that I was obliged to take with me dry biscuit and dates, the worst possible food in the desert when water is scarce.

But as yet I needed no stimulus, and vigorously pushed my way through the sand-hills, which afforded no very pleasant passage. I then entered a wide, bare, desolate-looking plain, covered with black pebbles, from which arose a few black mounds. Here I crossed the beginning of a *fiumara* richly overgrown with herbage, which wound along through the sand-hills toward the large valley-plain. It was the abode of a beautiful pair of

maraiya (*Antelope Soemmeringii*), which, probably anxious for their young ones, did not make off when roused by my approach, but stopped at a short distance, gazing at me and wagging their tails. Pursuing my way over the pebbly ground, which gradually rose till it was broken up by a considerable ravine descending from the western part of the mount, I disturbed another party of three antelopes, which were quietly lying down under the cover of some large blocks. At last I began to feel fatigued from walking over the sharp-pointed pebbles, as the distance proved to be greater than I had originally imagined, and I did not seem to have got much nearer to the foot of the Enchanted Mountain. In fact, it proved that the crest of the mount formed a sort of horse-shoe, so that its middle part, for which I had been steering all the time, in order to gain a depression which seemed to afford an easy ascent, was by far the remotest. I therefore changed my course and turned more eastward, but only met with more annoyance; for, ascending the slope which I hoped would soon convey me to the summit, I suddenly came to the steep precipice of a deep ravine, which separated me from the crest.

Being already fatigued, the disappointment, of course, depressed my spirits, and I had to summon all my resolution and energy in order to descend into the ravine and climb the other side. It was now past ten o'clock; the sun began to put forth its full power, and there was not the slighest shade around me. In a state of the utmost exhaustion I at length reached the narrow pinnacled crest, which was only a few feet broad, and exhibited neither inscriptions nor sculptures. I had a fine prospect toward the S.W. and N.E.; but I looked around in vain for any traces of our caravan. Though exposed to the full rays of the sun, I lay down on my high barbacan to seek repose; but my dry biscuit or a date was quite unpalatable, and being anxious about my little provision of water, I could only sip an insufficient draught from my small water-skin.

As the day advanced I got anxious lest our little band, thinking that I was already in advance, might continue their march in the afternoon, and, in spite of my weakness, determined to try

to reach the encampment. I therefore descended the ravine in order to follow its course, which, according to Hatíta's indications, would lead me in the direction of the well. It was very hot; and being thirsty, I swallowed at once the little water that remained. This was about noon; and I soon found that the draught of mere water, taken upon an empty stomach, had not at all restored my strength.

At length I reached the bottom of the valley. Hatíta had always talked as if they were to encamp at no great distance from the mountain; yet, as far as I could strain my view, no living being was to be seen. At length I became puzzled as to my direction, and, hurrying on as fast as my failing strength would allow, I ascended a mound crowned with an ethel-bush, and fired my pistols; but I waited in vain for an answer; a strong east wind was blowing dead against me. Reflecting a moment on my situation, I then crossed the small sand-hills, and, ascending another mound, fired again. Convinced that there could be nobody in this direction, at least at a moderate distance, I bethought myself that our party might be still behind, and, very unluckily, I kept more directly eastward.

The valley was here very richly overgrown with sebót; and, to my great delight, I saw at a distance some small huts attached to branches of the ethel-tree, covered on the top with sebót, and open in front. With joy in my heart I hastened on toward them, but found them empty; and not a living being was to be seen, nor was there a drop of water to be got.

My strength being now exhausted, I sat down on the naked plain, with a full view before me of the whole breadth of the wadi, and with some confidence expected the caravan. I even thought, for a moment, that I beheld a string of camels passing in the distance. But it was an illusion; and when the sun was about to set, not being able to muster strength enough to walk a few paces without sitting down, I had only to choose for my night's quarters between the deserted huts and an ethel-tree which I saw at a little distance. I chose the latter, as being on a more elevated spot, and therefore scrambled to the tree, which was of a respectable old age, with thick, tall branches, but al-

most leafless. It was my intention to light a fire, which promised almost certain deliverance; but I could not muster sufficient strength to gather a little wood. I was broken down and in a feverish state.

Having lain down for an hour or two, after it became quite dark I arose from the ground, and, looking around me, descried to my great joy a large fire S.W. down the valley, and, hoping that it might be that of my companions, I fired a pistol, as the only means of communicating with them, and listened as the sound rolled along, feeling sure that it would reach their ears; but no answer was returned. All remained silent. Still I saw the flame rising toward the sky, and telling where deliverance was to be found, without being able to avail myself of the signal. Having waited long in vain, I fired a second time—yet no answer. I lay down in resignation, committing my life to the care of the Merciful One; but it was in vain that I tried to sleep, and, restless and in a high fever, I tossed about on the ground, looking with anxiety and fear for the dawn of the next day.

At length the long night wore away, and dawn was drawing nigh. All was repose and silence; and I was sure I could not choose a better time for trying to inform my friends, by signal. of my whereabouts. I therefore collected all my strength, loaded my pistol with a heavy charge, and fired—once—twice. I thought the sound ought to awaken the dead from their tombs, so powerfully did it reverberate from the opposite range and roll along the wadi; yet no answer. I was at a loss to account for the great distance apparently separating me from my companions, who seemed not to have heard my firing.

The sun that I had half longed for, half looked forward to with terror, at last rose. My condition, as the heat went on increasing, became more dreadful, and I crawled around, changing every moment my position, in order to enjoy the little shade afforded by the leafless branches of the tree. About noon there was, of course, scarcely a spot of shade left—only enough for my head—and I suffered greatly from the pangs of thirst, although I sucked a little of my blood till I became senseless, and fell into

a sort of delirium, from which I only recovered when the sun went down behind the mountains. I then regained some consciousness, and crawled out of the shade of the tree, throwing a melancholy glance over the plain, when suddenly I heard the cry of a camel. It was the most delightful music I ever heard in my life; and, raising myself a little from the ground, I saw a mounted Tarki passing at some distance from me, and looking eagerly around. He had found my footsteps in the sandy ground, and losing them again on the pebbles, was anxiously seeking traces of the direction I had taken. I opened my parched mouth, and crying, as loud as my faint strength allowed, "áman, áman" (water, water), I was rejoiced to get for answer "íwah! íwah!" and in a few moments he sat at my side, washing and sprinkling my head, while I broke out involuntarily into an uninterrupted strain of "el hamdu lilláhi! el hamdu lilláhi!"

Having thus first refreshed me, and then allowed me a draught which, however, I was not able to enjoy, my throat being so dry, and my fever still continuing, my deliverer, whose name was Musa, placed me upon his camel, mounted himself in front of me, and brought me to the tents. They were a good way off. The joy of meeting again, after I had been already despaired of, was great; and I had to express my sincere thanks to my companions, who had given themselves so much trouble to find me. But I could speak but little at first, and could scarcely eat any thing for the next three days, after which I gradually recovered my strength. It is, indeed, very remarkable how quickly the strength of a European is broken in these climes, if for a single day he be prevented from taking his usual food. Nevertheless, I was able to proceed the next day (the 17th), when we kept more toward the slope of the Akakús, and here passed a broad lateral valley, rich in herbage, called A'dar-n-jelkum, after which we descended about a hundred feet from the pebbly ground into sandy soil forming a sort of valley called Ighelfannís, and full of ethel-trees and sebót. In such a locality we encamped two hours after noon, near splendid ethel-trees; but the strong north-easterly wind, enveloping ourselves and baggage in thick clouds of sand, banished all enjoyment.

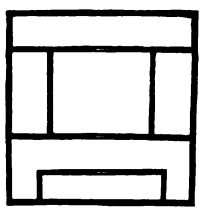
Thursday, July 18th. We continued our march with the sure expectation of soon reaching Ghát,* the second great station on our journey. The valley after some time became free from ethel-trees, and opened a view of the little town, situated at the north-western foot of a rocky eminence jutting out into the valley, and girt by sand-hills on the west. Its plantation extends in a long strip toward S.S.W., while another group, formed by the plantation and by the noble-looking mansion of Háj Ahmed, appears toward the west. Here we were joined by Mohammed Sherif, a nephew of Háj Ahmed, in a showy dress, and well mounted on a horse; and we separated from Hatíta in order to take our way round the north side of the hill, so as to avoid exciting the curiosity and importunity of the townspeople. But a good many boys came out of the town, and exhibited quite an interesting scene as they recognized Yakúb (Mr. Richardson), who had visited this place on his former journey. Many people came out to see us, some offering us their welcome, others remaining indifferent spectators.

Thus we reached the new plantation of Háj Ahmed, the governor, as he is called, of Ghát, and found, at the entrance of the out-building which had been destined for our use, the principal men of the town, who received us with great kindness and politeness. The most interesting among them was Háj Ahmed himself, a man of grave and dignified manners, who, although a stranger to the place and a native of Tawát, has succeeded, through his address and his mercantile prosperity, in obtaining for himself here an almost princely position, and has founded in reality a new town, with large and splendid improvements, by the side of the old city. His situation as governor of Ghát, in reference, and in some degree in opposition to the Tawárek chiefs, is a very peculiar one, and requires, on his part, a good deal of address, patience, and forbearance. I am convinced that

* If I were to give the real native sound, I should write Rhát rather than Ghát; and it is only from fear lest I might offend the ear of the English reader that I abstain from following this principle. The ghain of the Arabs has a double sound, sometimes as *gh*, at others as *rh*, and the latter prevails entirely in this part of Africa; and I do not see why we should not express this difference. For the same reason, I should prefer writing Sonrhay, and not Songhay or Sunghay.

when we first arrived he did not view us with displeasure, but, on the contrary, was greatly pleased to receive under his roof a mission of her Britannic majesty's government, with whose immense influence and power, and the noble purpose of whose policy he was not entirely unacquainted; but his extraordinary and precarious situation did not allow him to act freely, and, besides, I can not say that he received from us so warm an acknowledgment as his conduct in the first instance seemed to deserve.

Besides him, the chief parties in our first conversation were his nephew, Ahmed Mohammed Sherif (the man who came to meet us), a clever but forward lad, of pleasant manners—whom, in the course of my travels, I met several times in Sudán — and Mohammed Káfa, a cheerful, good-humored man.



Our quarters, of which the accompanying woodcut gives the ground-plan, were certainly neither airy nor agreeable; but the hot sand-wind which blew without made them appear to us quite tolerable.

CHAPTER X.

THE INDIGENOUS BERBER POPULATION.

THERE can be no doubt that even Fezzán, in ancient times, had a population entirely different from that dwelling near the coast; but the original black inhabitants of that country have been swept away, or mixed up entirely with the Arabs, who seem to have invaded this country not earlier than the 15th century of our era, for in Makrizi's time Fezzán was still a Berber country.* But few names now remain which evidently be-

* Makrizi, Hamaker Specim. Categ., p. 206. واهلها بربر بلد فزان. El Bekri, p. 455, already mentions Benu-Khaldún, besides the Fezzánah, as inhabitants of some places. On the same page this diligent author says expressly that the town of Zawíla was on the border of Negroland. We shall see, in the

speak a Central African origin, such as those terminating in *awa*, as Tasáwa or Tessáwa (a town already mentioned by Edrísi*), Portukawa, and others.

But in the country of Ghát, which we have now entered, the case is very different; for here the former state of things has not been so entirely altered as not to leave some unmistakable testimonies behind it.

All the original population of North Africa appear to have been a race of the Semitic stock, but who, by intermarriage with tribes which came from Egypt, or by way of it, had received a certain admixture. The consequence was, that several distinct tribes were produced, designated by the ancients as Libyans, Moors, Numidians, Libyphœnicians, Getulians, and others, and traced by the native historians to two different families, the Berânes and the Abtar, who, however, diverge from one common source, Mazigh or Madaghs. This native widespread African race, either from the name of their supposed ancestor, Ber, which we recognize in the name Afer, or in consequence of the Roman term *barbari*, has been generally called Berber, and in some regions Shawi and Shelluh. The general character and language of these people seem to have been the same, while the complexion alone was the distinguishing point of difference.

How far southward the settlements of this North African race originally extended, it is difficult to say; but it may be gathered, even from ancient writers, that they did not extend to the very border of the naked desert, and that they were bounded on the south by a region occupied by Æthiopian races—an observation which is confirmed by the present state of things. Wárgela evidently belonged originally to the dominion of the Blacks, as well as Tawát. The Berbers seem in general to have kept

second volume, that all this country constituted part of the Empire of Kánem; indeed, from what El Bekri says, p. 457, it appears that even within twenty years after the great and unfortunate immigration of the Arab tribes into Barbary, two tribes, the Hadrámis and the Sehámis, had taken possession of Wadán. But we shall see that the Negroes regained this place at a later period.

* Edrisi, ed. Jaubert, vol. i., p. 113. Edrísi deserves attention when he says that the Negroes called Tessáwa "Little Jerma;" that is to say, they attached to it a celebrated name, as if it were another capital of the country.

within their borders till driven from their native seats by the Arabs; for they had been mildly treated by the former conquerors of the country (the Phœnicians, the Romans, Vandals, and Byzantines), and they appear even to have partly embraced Christianity;* but this, of course, was just another principle of opposition between them and their Mohammedan conquerors, and a great proportion of them were evidently obliged to retire into the more desolate regions in their rear. The exact time when this happened we are not able to determine.

In the western part of the desert this transmigration commenced before the time of Islam; but in the central part of Barbary the flight of the Berbers seems to have been connected with that numerous immigration of Arab families into North Africa, which took place in the first half of the 11th century, in the time and at the instigation of Ahmed ben 'Ali el Jerjeráni, who died in A.H. 436, or 1044–5 of our era.† The fugitives pushed forward in several great divisions, which it is not essential here to enumerate, as, with a few exceptions, they have become extinct. It seems only necessary to advert here to the fact, that of all the reports handed down to us by the ancient Arab historians and geographers respecting the different Berber nations existing in the desert, the name of Tarki, or Tawárek, by which they are at present generally designated, occurs only in Ebn Khaldún,‡ under the form Tarká or Tárikà; and after

* Procop. de Ædificiis, vi., 4; Joann. Abb. Chronic., p. 13 (respecting the Mauri pacati, but especially the important tribe of the Lewátah); Abu 'l Hassan. Annales Regg. Maur., ed. Tornberg, p. 7, 15, 83 (respecting the Western Berbers); El Bekri, Notices et Extraits, &c., vol. xii., p. 484; Ebn Khaldún, tom. i., p. 209, le Baron de Slane, and *passim*.

† A few authors make this momentous event, which plunged North Africa into a series of misfortunes, happen a few years later, under El Yezúri. Leo Africanus, ed. Venezia, 1837, l. i., c. 21: "Ma quando la loro (degli Arabi) generazione entrò nell'Africa, allora con guerra scacciò di là i Numidi; e ella si rimase ad abitar ne' diserti vicini ai paesi de' datteri, e i Numidi andarono a far le loro abitazioni ne' diserti che sono propinqui alla Terranegra."

‡ Ebn Khaldún, vol. i., p. 235, Arab. text, vol. ii., p. 64, transl. De Slane; vol. i., p. 260, Arab. text, vol. ii., p. 105, transl. In both passages the name is written تارکا; and it is to be noted that this name was borne by a clan which dwelt nearest to the Arab tribe of the Beni Solaim. The great General Tárek

him Leo Africanus is the first who, in mentioning the five great tribes, names one of them Terga.* This name, which has been given to the Berber inhabitants of the desert, and which Hodgson† erroneously supposed to mean "tribe," is quite foreign to them. The truly indigenous name by which these people call themselves is the same by which they were already known to the Greeks and Romans, and which was given to their ancestors by Ebn Khaldún and other Arabic writers, viz., Amázigh, Mázigh, Mazix, Masix, Mazys, Mazax, and even Maxitanus in the singular form. The general form now used in these regions is Amóshagh‡ in the singular, Imóshagh in the plural, and Temáshight in the neutral form. This is the native name by which the so-called Tawárek§ designate their whole nation, which is divided into several great families. And if the reader inquires who gave them the other name, I answer, with full confidence, the Arabs; and the reason why they called them so was probably from their having left or abandoned their religion, from the verb تَرَكَ, "tereku dínihum;" for, from evidence which I have collected elsewhere, it seems clear that a great part of the Berbers of the desert were once Christians (they are still called by

Ebn Zíyad, who was a Berber from the tribe of the Ulhassa, seems to have received his name Tárek from the same source as the Berber clan Tárikà received theirs.

* El Bekri certainly mentions (Notices et Extraits, v. xii., p. 623) وادى ترقا; but this has nothing to do with the tribe.

† Hodgson, Notes on Northern Africa, p. 23. The word which means tribe is written طَارِقَةٌ; and this is an Arabic, and not a Berber word.

‡ The ز and ش (sh) in Berber names are often confounded. Thus they say Ikázkezan, Ikáshkeshan; A'gadez, E'gedesh.

§ The name is written by the Arabs promiscuously with the ك and with the ق, but oftener with the ك; and the name is so pointedly Arabic that besides the plural form تواركْ another form is used, التاركيون. Sultan Bello says properly, من بقايا البربر الذى انتشروا ايام افريقية وكان هذه التوارك.

some Arabs "the Christians of the desert"), and that they afterward changed their religion and adopted Islám; notwithstanding which they still call God "Mesí," and an angel "anyelús," and have preserved many curious customs which bear testimony to their ancient creed.

I said that the regions into which the Berbers had thus been obliged to withdraw had been formerly occupied by Ethiopian, or, as we may rather call them, sub-Libyan tribes. But who were these tribes? We have here to do only with the region about Ghát, reserving the other districts of the desert for future discussion as we advance in our journey. This region, as well as the whole country southward, including Aïr, or rather Asben, was anciently inhabited, I think, by the Góber race. But the Hogár, or Azkár, who now occupy this country, do not seem to have been its first conquerors, but to have found another race, nearly related to themselves, in possession of it.

The tribe which now possesses the country, the Imóshagh or Tawárek of Ghát, are generally called Azkár or Azgar; but they are named also Hogár or Hágara, though the latter name is very often employed to denote another tribe. Upon this point, also, we have received full and credible information from Ebn Khaldún, who tells us* that the name Hogár was formed from that of Hauwára, and served to designate that section of the great Berber tribe which had retired into the desert about Gógó; and it is very remarkable that the Hogár were described just about the same time, in those same regions, by the traveler Ebn Batúta.† Hogár therefore seems to be the more general name, while Azkár serves to designate a section of this tribe. However, this name also appears to be an ancient one, being mentioned already by Edrísi (A.H. 453)‡ as the name of a tribe

* Ebn Khaldún, vol. i., p. 275, transl. De Slane.

† Journal Asiatique, série iv., tom. i., 1843, p. 238. هڭار. This is the usual form, Hogár, although Hágara, with the second vowel short, seems to have no less pretension to correctness.

‡ Edrisi, trad. Jaubert, i., p. 113, 116. It is very probable, indeed, that this tribe is already mentioned as early as the fourth century, under the form of Ἀνξωριανοί, and in connection with the Μάζικες, which is nothing else but the general name of the whole tribe, Imóshagh, by Philostorgius (Hist. Eccles., xi.,

evidently identical with that of which we are speaking, the settlements of which he indicates as being distant twelve days' journey from Tasáwa, and eighteen from Ghadámes. It is mentioned about a century later by Ebn S'aid* as dwelling in the same place. The Tinýlkum Ibrahim was of opinion that Azkár means that section of the Hogár who had remained (at some period unknown to us) "faithful to the established authority." But this interpretation of the name, if we consider the early period at which it occurs, does not seem quite probable; and I suspect that those may be right who give to the name a more general meaning.

At present the Azkár form but a small part of the population of the country which they rule, namely, the region inclosed between the desert bordered by Wadi Talíya in the east, the valleys Zerzúwa and A'fara in the west, the well of Asïu toward the south, and Nijbertín toward the north, and are not able to furnish more than about five hundred armed men. In fact, they form a warlike aristocracy of five families, divided into thirty divisions or fayas, each of which has an independent chief. The names of the five families are Urághen, I'manang, I'fogas, Hadánarang, and Manghássatang. The Urághen or Aurághen, meaning the "Yellows," or "golden" (in color), who seem to have once formed a very powerful family,† and have given their name to one of the principal dialects of the Tarkíye or Temáshight, are at present much dispersed, many of them living among the Awelímmiden on the northern shore of the Isa or Niger, where I shall have more to say about them. Even among the Azkár they still form the most important division, and count at least a hundred and fifty full-grown men. A large

viii.), who represents them as making incursions into Egypt. Under the form Ausuriani ('Αυσουριανοί), the same tribe is several times mentioned by Synesius, the Bishop of Cyrene, who expressly represents them as mounted upon camels. Whether they are identical with the Austoriani of Ammianus Marcellinus is less certain. For this hint I am indebted to Mr. Cooley.

* Ebn S'aid, mentioned by Abu 'l Fedá, ed. Reinaud, tom. i. (texte Arabe). p. 125, in the corrupted reading ازكان; trad., vol. ii., p. 177.

† The Aurághen are evidently identical with the Aurígha, one of the seven principal clans of the Berânes.

body of them is settled in and about the valley of Arikím, on the direct road from Múrzuk to Sudán, and about fifty miles to the south of Ghát. Their original abode is said to have been at a place called Asáwa, to the south of Irálghawen. But the tribe that formerly possessed the greatest authority, and which, on this account, is still called Amanókalen, or the sultan tribe, is that of the I'manang, who are at present reduced to extreme poverty, and to a very small number, said not even to reach ten families. But they have still a very large number of Imghád under their command. Their women are celebrated for their beauty. They are most of them settled in the valley of Díder. The third division of the Azkár, to which Hatíta, the friend of the English, belongs, are the Manghássatang, or Imaghássaten, whose leather tents are generally pitched in the valley of Zerzúwa, on the road from Ghát to Tawát, about six days' journey from the former.*

The three clans, or "tiyúsi," which I have mentioned, constitute, strictly speaking, the family of the Azkár; the other two divisions, viz., the I'fogas and the Hadánarang, having separated from the rest, and broken in some way the national bond which formerly united them with the others. One of them, the I'fogas, are scattered over the whole desert, some having settled among the Kél-owí, at a place called Tórit, on the road to Damerghú; another section dwells in the more favored valleys to the east of Mabrúk; while a small portion of this tribe remains in the territory of the Azkár, where they have their abode in the valley of A'fara, about half way between Ghát and Tawát. The second of these tribes, viz., the Hadánarang, is settled in a

* In order to point out clearly the situation of these valleys, I here subjoin a short itinerary of the road from Ghát to Zerzúwa, and thence to E'geri.

In going from Ghát westward to Tawát, you reach, after four or five hours, the place Fiyút; on the second day you sleep in Idú; on the third, in A'tser-n-tá-shelt; on the fourth, in Azákkan temanókalt ("the royal plain"); on the fifth, in Ihór-hayen; after which, on the sixth day, you arrive in Zerzúwa. (This part of the itinerary varies a little from the itinerary from Ghát to Tawát, given by Mr. Richardson in his first journey.) Going thence to E'geri, in a direction east from south, you encamp on the first night in Téni, on the second, in Tintúzist; on the third, in Adómar; on the fourth, in Aderár; on the fifth, in Díder; and on the sixth arrive in E'geri.

place called A'demar, not far from the southern frontier of the territory of the Azkár, in the midst of the Imghád. They are, to some extent, at least, migratory freebooters; and to them belonged those robbers who, soon after we had fortunately got out of their clutches, murdered two Tébu merchants on the road from Aïr to Ghát, carrying away their whole caravan, with no less than thirty-three slaves.

I was assured by Hatíta that there were not less than thirty subdivisions of the larger clans, called "faya," in Temáshight, but I could only ascertain the names of four of them, viz., the Izóban and the Okéren, living in the Wadi Irárarén, and probably belonging to one and the same family (I believe the I'manang); the Degárrab, probably a section of the Hadánarang, living in a place called Tárat, together with some Imghád; and, finally, the Ihiyáwen or Ihéwan, a portion of whom dwell in Titarsén, while another section has settled near Tasáwa in Fezzán, forming the last link of the chain which connects the Imghád and the Azkár. Another link is formed by the Makéresang, who, like the former, submit to the authority of the chief Nakhnúkhen; then follow the Iféleten, who are settled in Tasíl with the Imghád. The least degenerate of these half-caste tribes, who hold a middle place between the Imóshagh and the Imghád, or between the free and the servile, is said to be the section of the Mateghíleten, now settled in the Wadi el Gharbi, in Fezzán, while their kindred certainly belong to the Imghád. This is the best proof that the name A'mghi does not express national descent, but social condition. Another section or tribe loosely connected with the Azkár, but not regarded as noble, although as strict ascetics they are much respected, and are enabled to to carry on almost undisturbed the commerce between Fezzán and Negroland, are the Tinýlkum, of whom I have already had occasion to speak repeatedly. At present they are settled partly in the valley Tigger-odé, where their chief, the Háj 'Ali, resides, partly in Wadi el Gharbi and around Tasáwa; but their ancient seats were to the south of Ghát, and even in the town of Ghát itself, they having been called in to decide the quarrel between the former inhabitants of that place, the Kél-tellek and the Makamúmmasen.

As I said above, the ruling class of the Azkár constitutes by far the smaller part of the population of the country, while the great mass of the population of these regions consists of a subject or degraded tribe called Imghád, or, in the Arabic form, Merátha, or even Metáthra. This I formerly considered to be a gentile name, but I found afterward that it is a general epithet used by all the different tribes of the Imóshagh to denote degraded tribes. The singular form of the name is A'mghi,* which is the counterpart of Amóshagh, as it means "servile," while the latter means "free." The Imghád of the Azkár differ a great deal from the ruling tribe, particularly the women; for while the Imóshagh are tolerably fair, a great many of the former are almost black, but nevertheless well made, and not only without negro features, but generally with a very regular physiognomy, while the women, at least in their forms, approach more to the type of the negro races. But as for their language, I must confess that I am not able to decide with confidence whether it sprang originally from a Berber dialect or the Háusa language:† many of the people, indeed, seem to be bilingual, but by far the greater part of the men do not even understand the Háusa language. I am persuaded that they were originally Berbers who have become degraded by intermixture with the black natives.

The Imghád of the Azkár, who altogether form a numerous body, being able to furnish about 5000 armed men, are divided into four sections—the Batánatang or Ibétnaten, the Fárkana or Aférkenén, Segígatang, and Wárwaren, which latter name, I think, very naturally calls to mind the Latin "Barbari," a name which, according to some ancient authors, belonged to certain tribes of Northern Africa,‡ and may fairly explain the origin of

* امغي pl. امغاد. The change of the غ into the ر in the Arabic form of the name shows to what extent the sound of the *r* prevails in the African pronunciation of this letter. The final *d* has replaced *n*.

† Hatíta told us expressly that, if any of the Imghád should trouble us, we should say "bábo." Now "bábo" is neither Arabic nor Temáshight, but the Háusa word for "there is none."

‡ Hippolytus, Lib. Generat. (p. 101, in the second volume of the Chronicon Paschale, ed. Bonn), enumerates among the African tribes "Afri qui et Bar-

the name Berber, though it is to be remarked that "*war*," a syllable with which a great number of Berber names begin, seems to signify "man." Of these four divisions, the last three seem to live principally in and around the small town of Bárakat, a few miles south of Ghát, and in and around Jánet or Yánet, about thirty miles S.S.W. from E'geri. Neither the population of the town of Ghát nor that of the town of Bárakat is at present formed by these Imghád; but I should suppose that in former times they were also the privileged inhabitants of Ghát itself, which at present is occupied by a very mixed race, so well described by the late Mr. Richardson. These two favored spots of the desert seem to be left entirely to these people as tenants, on condition that they take care of the plantations and of the gardens, and gather the fruit, of which they are bound to give a portion to their masters. Some of the noble Imóshagh, indeed, seem to have a great many of these people at their disposal. The Batánatang or Ibétnaten reside principally in a valley called Tesíli, while another section of them have their abode among the Hogár, in a district called Tehellahóhet, on the road from Asïu to Tawát. A portion of the last tribe (viz., the Fárkana or Aférkenén) dwell in a valley called Tárat, about a day's journey northwest from Nghákeli.

Besides these four great divisions, there are many other sections of the Imghád. The names of these, as far as they became known to me, are as follows: the Dik-Surki, settled in the territory of the Azkár, in a place called E'dehi; the Kél-n-tunín, living in Aderár; the Amatghílelen,* who have their abode in the same spot; the Kél-áhenet, living in Hágara; the Akeshemáden, in the valley called Atúl; the I'kelan, who have their dwelling-places in Zerzer; the Kélghafsa, in I'fak; the Kél-ífis, in Temághaset; and finally the Ijrán.

The ruling race of the Imóshagh subsists entirely on the labor of this depressed class, as the old Spartans did upon that

bares;" and in Itinerar. Antonini, p. 2, the Macenites Barbari are mentioned. Varvar is a Sanscrit word of very general meaning.

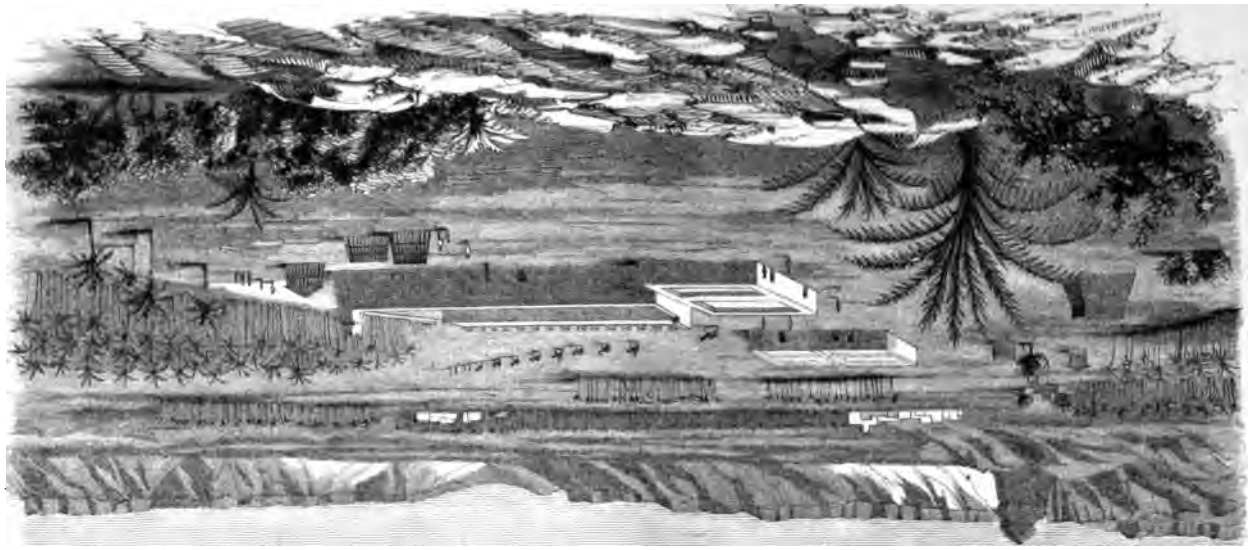
* This clan is evidently related to the Mateghílelen mentioned above, p. 201, as settled at present in the Wadi el Ghárbi.

of the Lacedæmonians, but still more upon the tribute or ghe-ráma which, as I mentioned above, they raise from the caravans —a custom already mentioned by Leo Africanus.* Without some such revenue they could not trick themselves out so well as they do, though when at home in their "tekábber," they live at very little expense, particularly as they are not polygamists. The Imghád are not allowed to carry an iron spear nor to wear a sword, which is the distinction of the free man, nor any very showy dress. Most of them may be regarded as settled, or as "Kél," that is to say, as the constant, or, at least, as the ordinary inhabitants of a given place; and this, indeed, it seems, is even to be said of a great many of the Azkár themselves, who seem to hold a middle place between the nomadic and the settled tribes. The consequence is, that many of them do not live in leather tents, or "éhe," but in round conical huts called tekábber, made of bushes and dry grass.

The town of Ghát (the favored locality of which might be presumed to have attracted a settlement at a very early age) is not mentioned by any Arabic author except the traveler Ebn Batúta in the 14th century, and seems never to have been a large place. Even now it is a small town of about 250 houses, but nevertheless of considerable commercial importance, which would become infinitely greater if the jealousy of the Tawáti would allow the opening of the direct road from Timbúktu, which seems to be under the special protection of the powerful chief Gemáma.

The view from the rocky hill, which reaches its greatest elevation just over the town, and, together with a cistern, offers a few Berber and Arabic inscriptions to the curious traveler, proved far less extensive and picturesque than that from a sand-hill a little distance westward from the house of Háj Ahmed. I ascended this little hill in the afternoon of the 22d, and, screened by an ethel-bush, made the accompanying sketch of the whole oasis, which I hope will give a tolerably good idea of this interesting locality—the separate strips of palm-trees, the wide, des-

* L. i., c. 20: "Ma le carovane che passano per li diserti loro, sono tenute di pagare ai lor principi certa *gabella*."



olate valley, bordered by the steep slope of the Akakús range, with its regular strata of marly slate and its pinnacled crest of sandstone; the little town on the left, at the foot of the rocky hill, contrasting with the few and frail huts of palm branches scattered about here and there; the noble and spacious mansion of the industrious Háj Ahmed in the foreground, on the northern side of which lies the flat dwelling assigned to us. When descending from this hill toward the south, I was greatly pleased with the new improvements added by Háj Ahmed to his plantation. The example of this man shows how much may be achieved by a little industry in these favored spots, where cultivation might be infinitely increased. In the southernmost and most recent part of the plantation, a large basin, about 100 ft. long and 60 ft. broad, had been formed, receiving a full supply of water from the northern side of the sand-hills, and irrigating kitchen-gardens of considerable extent. Thus the wealthy governor makes some advance every year, but, unfortunately, he seems not to find many imitators.

Our negotiation with the Tawárek chiefs might have been conducted with more success if a letter written by her majesty's government to the chief Jabúr had not been produced at the very moment when all the chiefs present were ready to subscribe the treaty. But their attention was entirely distracted from the object in view. This letter made direct mention of the abolition of the slave-trade; hence it became a very difficult and delicate matter, especially as Mr. Richardson's supplies of merchandise and presents at that moment were entirely in the hands of the merchant Háj Ibrahim, who, even if liberal enough to abstain from intrigue against admitting the competition of English merchants, would be sure to do all in his power to prevent the abolition of the slave-trade.

It is a serious undertaking to enter into direct negotiation with these Tawárek chiefs, the absolute masters of several of the most important routes to Central Africa.* It required great skill, entire confidence, and no inconsiderable amount of means,

* Jackson was the first who pointed out the importance of entering into direct negotiation with the Tawárek.

of which we were extremely deficient. To this vexation let there be added the petulant and indiscreet behavior of our servants, who were exasperated by the sufferings of the Rhámadán during the hottest season of the year, and were too well aware of the insufficiency of our means to carry out the objects of our mission, and the reader will easily understand that we were extremely glad when, after repeated delays, we were at length able to leave this place in the pursuance of our journey.

CHAPTER XI.

CROSSING A LARGE MOUNTAIN RIDGE, AND ENTERING ON THE OPEN, GRAVELLY DESERT.

On the morning of the 26th of July I once more found myself on the back of my camel, and from my elevated seat threw a last glance over the pleasant picture of the oasis of Ghát. There is an advanced spur of the plantation about two miles south from the town, called Timéggawé, with a few scattered cottages at its southern end. Having left this behind us, we came to the considerable plantation of I'berké, separated into two groups, one on the west and the other on the east side, and kept along the border of the western group, which forms dense clusters, while that to the east is rather thin and loosely scattered. The town of Bárakat, lying at the foot of a sandy eminence stretching north and south, became now and then visible on our right, glittering through the thinner parts of the plantation.

Being prepared for a good day's march, as not only the Tinýlkum were reported to have left Arikím several days ago, but as even the little caravan of Kél-owí, with whom we had made arrangements for protection and company on the road, was a considerable way in advance, we were greatly astonished when ordered to encamp near the scattered palm-trees at the extreme eastern end of the plantation. Utaeti, who had accompanied us all the way from Ghát on foot, chose the camping-ground.

Mr. Richardson, who had been behind, was not less astonished when he found us encamped at so early an hour. But our camels, which seemed to have been worked during our stay at Ghát, instead of being allowed to recover their strength by rest and pasture, were in great want of some good feeding, and there was much aghúl (*Hedysarum Alhajji*) about our encampment. Toward noon we were visited by several Hogár, or rather Azkár, who proved a little troublesome, but not so much so as the townspeople, who caused us a great deal of annoyance both during the evening and on the following morning, and gave us some idea of what might await us farther on.

Being annoyed at our delay here, I accompanied two of Mr. Richardson's people and the young son of Yusuf Mukni, who wished to go into the town to buy a fowl. We were followed by two men from among the townspeople, who wanted to extort a present from me, and one of whom, by bawling out the characteristic phrase of his creed, made me fear lest he might succeed in exciting all the people against me. The town was distant from our encampment a mile and a quarter, and having once reached its wall, I determined to enter it. The town, or ágherim, forms a tolerably regular quadrangle, on an open piece of ground at the eastern foot of the sandy eminence, and is inclosed by a wall (agadór), built of clay, about five-and-twenty feet high, and provided with quadrangular towers. We entered it by the eastern gate, which, being defended by a tower, has its entrance from the side, and leads first to a small court with a well, from which another arched passage leads into the streets. Here several women, of good figure and decently dressed, were seated tranquilly, as it seemed, enjoying the cool air of the afternoon, for they had no occupation, nor were they selling any thing. Although I was dressed in a common blue Sudán shirt, and tolerably sunburnt, my fairer complexion seemed to alarm them, and some of them withdrew into the interior of the houses crying "lá ilah." Still, I was not molested nor insulted by the people passing by, and I was pleased that several of them courteously answered my salute. They were apparently not of pure Berber blood. It appeared that a good many of

the inhabitants had gone to their date-groves to look after the harvest, as the fruit was just about to ripen; hence the place, though in good repair and very clean, had a rather solitary appearance. There is no commerce in this place as in Ghát, the whole wealth of the inhabitants consisting in their plantations. Yet they are said to be better off than the population of Ghát, who are exposed to great and continual extortions from the Tawárek on account of their origin, while the people of Bárakat enjoy certain privileges. The houses were all two or three stories high, and well built, the clay being nicely polished. A few palm-trees decorate the interior of the town. It is of still more diminutive size than Ghát, containing about two hundred houses; but it is built with great regularity.

Having stuck fast a while in a lane which had no thoroughfare, we at length got safely out of the little town of Bárakat by the south gate. It has, I believe, four gates, like Ghát. On this side of the town, inside of the walls, stands the mosque, a building of considerable size for so small a place, neatly whitewashed, and provided with a lofty minaret.

Leaving the town, we took a more southern and circuitous road than that by which we had come, so that I saw a good deal of the plantation. The soil is for the most part impregnated with salt, and the wells have generally brackish water. There was much industry to be seen, and most of the gardens were well kept; but the wells might easily be more numerous, and only a small quantity of corn is cultivated. The great extent to which dukhn, or Guinea-corn ("éneli" in Temáshight*), or *Pennisetum typhoïdeum*, is cultivated here, as well as near Ghát, in proportion to wheat or barley, seems to indicate the closer and more intimate connection of this region with Negroland. Some culinary vegetables also were cultivated; and some, but not many, of the gardens were carefully fenced with the leaves of the palm-tree. The grove was animated by numbers of wild pigeons and turtle-doves, bending the branches of the palm-trees with their wanton play; and a good many asses were to be seen. Cattle I did not observe.

* This word "éneli" occurs in the Travels of Ebn Batúta.

But far more interesting were the scenes of human life that met my eyes. Happiness seemed to reign, with every necessary comfort, in this delightful little grove. There was a great number of cottages, or tekábber, built of palm-branches and palm-leaves, most of them of considerable size, and containing several apartments; all of them had flat roofs. They are inhabited by the Imghád or Merátha. A great many of them seemed at present to be busy elsewhere; but these lightly-built straggling suburbs were full of children, and almost every woman carried an infant at her back. They were all black, but well formed, and infinitely superior to the mixed race of Fezzán. The men wore in general blue shirts, and a black shawl round the face; the women were only dressed in the túrkedi, or Sudán-cloth, wound round their body, and leaving the upper part, including the breast, uncovered. They understood generally nothing but Temáshight, and only a few of them spoke the Háusa language. The men were nearly all smoking.

Having returned to our tent from this pleasant ramble, I did not stay long in it, but, stealing off as secretly as possible, I walked to the eastern side of the valley, which is here locked up by the steep slope of the Akakús range. The plain on this side, being much interrupted by hills crowned with ethel-trees, does not afford a distant prospect. In this quarter, too, there are a few scattered gardens, with melons and vegetables, but no palm-trees.

In the evening we were greatly annoyed by some Imghád; and between one of them and our fiery and inconsiderate Tunisian shushán a violent dispute arose, which threatened to assume a very serious character. We were on the watch the whole night.

Friday, July 26th. Having waited a long time for Utaeti, we at length started without him, passing on our right a beautiful palm-grove, with as many as ten thousand trees, while our left was bordered by scattered gardens, where the people were busy in the cool of the morning irrigating the corn and vegetables, with the assistance of Sudán oxen. They came out to see us pass by, but without expressing any feeling, hostile or otherwise. After a mile and a half the plantation ceased, at the bed

of a torrent which contained a pond of rain-water collected from the higher rocky ground, which here terminates. Further on we passed another small channel, overgrown with bushes, and remarkable for nothing but its name, which seems plainly to indicate that this country originally belonged to the Góber or Háusa nation, for it is still called Korámma, a word which in the Háusa language denotes the bed of a torrent. To this water-course particularly the general designation was most probably assigned, because in its further progress it widens very considerably, and in some degree appears as the head of the green bottom of the valley of Ghát.

But a more luxuriant valley, from three to four miles broad, begins further on, rich in herbage, and full of ethel-trees, all crowning the tops of small mounds. Here we encamped near a pond of dirty rain-water, frequented by great flocks of doves and water-fowl, and a well called I'zayen, in order to wait for Utaeti. The well was only about three feet deep, but the water brackish and disagreeable. Our friend came at length, and it was then decided to reach the Kél-owí; we therefore left our pleasant camping-ground about half past nine in the evening, favored by splendid moonlight. So interesting was the scene, that, absorbed in my thoughts, I got considerably in advance of the caravan, and, not observing a small path which turned off on the right, I followed the larger one till I became conscious of my solitary situation, and, dismounting, lay down in order to await my companions. Our caravan, however, had taken the other path, and my fellow-travelers grew rather anxious about me; but my camel, which was evidently aware of the caravan ahead of us, would not give up this direction, which proved to be the right one, and after I had joined the caravan we were obliged to return to my former path.

Here we found the small Kél-owí caravan encamped in the midst of a valley well covered with herbage, near the well Karáda. Our new companions were perfect specimens of the mixed Berber and Sudán blood, and, notwithstanding all their faults, most useful as guides. It was two hours after midnight when we arrived; and, after a short repose, we started again tolerably early the next morning.

For the first hour we kept along the valley, when we began to ascend a narrow path winding round the slope of a steep promontory of the plateau. The ruins of a castle at the bottom of the valley formed an object of attraction.

The ascent took us almost an hour, when the defile opened to a sort of plateau, with higher ground and cones to the left. After another ascent, four miles further on, over a rocky slope about 180 feet high and covered with sand, we encamped at an early hour, as the heat was beginning to be felt, in a valley with sidr-trees and grass, called Erazar-n-A'keru.

A large basin of water, formed by the rains in a small rocky lateral glen joining the large valley on the west side, afforded a delightful resting-place to the weary traveler. The basin, in which the negro slaves of our Kél-owí swam about with immense delight, was about 200 feet long and 120 feet broad, and very deep, having been hollowed out in the rocks by the violent floods descending occasionally from the heights above. But on a terrace about 200 feet higher up the cliffs I discovered another basin of not more than about half the diameter of the former, but likewise of great depth. All along the rocky slope between these two basins cascades are formed during heavy rains, which must render this a delightfully refreshing spot.

Sunday, July 28th. We soon emerged from the valley, and entered a district of very irregular character, but affording herbage enough for temporary settlements or encampments of the Imghád, whose asses and goats testified that the country was not quite uninhabited. Some people of our caravan saw the guardians of these animals—negroes, clad in leather aprons. Against the lower part of the cliffs, which rise abruptly on all sides, large masses of sand have accumulated, which, as in the case of the upper valley of the Nile, might induce the observer to believe that all the higher level was covered with sand, which from thence had been driven down; but this is not by any means the case.

I had a long conversation this morning with the Tawáti 'Abd el Káder, who had come with the pilgrim-caravan as far as Ghát, and, together with another companion, had attached himself to

the Kél-owí in order to go to A'gades. He was a smart fellow, of light complexion and handsome countenance, but had lost one eye in a quarrel. He was armed with a long gun with a good English lock, of which he was very proud. He had, when young, seen the rais (Major Laing) at Tawát, and knew something about Europeans, and chiefly Englishmen. Smart and active as this fellow was, he was so ungallant as to oblige his young female slave, who was at once his mistress, cook, and servant, to walk the whole day on foot, while he generally rode.

A little after noon we encamped in the corner of a valley rich in sebót, and adorned with some talha-trees, at the foot of cliffs of considerable height, which were to be ascended the following day.

Monday, July 29th. We began our task early in the morning. The path, winding along through loose blocks on a precipitous ascent, proved very difficult. Several loads were thrown off the camels; and the boat several times came into collision with the rocks, which, but for its excellent material, might have damaged it considerably. The whole of the cliffs consisted of red sandstone, which was now and then interrupted by clay slate of a greenish color. The ascent took us almost two hours; and from the level of the plateau we obtained a view of the ridge stretching toward Arikím, the passage of which was said to be still more difficult. Having successively ascended and descended a little, we then entered a tolerably-regular valley, and followed its windings till about noon, when we once more emerged upon the rugged rocky level, where Amankay, the well-traveled búzu or mulatto of Tasáwa, brought us a draught of deliciously cool water, which he had found in a hollow in the rocks. Here our route meandered in a very remarkable way, so that I could not lay aside my compass for a moment; and the path was sometimes reduced to a narrow crevice between curiously-terraced buttresses of rocks.

The ground having at length become more open, we encamped about a quarter past three o'clock in a small ravine with a little sprinkling of herbage.

Here we had reached an elevation of not less than 4000 feet

above the sea—the greatest elevation of the desert to be passed, or rather of that part of Africa over which our travels extended. The rugged and bristling nature of this elevated tract prevented our obtaining any extensive views. This region, if it were not the wildest and most rugged of the whole desert, limiting vegetation to only a few narrow crevices and valleys, would be a very healthy and agreeable abode for man, but it can only support a few nomadic stragglers. This, I am convinced, is the famous mountain Tántanah, the abode of the Azkár* mentioned by the early Arabic geographers, although, instead of placing it to the southwest of Fezzán, they generally give it a southerly direction. I am not aware that a general name is now given to this region.

But this highest part of the table-land rather forms a narrow "col" or crest, from which, on the following morning, after a winding march of a little more than three miles, we began to descend by a most picturesque passage into a deeper region. At first we saw nothing but high cones towering over a hollow in the ground; but as we advanced along a lateral wadi of the val-

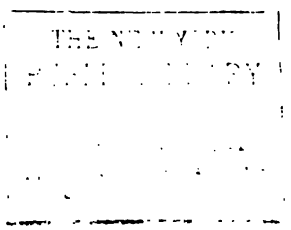
* See above, p. 198.

ley which we had entered, the scenery assumed a grander aspect, exhibiting features of such variety as we had not expected to find in this desert country. While our camels began slowly to descend, one by one, the difficult passage, I sat down and made the accompanying sketch of it, which will convey a better idea of this abrupt cessation of the high sandstone level, with the sloping strata of marl where it is succeeded by another formation—that of granite—than any verbal description would do.

The descent took us two hours, when we reached the bottom of a narrow ravine about sixty feet broad, which at first was strewn with large blocks carried down by occasional floods, but a little farther on had a floor of fine sand and gravel. Here the valley is joined by a branch wadi, or another ravine coming from the north. Near the junction it is tolerably wide; but a few hundred yards farther on it narrows between steep precipitous cliffs, looking almost like walls erected by the hand of man, and more than a thousand feet high, and forms there a

pond of rain-water. While I was sketching this remarkable place, I lost the opportunity of climbing up the wild ravine.

E'GERI.



The locality was so interesting that I reluctantly took leave of it, fully intending to return the following day with the camels when they were to be watered; but, unfortunately, the alarming news which reached us at our camping-ground prevented my doing so. I will only observe that this valley, which is generally called E'geri, is identical with the celebrated valley Amaïs or Maïs, the name of which became known in Europe many years ago.

A little beyond the junction of the branch ravine the valley widens to about one hundred and fifty feet, and becomes overgrown with herbage, and ornamented with a few talha-trees, and after being joined by another ravine, exhibits also colocynths, and low but wide-spreading ethel-bushes, and, what was more interesting to us, the 'ashur (or, as the Háusa people call it, "tunfáfia," the Kanori "krunka," the Tawárek "tursha"), the celebrated, wide-spread, and most important *Asclepias gigantea*, which had here truly gigantic proportions, reaching to the height of twenty feet; and being just then in flower, with its white and violet colors it contributed much to the interest of the scene. Besides, there was the jadaríyeh, well known to us from the Hammáda, and the shi'a or *Artemisia odoratissima*, and a blue crucifera, identical, I think, with the damankádda, of which I shall have to speak repeatedly.

Having gone on a little more than three miles from the watering-place, we encamped, and the whole expedition found ample room under the wide-spreading branches of a single ethel-tree, the largest we had yet seen. Here the valley was about half a mile broad, and altogether had a very pleasant character.

I was greatly mortified on reflecting that the uncertainty of our relations in the country, and the precarious protection we enjoyed, would not allow me to visit Jánet, the most favored spot in this mountainous region; but a great danger was suddenly announced to us, which threatened even to drive us from that attractive spot. An expedition had been prepared against us by the mighty chieftain Sídi* Jáfel ínek (son of) Sakertáf,

* The appellative Sídi appears to be an honorable distinction among the Hogár, and the messenger who brought us this news generally called the chieftain

to whom a great number of the Imghád settled thereabouts are subject as bondmen or serfs.

Upon the circumstances of this announcement and its consequences, which have been fully detailed by the late Mr. Richardson, I shall not dwell, but will only observe that this transaction made us better acquainted with the character of each of our new friends. There were three principal men in the Kél-owí caravan with which we had associated our fortunes, A'nnur (or, properly, E' Nur), Dídi, and Fárreji. A'nnur was a relative of the powerful Kél-owí chief of the same name, and, in order to distinguish him from the latter, was generally called A'nnur karamí, or the little A'nnur. He was of agreeable, prepossessing countenance and of pleasing manners, but without much energy, and any thing but warlike. Dídi and Fárreji were both liberated slaves, but of very different appearance and character. The former was slim, with marked features indicating a good deal of cunning; the latter was a tolerably large man, with broad, coarse features, which well expressed his character, the distinguishing trait of which was undisguised malice. When a new demand was to be put forth, Fárreji took the lead, and, with an impudent air, plainly stated the case; Dídi kept back, assisting his companion under-hand; and A'nnur was anxious to give to the whole a better appearance, and to soothe our indignation.

The whole affair having been arranged, and the stipulation being made that, in case the direct road should become impracticable, our Kél-owí were to lead us by a more eastern one, where we should not meet with any one, we started in good spirits on the morning of the 1st of August, and soon emerged from the valley by a southern branch, while the surrounding cliffs gradually became much lower and flatter. Here we observed that granite had superseded the sandstone, appearing first in low bristled ridges crossing the bottom of the valley in

of whom he spoke only by this name, Sídi. This is also the name by which Sultan Shafo's father is generally called. The whole tribe of the Urághen seems even to have the surname Síd-azkár. To what extent this name Sídi is abused in Timbúktu I shall have occasion to observe in the further course of my travels.

parallel lines running from W.N.W. to E.S.E., and gradually occupying the whole district, while the sand, which before formed the general substance of the lower ground, was succeeded by gravel. Our path now wound through irregular defiles and small plains inclosed by low ridges of granite blocks, generally bare, but in some places adorned with talha-trees of fine fresh foliage. The whole country assumed quite a different aspect.

Our day's journey was pleasantly varied by our meeting with the van of a large caravan belonging to the wealthy Fezzáni merchant Khuëldi, which had separated in Aïr on account of the high prices of provisions there. They carried with them from forty to fifty slaves, most of them females, the greater part tolerably well made. Each of our Kél-owí produced from his provision-bags a measure of dates, and threw them into a cloth, which the leader of the caravan, a man of grave and honest countenance, had spread on the ground. A little before noon we encamped in a sort of wide but shallow valley called Ejénjer, where, owing to the junction of several smaller branch-vales collecting the moisture of a large district, a little sprinkling of herbage was produced, and a necessary halting-place formed for the caravans coming from the north, before they enter upon the naked desert, which stretches out toward the southwest for several days' journey. The camels were left grazing the whole night, in order to pick up as large a provision as possible from the scanty pasture.

August 2*d*. We entered upon the first regular day's march since we left Ghát. After a stretch of nine miles, an interesting peak called Mount Tiska, rising to an elevation of about 600 feet, and surrounded by some smaller cones, formed the conspicuous limit of the rocky ridges. The country became entirely flat and level, but with a gradual ascent, the whole ground being formed of coarse gravel; and there was nothing to interrupt the monotonous plain but a steep ridge, called Mariaw, at the distance of about five miles to the east.

The nature of this desert region is well understood by the nomadic Tawárek or Imóshagh, who regard the Mariaw as the landmark of the open uninterrupted desert plain, the "tenere;"

and a remarkable song of theirs, which often raised the enthusiasm of our companions, begins thus:

"Mariaw da ténere nís" (We have reached Mariaw and the desert-plain).

The aspect of this uninterrupted plain seemed to inspire our companions, and with renewed energy we pursued our dreary path till after sunset, when we encamped upon this bare gravelly plain, entirely destitute of herbage, and without the smallest fragment of wood for fuel; and I was glad to get a cup of tea with my cold supper of zummíta. Even in these hot regions the European requires some warm food or beverage.

The next morning, all the people being eager to get away from this dreary spot, every small party started as it got ready, without waiting for the rest, in order to reach as soon as possible the region of the sand-hills, which we saw before us at the distance of a little more than five miles, and which promised to the famished camels at least a slight repast. Herbage was scattered in bunches all about the sides of the sand-hills, and a number of butter- and dragon-flies greatly relieved the dreary scene. After a while the sand-hills ranged themselves more on both sides, while our road led over harder sandy soil, till the highest range crossed our path, and we began to ascend it, winding along its lower parts. Granite, lying a few feet under the surface, in several spots checkered the sand, tinged with a pretty blue.

A little after midday we emerged from the sand-hills, and entered a plain from two to three miles wide, bounded on both sides by sand-hills, and were here gratified with the view of

shifting lakes which the mirage set before our eyes. Then followed another narrow range of sand-hills, succeeded by a barren open plain, and then another very considerable bank of sand, leaning on a granite ridge. After a steep ascent of forty-five minutes we reached the highest crest, and obtained an extensive prospect over the country before us—a desert plain interspersed by smaller sand-hills and naked ledges of rock, and speckled with ethel-bushes half overwhelmed by sand, at the foot of a higher range of sand-hills; for sand-hills are the landmark of Afalésselez, and the verse of the desert-song celebrating Mariaw as the landmark of the open gravelly desert plain is succeeded by another celebrating the arrival at Afalésselez and its sand-hills:

"In-Afalésselez da jéde nís."

Having long looked down from this barbacan of sand to see whether all was safe near that important place whence we were to take our supply for the next stretch of dry desert land, we descended along the southwestern slope, and there encamped.

After a march of little more than four miles the next morning we reached the well Falésselez or Afalésselez. This camping-ground had not a bit of shade; for the few ethel-bushes, all of them starting forth from mounds of not less than forty feet elevation, were very low, and almost covered with sand. Besides, the gravelly ground was covered with camels' dung and impurities of a more disagreeable nature; and there was not a bit of herbage in the neighborhood, so that the camels, after having been watered, had to be driven to a distance of more than eight miles, where they remained during the night and the following day till noon, and whence they brought back a supply of herbage for the next night.

But, notwithstanding its extraordinary dreariness, this place is of the greatest importance for the caravan-trade, on account of the well, which affords a good supply of very tolerable water. At first it was very dirty and discolored, but it gradually became clearer, and had but little after-taste. The well was five fathoms deep, and not more than a foot and a half wide at the top, while lower down it widened considerably. It is formed

of the wood of the ethel-tree. The temperature of the water, giving very nearly the temperature of the atmosphere in this region, was 77°.

After the camels had gone our encampment became very lonely and desolate, and nothing was heard but the sound of ghussub-pounding. The Kél-owí had encamped at some distance, on the slope of the sand-hills. It was a very sultry day —the hottest day in this first part of our journey—the thermometer, in the very best shade which we were able to obtain, showing 111°·2 heat, which, combined with the dreary monotony of the place, was quite exhausting. There was not a breath of air in the morning; nevertheless, it was just here that we remarked the first signs of our approaching the tropical regions, for in the afternoon the sky became so thickly overcast with clouds that we entertained the hope of being refreshed by a few drops of rain. In the night a heavy gale blew from the east.

Next day came Utaeti. On his fine méheri, enveloped as he was in his blue Sudán-cloth, he made a good figure. The reply which he made when Mr. Richardson asked him how his father had received the present of the sword which H. B. M.'s government had sent him, was characteristic: the sword, he said, was a small present, and his father had expected to receive a considerable sum of money into the bargain. He informed us also that by our not coming to Arikím we had greatly disappointed the Tawárek settled thereabouts.

Tuesday, August 6th. The sand-hills which we ascended after starting were not very high, but after a while we had to make another ascent. Sometimes small ridges of quartzose sandstone setting right across our path, at others ethel-bushes, gave a little variety to the waste; and at the distance of about eight miles from the well, singularly-shaped conical mounts began to rise. The eastern road, which is a little more circuitous, is but a few hours' distance from this. It leads through a valley at the foot of a high conical mount, with temporary ponds of rain-water and herbage called Shambakésa, which about noon we passed at some distance on our left.

In the afternoon we came in sight of a continuous range of

heights ahead of us. The whole region exhibited an interesting intermixture of granite and sandstone formation, white and red sandstone protruding in several places, and the ground being strewn with fragments of granite and gneiss. Passing at one time over gravel, at another over rocky ground strewn with pebbles, we encamped at length in a sort of shallow valley called Tagháreben, on the north side of a very remarkable mass of curiously-shaped sandstone blocks, heaped together in the most singular manner, and rising altogether to a height of about 150 feet. On inspecting it more closely, I found that it consisted of four distinct buttresses, between which large masses of loose sand had collected, the sandstone being of a beautiful white color, and in a state of the utmost disintegration.

After a weary day's march, the camping-ground, adorned as it was with some fine talha-trees, and surrounded with small ridges and detached masses of rock, on which now depended the beauty of the scene, cheered our minds, and fitted us for another long day's work. Soon after we started the ground became rugged and stony, and full of ridges of sandstone, bristling with small points and peaks. In this wild and rugged ground our people amused themselves and us with hunting down a lizard, which tried to escape from the hands of its pursuers in the crevices of the rocky buttresses. Then followed broad shallow valleys, at times overgrown with a little herbage, but generally very barren; winding along them we turned round a large cluster of heights which seemed to obstruct our route. Bare and desolate as the country appears, it is covered, as well as the whole centre of the desert, with large herds of wild oxen (*Antilope bubalis*), which rove about at large, and, according as they are more or less hunted, linger in favored districts or change their haunts. Our men tried to catch them, but were unsuccessful, the animal, clumsy and sluggish as it appears, climbing the rocks with much more ease than men unaccustomed to this sort of sport, and, owing to the ruggedness of the ground, being soon lost sight of.

At five o'clock in the afternoon the heights on our left rose to a greater elevation, as much as 1000 feet, bristling with cones,

and formed more picturesque masses. Resting on the spurs of the mountain range was a peculiar knot of cliffs, ridges of rocks, and isolated perpendicular pillars, through which our road led with a gradual ascent till we reached the highest ground, and then descended into a shallow valley furnished with a tolerable supply of herbage and a few talha-trees, some of which, with their young leaves, soon attracted the attention of the famished camels. The poor animals were left grazing all night, which recruited their strength a little. These long stretches were fatiguing both for man and beast; and they were the more trying for the traveler, as, instead of approaching by them in long strides the wished-for regions to the south, there was scarcely any advance at all in that direction, the whole route leading to the west.

Thursday, August 8th. After a mile and a half's march the country became more open and free, and those ridges of granite rock which had been characteristic of the region just passed over ceased; but ahead of us considerable mountain masses were seen, the whole mountainous district, in which the long range called Isétteti is conspicuous, being named A'nahef. After a march of about ten miles, a path branched off from our road toward the west, leading to a more favored place called Tádent,* where the moisture collected by the mountain masses around seems to produce a richer vegetation, so that it is the constant residence of some Azkár families; it is distant from this place about sixteen miles. Here some advanced heights approach the path, and more talha-trees appear; and farther on the bottom of the fiumara was richly overgrown with bú-rékkebah (*Avena Forskalii*), grass very much liked by the camels, and which we had not observed before on our route. The country ahead of us formed a sort of defile, into which I thought we should soon enter, when suddenly, behind the spur of a ridge projecting into the plain on our left, we changed our direction, and entering a wide valley inclosed by two picturesque ranges of rocks, we there encamped.

* In Mr. Richardson's Journal, vol. i., p. 194, this place has been confounded with Janet, the name having been probably written in the MS. "Tanet," a form used also by Mr. Overweg, and which seems to be verified.

The valley is called Nghákeli, and is remarkable as well on account of its picturesque appearance as because it indicates the approach to a more favored region. Besides being richly overgrown with luxuriant herbage of different species, as sebót, búrákkebah, shi'a, and adorned with fine talha-trees, it exhibited the first specimens of the *Balanites Ægyptiaca* (or "hajilíj," as it is called by the Arabs, "áddwa" by the Háusa people), the rope-like roots of which, loosened by the torrent which at times sweeps along the valley, grew to an immense length over the ground. I walked up the valley to a distance of two miles. Compared with the arid country we had been traveling over latterly, it made upon me just the same impression which the finest spots of Italy would produce on a traveler visiting them from the north of Europe. The Kél-owí had chosen the most shady talha-tree for a few hours' repose, and I sat down a moment in their company. They gave me a treat of their palatable fura, or ghussub-water, the favorite (and in a great many cases the only) dish of the Absenáwa.

In the evening Mr. Richardson bought from some sportsmen a quantity of the meat of the wadán, or (as the Tawárek call it) aúdád (*Ovis tragelaphos*), an animal very common in the mountainous districts of the desert, and very often found in company with the wild ox. As for myself, I kept my tent, filling up from my memorandum-book my last day's journal, and then, full of the expectation that we were now about to enter more pleasant regions, lay down on my hard couch.

CHAPTER XII.

DANGEROUS APPROACH TO ASBEN.

Friday, August 9th. THERE had been much talk about our starting at midnight; but, fortunately, we did not get off before daylight, so that I was able to continue my exact observations of the route, which was now to cross the defile observed yesterday afternoon, which already began to impart quite a characteristic aspect to the country. There were some beautifully-shaped cones rising around it, while beyond them an uneven tract stretched out, crowded with small elevations, which gradually rose to greater height; among them one peak, of very considerable elevation, was distinguished by its graceful form, and seemed worthy of a sketch. Attached to it was a lower rocky range, with

a very marked horizontal crest, while running parallel to our path were small ledges of gneiss. After a march of seven miles and a half we ascended a considerable range of rugged eminences, from the crest of which we followed a steep descent into an uneven rocky tract, intersected by several shallow beds of torrents; and then, just as the heat began, we reached the valley of Arókam, where we encamped at about half an hour's distance from the well, and opposite to a branch wadi, through which lay our next day's route. In the afternoon I climbed the

highest of the cones rising above the cliffs, but without obtaining any distant prospect.

Saturday, August 10th. The active buzu Amankay, who early in the morning went once more to the well in order to fill a few water-skins, brought the news that a considerable caravan, consisting chiefly of Aníslimen or Merabetín from Tintaghodé, had arrived at the well the evening before, on their road to Ghát, and that they protested against our visiting their country, and still more against our approaching their town. Notwithstanding the bad disposition of these people toward us, I managed to induce one of them, who visited our encampment, to take charge of letters addressed by me to Háj Ibrahim, in Ghát, which I am glad to say arrived safely in Europe. Amankay reported to us that on his way to the well he had observed a small palm-tree.

We started rather late in the morning, entering the branch wadi, which proved to be far more considerable than it seemed, and rich in talha-trees. In this way we kept winding along several valleys, till, after a march of three miles, we ascended and crossed a very interesting defile, or a slip in the line of elevation, bordered on both sides by a terraced and indented slope,

the highest peaks of the ridge rising to not less than a thousand feet, while their general elevation was about six hundred feet.

Mr. Overweg recognized this as gneiss. Close beyond this defile, at the foot of mounds of disintegrated granite, we encamped, to our great astonishment, a little after eight o'clock in the morning; but the reason of this short march was, that our companions, on account of the arrival of the caravan above mentioned, did not choose to stop at our former encampment, else they would have rested there to-day. In the afternoon a high wind arose, which upset our tent.

Sunday, August 11th. After a march of little more than two miles over an irregular tract of granite, in a state of great disintegration, intersected by crests of gneiss, we obtained from a higher level an interesting view over the whole region, and saw that beyond the hilly ground of broken granite a large plain of firm gravelly soil spread out, surrounded by a circle of higher mounts. Then followed a succession of flat shallow valleys overgrown with sebót and talha-trees, till the ridges on the right and left (the latter rising to about 800 feet) approached each other, forming a sort of wider passage or defile. The spur of the range to the left, with its strongly-marked and indented crest, formed quite an interesting feature.

Beyond this passage we entered a bare gravelly plain, from which rose a few detached mounts, followed by more continuous ranges forming more or less regular valleys. The most remarkable of these is the valley Aséttere, which, in its upper course, where it is called A'kafa, is supplied by the famous well Tajétterat;* but, as we were sufficiently supplied with water

* The two names Aséttere and Tajétterat are apparently derived from the same root.

from Arókam, and as the well Aïsalen was near, we left it on one side.

We encamped at length in a valley joined by several branch vales, and therefore affording a good supply of herbage, which the Kél-owí were anxious to collect as a supply for the journey over the entirely bare tract to Asïu. As for ourselves, one of our servants being utterly unfit for work, we could not lay in a supply. We had been rather unfortunate with this fellow; for, having hired him in Múrzuk, he was laid up with the Guinea-worm from the very day that we left Ghát, and was scarcely of any use at all. This disease is extremely frequent among people traveling along this route; Amankay also was suffering from it, and at times became quite a burden. It attacked James Bruce even after his return to Europe; and I always dreaded it more than any other disease during my travels in Central Africa; but, fortunately, by getting a less serious one, which I may call sore legs, I got rid of the causes which I am sure, when acting in a stronger degree, produce the vena.

About sunset I ascended the eastern cliffs, which are very considerable, and from the highest peak, which rose to an elevation of more than 1200 feet above the bottom of the valley, obtained an extensive view. The whole formation consists of granite, and its kindred forms of mica, quartz, and feldspar. The bottom of the valley bore evident traces of a small torrent which seems to refresh the soil occasionally; and the same was the case with several small ravines which descend from the south-eastern cliffs.

Monday, August 12th. Our route followed the windings of the valley, which, farther on, exhibited more ethel than talha-trees, besides detached specimens of the *Asclepias*. After a march of four miles and a half we came to two wells about four feet deep, and took in a small supply of water. The granite formation at the foot of the cliffs on our left was most beautiful, looking very like syenite. While we were taking in the water, flocks of wild-fowl (*Pterocles*) were flying over our heads, and expressed by repeated cries their dissatisfaction at our disturbing their solitary retreat. The ethel, the talha, and the áddwa, or abórak, enliven these secluded valleys.

Delighted by the report of Amankay, who came to meet us, that he had succeeded in detaining the caravan of the Tinýlkum at Aïsala, where they were waiting for us, we cheerfully continued our march; but before we reached the place the whole character of the country changed, the cliffs being craggy and split into huge blocks, heaped upon each other in a true Cyclopean style, such as only Nature can execute, while the entire hollow was covered with granite masses, scarcely allowing a passage. Descending these, we got sight of the encampment of the caravan in a widening of the hollow; and, after paying our compliments to all the members of this motley band, we encamped a little beyond, in a recess of the western cliffs.

The Tinýlkum* as well as Bóro Serki-n-turáwa were very scantily provided. They had lost so much time on the road on our account that it was necessary, as well as just, to leave them part of the provisions which they were carrying for us. All our luggage we found in the best state. Very much against their will, our companions had been supplied on the road with the flesh of nine camels, which had succumbed to the fatigues of the march; and some of them, and especially our energetic friend Háj 'Omar, had obtained a tolerable supply by hunting: besides wadáns, they had killed also several gazelles, though we had scarcely seen any.

They had been lingering in this place four days, and were most anxious to go on. But we had a great deal to do; for all our luggage was to be repacked, all the water-skins to be filled, and herbage and wood to be collected for the road. Besides Ibrahim, who was lame and useless, Overweg and myself had

* I give here a list of the stations of their route from Eláwen:

Em-eríwuang, with water, one day; Inar-ámas, one long day; Tibállaghén, with water when there has been much rain, one day; Terhén, with water, one day; Tin-afárfa, mountain range with sand, one day; Takísct, a valley between high mountains, three days, two of them over very sandy ground; Arikím, with water at all times; Iséti, a valley, two days; Tamiswát, valley with water, one day; Morér, high mountains, two days; Falésselez, one day, over a gravelly hammáda; Tamba- or Shamba-késa, a shallow valley rich in herbage (see p. 224), one day; Tirárien, one day; Araer, hammáda with shallow valleys, one day; Táfak, one day; Arókam, water, one day; Tádomat, valley, one day; Kátelct, one day; Aísala or Isala, one day.

only two servants, one of whom (Mohammed, the liberated Tunisian slave) was at times a most insolent rascal.

Besides, we were pestered by the Kél-owí and by Utaeti, and I got into a violent dispute with Fárreji, the shameless freed-slave of Lusu; still I managed, on the morning of the following day, to rove about a little. Just above the well rises a confused mass of large granite blocks, the lowest range of which was covered with Tefínagh inscriptions, one of which I copied. It was written with uncommon accuracy and neatness, and, if found near the coast, would be generally taken for Punic.* I was obliged to be cautious, as there was a great deal of excitement and irritation in the caravan, and, from what had previously taken place, all the way from Múrzuk, every body regarded us as the general purveyors, and cherished the ardent hope that at last it would be his good fortune, individually, to get possession of our property.

In the afternoon the Tinýlkum started in advance, and we followed them, the hollow gradually widening and becoming clothed with large knots of ethel-bushes. At the point where this valley joins another, and where a large quantity of herbage bedecked the ground, we found our friends encamped, and chose our ground a little beyond them, near a low cliff of granite rocks. All the people were busily employed cutting herbage for the journey, while Mr. Richardson at length succeeded in satisfying Utaeti, who was to return. He had been begging most importunately from me; and, by way of acknowledging my obligations to him, I presented him, on parting, with a piece of white muslin and a red sash, together with something for Hatíta.

These parties were scarcely quieted when others took their place, urging their pretensions to our acknowledgments; and we had just started the next day when Bóro Serki-n-turáwa dispatched, underhand, my smart friend the Tawáti 'Abd el Káder, with full instructions to give me a lecture on his boundless power and influence in the country which we were fast approaching. I was aware of this before, and knew that, in our situation as unprotected travelers in a new country, we ought to have

* I read it "énfadmaschbel."

secured his friendly disposition from the beginning; but the means of the expedition being rather limited, Mr. Richardson had made it a principle never to give till compelled by the utmost necessity, when the friendly obligation connected with the present was, if not destroyed, at least greatly diminished.

The structure of the valley soon became irregular, and the character of the country more desolate, a circumstance which seems to be expressed by its name, Ikadémmelrang. All was granite in a state of the utmost disintegration, and partly reduced to gravel, while detached cones were rising in all directions. Marching along over this dreary and desolate country, we reached, at half past two in the afternoon, after a gradual and almost imperceptible ascent, the highest level of the desert plain, from whence the isolated rocky cones and ridges look like so many islands rising from the sea. A sketch which I made of one of these mounts will give an idea of their character.

After a march of twelve hours and a half, which I would have gladly doubled, provided our steps had been directed in a straight line toward the longed-for regions of Negroland, we encamped on hard ground, so that we had great difficulty in fixing the pegs of our tents. The sky was overcast with thick clouds, but our hopes of a refreshing rain were disappointed.

Thursday, August 15th. The character of the country continued the same, though the weather was so foggy that the heights at some distance were quite enveloped, and became entirely invisible. This was a sure indication of our approaching tropical climes. After a march of three miles and a half the ground became more rugged for a short time, but was soon succeeded by a gravelly plain. The sky had become thickly clouded; and in the afternoon a high wind arose, succeeded,

about two o'clock, by heavy rain, and by distant thunder, while the atmosphere was exceedingly heavy, and made us all feel drowsy.

It was three o'clock when we arrived at the Marárraba,* the "half-way" between Ghát and Aïr, a place regarded with a kind of religious awe by the natives, who, in passing, place each a stone upon the mighty granite blocks which mark the spot. To our left we had irregular rocky ground, with a few elevations rising to a greater height, and ahead a very remarkable granite crest, sometimes rising, at others descending, with its slopes enveloped in sand up to the very top. This ridge, which is called Giféngwetáng, and which looks very much like an artificial wall erected between the dry desert and the more favored region of the tropics, we crossed, further on, through an opening like a saddle, and among sand-hills, where the slaves of our companions ran about to pick up and collect the few tufts of herbage that were scattered over the surface, in order to furnish a fresh mouthful to the poor wearied animals. At four o'clock the sand-hills ceased, and were succeeded by a wide pebbly plain, on which, after six miles' traveling, we encamped.

Our encampment was by no means a quiet one; and to any one who paid due attention to the character and disposition of the people, serious indications of a storm, which was gathering over us, became visible. Mohammed Bóro, who had so often given vent to his feelings of revenge for the neglect with which he had been treated, was all fire and fury; and, stirring up the whole encampment, he summoned all the people to a council, having, as he said, received intelligence that a large party of Hogár was coming to Asïu. Not having paid much attention to the report about Sídi Jáfel's expedition, I became anxious when made aware of the man's fury, for I knew the motives which actuated him.

Friday, August 16th. We started early. Gravelly and pebbly grounds succeeded each other, the principal formation

* This is a Háusa word, from "rába" (to divide); and I shall have to notice, in the course of my proceedings, several localities so designated on various routes.

being granite; but when, after a march of about thirteen miles, we passed the narrow sandy spur of a considerable ridge approaching our left, a fine species of white marble became visible. We then passed a rugged district, of peculiar and desolate appearance, called Ibéllakang, and crossed a ridge of gneiss covered with gravel. Here, while a thunder-storm was rising in the east, our caravan, to our great regret, divided, the Tinýlkum turning off toward the east, in order, as we were told, to look for a little herbage among the sand-hills. Meanwhile, thick, heavy clouds, which had been discharging a great quantity of rain toward the east, broke over us at a quarter past four o'clock in the afternoon, when we were just in the act of crossing another rocky crest covered with gravel. A violent sandstorm, followed by heavy rain, which was driven along by a furious gale, soon threw the caravan into the utmost confusion, and made all observation impossible; but, fortunately, it did not last long.

It was on descending from this crest, while the weather cleared up, that the Háusa slaves, with a feeling of pride and joy, pointed out in the far distance "dútsi-n-Absen" (Mount Absen). Here the granite formation had been gradually succeeded by sandstone and slate. This district, indeed, seems to be the line of demarcation between two different zones.

At twenty minutes past six o'clock we at length encamped, but were again in the saddle at eleven o'clock at night, and in pale moonlight, sleepy and worn out as we were, began a dreadful night's march. But altogether it proved to be a wise measure taken by the Kél-owí, who had reason to be afraid lest the Hogár, of whom they appeared to have trustworthy news, might overtake us before we reached the wells of Asïu, and then treat us as they pleased. Our companions, who were, of course, themselves not quite insensible to fatigue, as night advanced became very uncertain in their direction, and kept much too far to the south. When day dawned, our road lay over a flat, rocky, sandstone surface, while we passed on our left a locality remarkable for nothing but its name, Efínagha.* We then

* This name is evidently identical with the name given to the Berber alphabet,

descended from the rocky ground into the extremely shallow valley of Asïu, overgrown with scanty herbage of a kind not much liked by the camels. Here we encamped, near a group of four wells, which still belong to the Azkár, while a little farther on there are others which the Kél-owí regard as their own property. How it was that we did not encamp near the latter I can not say. But the people were glad to have got so far. The wells, or at least two of them, afforded an abundant supply of water; but it was not of a good quality, and had a peculiar taste, I think on account of the iron ore with which it was impregnated.

This, then, was Asïu,* a place important for the caravan-trade at all times, on account of the routes from Ghadámes and from Tawát joining here, and which did so even as far back as the time when the famous traveler Ebn Batúta returned from his enterprising journey to Sudán homeward by way of Tawát (in the year 1353–4). Desolate and melancholy as it appeared, it was also an important station to us, as we thought that we had now left the most difficult part of the journey behind us; for, though I myself had some forebodings of a danger threatening us, we had no idea that the difficulties which we should have to encounter were incomparably greater than those which we had passed through. Mr. Richardson supposed that because we had reached the imaginary frontier of the territories of the Azkár and Kél-owí, we were beyond the reach of any attack from the north. With the utmost obstinacy he reprobated as absurd any supposition that such a frontier might be easily crossed by nomadic roving tribes, asserting that these frontiers in the desert were respected much more scrupulously than any frontier of Austria, notwithstanding the innumerable host of its land-

which is called tefínaghen; but the coincidence will cease to surprise when I remark that both words mean nothing but signs, tokens, a name which may be given as well to letters as to a district remarkable for the position of some stones or ridges. The Tawárek, as I shall have occasion to mention in another part of my narrative, call all sorts of writing not written in signs, but with letters, tefínaghen. The learned among the Tademékket and Awelímmiden were greatly surprised, when going attentively over my English books, to find it was all tefínaghen —"tefínagh rurret."

* The form Aisou, in Mr. Richardson's Journal, is only a clerical error.

waiters. But he was soon to be undeceived on all the points of his desert diplomacy, at his own expense and that of us all.

There was very little attraction for roving about in this broad gravelly plain. Now and then a group of granite blocks interrupted the monotonous level, bordered on the north by a gradually-ascending rocky ground, while the southern border rose to a somewhat higher elevation.

Desolate as the spot was, and gloomy as were our prospects, the arrival of the Tinýlkum in the course of the afternoon afforded a very cheerful sight, and inspired some confidence, as we felt that our little party had once more resumed its strength. All the people, however, displayed an outward show of tranquillity and security with the exception of Serki-n-turáwa, who was bustling about in a state of the utmost excitement. Watering the camels and filling the water-skins employed the whole day.

Sunday, August 18th. After a two hours' march we began to ascend, first gradually, then more steeply, all the rocks hereabouts consisting of slate, greatly split and rent, and covered with sand. In twenty-five minutes we reached the higher level, which consisted of pebbly ground with a ridge running, at the distance of about four miles, to the west.

While we were quietly pursuing our road, with the Kél-owí in the van, the Tinýlkum marching in the rear, suddenly Mohammed the Sfaksi came running behind us, swinging his musket over his head, and crying lustily, "He awelád, awelád bú, 'aduna já" ("Lads, lads, our enemy has come"), and spreading the utmost alarm through the whole of the caravan. Every body seized his arms, whether musket, spear, sword, or bow; and whosoever was riding jumped down from his camel. Some time elapsed before it was possible, amid the noise and uproar, to learn the cause of the alarm. At length it transpired. A man named Mohammed, belonging to the caravan, having remained a little behind at the well, had observed three Tawárek mounted on mehára approaching at a rapid rate; and while he himself followed the caravan, he left his slave behind to see whether others were in the rear. The slave, after a while, over-

took him with the news that several more camels had become visible in the distance, and then Mohammed and his slave hurried on to bring us the intelligence. Even Mr. Richardson, who, being rather hard of hearing, judged of our situation only from the alarm, descended from his slender little she-camel and cocked his pistols. A warlike spirit seemed to have taken possession of the whole caravan; and I am persuaded that, had we been attacked at this moment, all would have fought valiantly. But such is not the custom of freebooting parties: they will cling artfully to a caravan, and first introduce themselves in a tranquil and peaceable way, till they have succeeded in disturbing the little unity which exists in such a troop, composed as it is of the most different elements; they then gradually throw off the mask, and in general attain their object.

When at length a little tranquillity had been restored, and plenty of powder and shot had been distributed among those armed with firelocks, the opinion began to prevail that, even if the whole of the report should be true, it was not probable that we should be attacked by daylight. We therefore continued our march with a greater feeling of security, while a body of archers was dispatched to learn the news of a small caravan which was coming from Sudán, and marching at some distance from us, behind a low ridge of rocks. They were a few Tébu, with ten camels and between thirty and forty slaves, unconsciously going to meet a terrible fate; for we afterward learned that the Imghád of the Hogár, or rather the Hadánara, disappointed at our having passed through their country without their getting any thing from us, had attacked this little troop, murdering the Tébu, and carrying off their camels and slaves.

While the caravan was going slowly on, I was enabled to allow my méheri a little feeding on the nesí (*Panicum grossularium*, much liked by camels) in a spot called Tahasása. At noon we began to ascend on rocky ground, and, after a very gradual ascent of three miles, reached the higher level, strewn with pebbles, but exhibiting further on a rugged slaty soil, till we reached the valley Fénorang.* This valley, which is a little less

* Mr. Richardson calls it Takeesat.

than a mile in breadth, is famous for its rich supply of herbage, principally of the kind calléd bú-rékkeba, and the far-famed el hád (the camel's dainty), and is on this account an important halting-place for the caravans coming from the north, after having traversed that naked part of the desert, which produces scarcely any food for the camel. Notwithstanding, therefore, the danger which threatened us, it was determined to remain here not only this, but also the following day.

As soon as the loads were taken off their backs, the half-starved camels fell to devouring eagerly the fine herbage offered them. Meanwhile we encamped as close together as possible, preparing ourselves for the worst, and looking anxiously around in every direction. But nobody was to be seen till the evening, when the three men on their mehára made their appearance, and, being allowed to approach the caravan, made no secret of the fact that a greater number was behind them.

Aware of what might happen, our small troop had all their arms ready, in order to repulse any attack; but the Kél-owí and the few Askár who were in our caravan kept us back, and, after a little talk, allowed the visitors to lie down for the night near our encampment, and even solicited our hospitality in their behalf. Nevertheless, all of them well knew that the strangers were freebooters, who could not but have bad designs against us; and the experienced old Awed el Khér, the sheikh of the Káfila, came expressly to us, warning and begging us to be on our guard, while Bóro Serki-n-turáwa began to play a conspicuous part, addressing the Kél-owí and Tinýlkum in a formal speech, and exhorting them to stand by us. Every body was crying for powder, and nobody could get enough. Our clever but occasionally very troublesome servant Mohammed conceived a strategical plan, placing on the north side of the two tents the four pieces of the boat, behind each of which one of us had to take his station in case of an attack.

Having had some experience of freebooters' practices in my former wanderings, I knew that all this was mere farce and mockery, and the only way of insuring our safety would have been to prevent these scouts from approaching us at all. We

kept watch the whole night; and of course the strangers, seeing us well on our guard, and the whole caravan still in high spirits and in unity, ventured upon nothing.

In the morning our three guests (who, as I made out, did not belong to the Azkár, but were Kél-fadé from the northern districts of Aïr) went slowly away, but only to join their companions, who had kept at some distance beyond the rocky ridge which bordered, or, rather, interrupted the valley to the westward. There some individuals of the caravan, who went to cut herbage, found the fresh traces of nine camels. In spite of outward tranquillity, there was much matter for anxiety and much restlessness in the caravan, and suddenly an alarm was given that the camels had been stolen; but, fortunately, it proved to be unfounded.

'Abd el Káder, the Tawáti of whom I have spoken above, trying to take advantage of this state of things, came to Mr. Overweg, and earnestly pressed him to deposit every thing of value with Awed el Khér, the Kél-owí, and something, "of course," with him also. This was truly very disinterested advice; for, if any thing had happened to us, they would, of course, have become our heirs. In the evening we had again three guests, not, however, the same as before, but some of their companions, who belonged to the Hadánara, one of the divisions of the Azkár.

Tuesday, August 20th. At an early hour we started with an uneasy feeling. With the first dawn the true believers had been called together to prayer, and the bond which united the Mohammedan members of the caravan with the Christian travelers had been loosened in a very conspicuous manner. Then the encampment broke up and we set out, not, however, as we had been accustomed to go latterly, every little party starting off as soon as they were ready, but all waiting till the whole caravan had loaded their camels, when we began our march in close order, first along the valley, then entering upon higher ground, sometimes gravelly, at others rocky. The range to our right, here a little more than a mile distant, bears different names corresponding to the more prominent parts into which it is separated by

hollows or saddles, the last cone toward the south being called Timázkaren, a name most probably connected with that of the Azkár tribe, while another is named Tin-dúrdurang. The Tarki or Amóshagh is very expressive in names; and whenever the meaning of all these appellations shall be brought to light, I am sure we shall find many interesting significations. Though I paid a good deal of attention to their language, the Tarkíyeh or Temáshight, I had not leisure enough to become master of the more difficult and obsolete terms; and, of course, very few even among themselves can at present tell the exact meaning of a name derived from ancient times.

At length we had left behind us that remarkable ridge, and entering another shallow valley full of young herbage, followed its windings, the whole presenting a very irregular structure, when suddenly four men were seen ahead of us on an eminence, and instantly a troop of lightly-armed people, among them three archers, were dispatched, as it seemed, in order to reconnoitre, marching in regular order straight for the eminence.

Being in the first line of our caravan, and not feeling so sure on the camel as on foot, I dismounted, and marched forward, leading my méheri by the nose-cord, and with my eyes fixed upon the scene before us. But how much was I surprised when I saw two of the four unknown individuals executing a wild sort of armed dance together with the Kél-owí, while the others were sitting quietly on the ground. Much perplexed, I continued to move slowly on, when two of the men who had danced suddenly rushed upon me, and, grasping the rope of my camel, asked for tribute. Quite unprepared for such a scene under such circumstances, I grasped my pistol, when, just at the right time, I learned the reason and character of this curious proceeding.

The little eminence on the top of which we had observed the people, and at the foot of which the armed dance was performed, is an important locality in the modern history of the country which we had reached; for here it was that when the Kél-owí (at that time an unmixed and pure Berber tribe, as it seems) took possession of the country of Old Góber, with its capital, Tin-shamán, a compromise or covenant was entered into between

the red conquerors and the black natives that the latter should not be destroyed, and that the principal chief of the Kél-owí should only be allowed to marry a black woman. And, as a memorial of this transaction, the custom has been preserved, that when caravans pass the spot where the covenant was entered into, near the little rock Máket-n-ikelán,* "the slaves" shall be merry and be authorized to levy upon their masters a small tribute. The black man who stopped me was the "serki-n-baï (the principal or chief of the slaves).

These poor merry creatures, while the caravan was proceeding on its march, executed another dance; and the whole would have been an incident of the utmost interest if our minds and those of all the well-disposed members of the caravan had not been greatly oppressed and vexed with sad forebodings of mishap. The fear was so great that the amiable and sociable Slimán (one of the Tinýlkum, who at a later period manifested his sympathy with us in our misfortunes) begged me most urgently to keep more in the middle of the caravan, as he was afraid that one of those ruffians might suddenly rush upon me and pierce me with his spear.

The soil hereabouts consisted entirely of bare gravel; but farther on it became more uneven, and broken by granite rocks, in the cavities among which our people found some rain-water. The tract on our right was called Tisgáwade, while the heights on our left bore the name Tin-ébbeke. I here rode a while by the side of E'meli, a Tarki of the tribe of the Azkár, a gentleman both in his dress and manners, who never descended from the back of his camel. Although he appeared not to be very hostile to the robbers on our track, and was certainly aware of their intention, I liked him on account of his distinguished manners, and, under more favorable circumstances, should have been able to obtain a great deal of information from him. But there

* I regret that I neglected to inquire what was the original Góber name of this place; for, while there can not be any doubt that it received its present name, Máket-n-ikelán, from this transaction, it is very probable that it was a place of ancient pagan worship, and, as such, had a name of its own. It is very significant that the neighboring plain is emphatically called "the plain of Aïr," in the Arabic form, "sh'abet el Ahír."

was with him a rather disagreeable and malicious fellow named Mohammed (or, as the Tawárek pronounce it, Mokhammed), from Yánet or Jánet, who, in the course of the difficulties which befell us, did us a great deal of mischief, and was fully disposed to do us much more.

The country, which in the mean time had become more open, after a while became bordered ahead by elevations in the form of a semicircle, while we began to ascend. The weather had been extremely sultry and close the whole day; and at last, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the storm broke out, but with less violence than on the day before our arrival at Asīu.

We encamped at length on an open gravelly plain, surrounded by ridges of rocks, without pitching our tents; for our unwished-for guests had, in the face of the Tinýlkum, openly declared that their design was to kill us, but that they wanted first to get more assistance. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Richardson even to-night was obliged to feed these ruffians—such is the weakness of a caravan; although, in our case, the difference of religion and consequent want of unity could not but greatly contribute to paralyze its strength. I here heard that some of the party were Imghád from Tádomat.

Under such circumstances, and in such a state of feeling, it was impossible to enjoy the sport and frolics of the slaves (that is, of the domestic slaves) of the Kél-owí, who, with wild gestures and cries, were running about the encampment to exact from all the free individuals of the caravan their little Máket-n-ikelán tribute, receiving from one a small quantity of dates, from another a piece of muslin or a knife, from another a shirt. Every body was obliged to give something, however small. Notwithstanding our long day's march, Overweg and I found it necessary to be on the watch the whole night.

Wednesday, August 21st. Starting at an early hour, we ascended very rugged ground, the rocky ridges on both sides often meeting together and forming irregular defiles. After a march of five miles and a half we reached the highest elevation, and obtained a view over the whole district, which, being sprinkled as it were with small granitic mounds, had a very desolate appear-

ance; but in the distance to our left an interesting mountain group was to be seen, of which the accompanying sketch will give some idea.

Having crossed several small valleys, we reached, a little before ten o'clock, one of considerable breadth, richly overgrown with herbage, and exhibiting evident traces of a violent torrent which had swept over it the day before, while with us but little rain had fallen. It is called Jínninau, and improved as we advanced, our path sometimes keeping along it, sometimes receding to a little distance; in some places the growth of the trees, principally the *Balanites* or abórak, was indeed splendid and luxuriant. Unfortunately, we had not sufficient leisure and mental ease to collect all the information which, under more favorable circumstances, would have been within our reach. Thus I learned that magnetic ironstone was found in the mountains to our left. After noon the valley divided into three branches, the easternmost of which is the finest and richest in vegetation, while the western one, called Tiyút, has likewise a fine supply of trees and herbage; we took the middle one, and a little farther on, where it grew narrower, encamped.

It was a very pretty and picturesque camping-ground. At the foot of our tents was a rocky bed of a deep and winding torrent bordered by most luxuriant talha- and abórak-trees (*Balanites Ægyptiaca*), and forming a small pond where the water, rushing down from the rocks behind, had collected; the fresh green of the trees, enlivened by recent rains, formed a beautiful contrast with the dark-yellowish color of the rocks behind. Notwithstanding our perilous situation, I could not help straying about, and found, on the blocks over the tebki or pond, some coarse rock-sculptures representing oxen, asses, and a very tall

animal, which, according to the Kél-owí, was intended to represent the giraffe.

While I was enjoying the scenery of the place, Dídi stepped suddenly behind me, and tried to throw me down, but not succeeding, laid his hands from behind upon the pistols which I wore in my belt, trying, by way of experiment, whether I was able to use them notwithstanding his grasp; but, turning sharply round, I freed myself from his hold, and told him that no effeminate person like himself should take me. He was a cunning and insidious fellow, and I trusted him the least of our Kél-owí friends. A'nnur warned us that the freebooters intended to carry off the camels that we ourselves were riding in the night, and it was fortunate that we had provided for the emergency, and were able to fasten them to strong iron rings.

While keeping the first watch during the night, I was enabled by the splendid moonlight to address a few lines in pencil to my friends at home.

Thursday, August 22d. The Kél-owí having had some difficulty in finding their camels, we did not move at an early hour. To our great astonishment, we crossed the rocky bed of the torrent, and entered an irregular defile, where, a little farther on, we passed another pond of rain-water. When at length we emerged from the rocks, we reached a very high level, whence we had a clear prospect over the country before us. Four considerable ranges of mountains were clearly distinguishable in the distance, forming an *ensemble* of which the accompanying sketch will give

an idea. We then entered valleys clothed with a fine fresh verdure sprinkled with flowers, and with a luxuriant vegetation such as we had not seen before. The senna-plant (*Cassia sen-*

na) appeared in tolerable quantity. Mountains and peaks were seen all around in a great variety of forms; and at twenty minutes past nine we had a larger mountain mass on one side, from which a dry water-course, marked by a broad line of herbage, issued and crossed our route.

Having here allowed our camels a little feeding, we entered upon gravelly soil with projecting blocks of granite, and then went on ascending through a succession of small plains and valleys till we reached Erazar-n-Gébi, among the splendid vegetation of which we first observed the abísga, or *Capparis sodata*, called siwák or lirák by the Arabs—an important bush, the currant-like fruit of which is not only eaten fresh, but also dried and laid up in store, while the root affords that excellent remedy for the teeth which the Mohammedans, in imitation of their Prophet, use to a great extent. The root, moreover, at least on the banks of the Tsád, by the process of burning, affords a substitute for salt. It is the most characteristic bush or tree of the whole region of transition between the desert and the fertile regions of Central Africa, between the twentieth and the fifteenth degree of northern latitude; and in the course of my travels I saw it nowhere of such size as on the northern bank of the Isa or Niger, between Timbúktu and Gágho, the whole ground which this once splendid and rich capital of the Songhay empire occupied being at present covered and marked out by this celebrated bush. As for the camels, they like very well to feed for a short time upon its fresh leaves, if they have some other herb to mix with it; but, eaten alone, it soon becomes too bitter for them. In this valley the little berries were not yet ripe, but further on they were ripening, and afforded a slight but refreshing addition to our food.

Leaving the pleasant valley of Gébi by a small opening bordered with large blocks of granite, while peaks of considerable elevation were seen towering over the nearer cliffs, we entered another large valley called Tághajít,* but not quite so rich in vegetation, and encamped here in an open space a little after noon. The valley is important as being the first in the frontier

* This name, too, is pronounced Tarhajít.

region of Aïr or Asben where there is a fixed settlement—a small village of leathern tents, inhabited by people of the tribe of Fade-ang, who preserve a certain independence of the Kél-owí, while they acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultan of A'gades, a state of things of which I shall have occasion to say more in another place.

CHAPTER XIII.

INHABITED BUT DANGEROUS FRONTIER REGION.

THE sensations of our guides and camel-drivers had been uneasy from the very moment of our encamping; and Mr. Richardson, at the suggestion of A'nnur, had on the preceding day sent E'meli and Mokhammed in advance, in order to bring to us the chief of Fade-ang. This person was represented to us as a man of great authority in this lawless country, and able to protect us against freebooting parties, which our guests of the other day, who had gone on in advance, were sure to collect against us. But Mokhammed, as I have observed above, was a great rascal himself, who would do all in his power to increase our difficulties, in order to profit by the confusion. The chief was accordingly reported as being absent, and a man who was said to be his brother was to take his place. This person made his appearance, accompanied by some people from the village; but it became immediately apparent that he had no authority whatever, and one of the Imghád of Tádomat, who had stuck to us for the last two days, in order to show us what respect he had for this man, struck him repeatedly with his spear upon the shoulder. Among the companions of our new protector was a Taleb of the name of Buhéda, distinguished by his talkativeness and a certain degree of arrogance, who made himself ridiculous by trying to convince us of his immense learning. What an enormous difference there was between these mean-looking and degraded half-castes and our martial pursuers, who stood

close by! Though I knew the latter could and would do us much more harm than the former, I liked them much better.

Overweg and I had sat down in the shade of a talha-tree at a little distance from our tent, and had soon a whole circle of visitors around us, who in the beginning behaved with some modesty and discretion, but gradually became rather troublesome. I gave them some small presents, such as scissors, knives, mirrors, and needles, with which they expressed themselves well pleased. Presently came also several women, one with the characteristic features called in Temáshight "tebúllodén," which may be translated by the words of Leo, "le parti di dietro pienissime e grasse," and another younger one mounted upon a donkey.

The whole character of these people appeared very degraded. They were totally devoid of the noble and manly appearance which the most careless observer can not fail to admire even in a common Tarki freebooter; and the relation between the sexes appeared in a worse light than one would expect in such a situation as this. However, we have ample testimony in ancient Arabian writers that licentious manners have always prevailed among the Berber tribes on the frontier of the desert; and we found the same habits existing among the tribe of the Tagáma, while not only A'gades, but even the little village of Tintéllust, was not without its courtesans. This is a very disheartening phenomenon to observe in so small a community, and in a locality where nature would seem peculiarly favorable to purity and simplicity of manners. The names of some of these Tághajít beauties—Telíttifók, Tatináta, and Temétilé—are interesting for the character of the language.

We were anxious to buy some of the famous Aïr cheese, for which we had been longing the whole way over the dreary desert, and had kept up our spirits with the prospect of soon indulging in this luxury; but we were not able to procure a single one, and our endeavors to buy a sheep or a goat were equally fruitless. Instead of the plenty which we had been led to expect in this country, we found nothing but misery. But I was rather surprised to find here a very fine and strong race of asses.

We were tolerably composed, and reclining at our ease (though our weapons were always at hand), when we were a little alarmed by a demand of six riyals for the use of the pond in Jínninau. Our amiable but unenergetic friend A'nnur seconded the demand, by way of satisfying in some way the intruders upon our caravan. These claims were scarcely settled when a dreadful alarm was raised by the report that a body of from fifty to sixty Mehára were about to attack us.

Though no good authority could be named for this intelligence, the whole caravan was carried away by excitement, and all called out for powder and shot. Bóro Serki-n-turáwa once more delivered eloquent speeches, and exhorted the people to be courageous; but many of the Tinýlkum, very naturally, had a great objection to come to open hostilities with the Tawárek, which might end in their being unable to travel any longer along this route.

In this moment of extreme excitement Khweldi arrived, the chief merchant of Múrzuk, whom we had not expected to see, though we knew that he was on his way from Sudán to the north. We were in a situation wherein he was able to render us the most material service, both by his influence upon the individuals of whom our caravan was composed, and by his knowledge of the country whose frontier territories we had just entered. But unfortunately, though a very experienced merchant, he was not a practical, sharp-sighted man; and instead of giving us clear information as to the probable amount of truth in the reports, and what sort of difficulties we might really have to encounter, and how, by paying a sort of passage-money to the chiefs, we might get over them, he denied in private the existence of any danger at all, while openly he went round the whole caravan extolling our importance as a mission sent by a powerful government, and encouraging the people to defend us if we should be in danger. In consequence of his exhortations the Tinýlkum took courage, but had the imprudence and absurdity to supply also the three intruders with powder and shot, who, though protesting to be now our most sincere friends, of course made no other use of the present than to supply their band with

this material, which alone gave us a degree of superiority, and constituted our security.

Any one accustomed to look closely at things could not be at all satisfied with the spirit of our caravan, notwithstanding its noise and waste of powder, and with its entire want of union; but the scene which followed in the bright moonlight evening, and lasted throughout the night, was animating and interesting in the extreme. The whole caravan was drawn up in a line of battle, the left wing being formed by ourselves and the detachment of the Kél-owí who had left their own camping-ground and posted themselves in front of our tent, while the Tinýlkum and the Sfaksi formed the centre, and the rest of the Kél-owí, with Bóro, the right wing, leaning upon the cliffs, our exposed left being defended by the four pieces of the boat. About ten o'clock a small troop of Mehára* appeared, when a heavy fusilade was kept up over their heads, and firing and shouting were continued the whole night.

Our situation remained the same the whole of the following day; and it became very tedious, as it prevented us from making excursions, and becoming acquainted with the features of the new country which we had entered. Another alarm having been raised in vain, the leaders of the expedition which was collected against us came out, with the promise that they would not further molest the caravan if the Christians were given up to them. This demand having been at once rejected, we were left in tolerable tranquillity for a while, as the freebooters now saw that, in order to attain their object, which was plunder, they should be obliged to bring really into the field the whole force they had so long boasted of.

Khweldi paid us another visit in the afternoon; and as he wanted to make us believe that there was really no danger in this country, so he did not fail to represent the state of things in Sudán as the most favorable we could have wished for. He

* In conformity with the usage of travelers, I call Mehára people mounted upon mehára, or swift camels (in the singular form méheri). This expression has nothing whatever to do with Mehárebín, a name of which I shall speak hereafter.

also sought to sweeten over any remnant of anxiety which we might have by a dish of very delicious dates which he had received from his friend Háj Beshír in Iferwán, and which gave us a favorable idea of what the country before us was able to produce. Altogether Khweldi endeavored to be agreeable to every body; and on a later occasion, in 1854, when I was for some time without means, he behaved toward me in a very gentlemanlike manner. In his company was a brother of our quiet and faithful servant Mohammed from Gatrón, who was now returning home with his earnings.

Not being able to refrain wholly from excursions, I undertook in the afternoon to visit the watering-place situated up a little lateral nook of the valley, adorned with very luxuriant talha-trees, and winding in a half circle by S.E. to N.E. First, at the distance of about a mile, I came to a hole where some of the Tinýlkum were scooping water; and, ascending the rocky bed of the occasional torrent, I found a small pond where the camels were drinking; but our faithful friend Músa, who was not at all pleased with my having ventured so far, told me that the water obtained here did not keep long, but that higher up good water was to be found in the principal valley.

I had, from the beginning, attentively observed the character and proceedings of Bóro Serki-n-turáwa, and feared nothing so much as his intrigues; and, at my urgent request, Mr. Richardson to-night made him a satisfactory present as an acknowledgment of the courage which he had lately shown in defending our cause. Of course, the present came rather late; but it was better to give it now, in order to avert the consequences of his intrigues as much as possible, than not at all. Had it been given two months ago, it might have saved us an immense deal of difficulty, danger, and heavy loss.

Saturday, August 24th. We left at length our camping-ground in Taghajít, and soon passed Khweldi's encampment, which was just about to break up.

Rocky ground, overtopped by higher mountain masses or by detached peaks, and hollows overgrown with rich vegetation, and preserving for a longer or shorter time the regular form of val-

leys, succeed by turns, and constitute the predominant feature of the country of Asben. But, instead of the fresh green pasture which had delighted and cheered us in some of the northern valleys, the herbage in some of those which we passed to-day was quite dry.

Early in the afternoon we encamped in the valley Imenán,* a little outside the line of herbage and trees, on an open spot at the southern foot of a low rocky eminence. The valley, overgrown as it was with large talha-trees and the oat-grass called bú-rékkeba, of tall, luxuriant growth, was pleasant, and invited us to repose. But before sunset our tranquillity was greatly disturbed by the appearance of five of our well-known marauding companions mounted on camels, and leading six others. They dismounted within less than a pistol-shot from our tents, and with wild, ferocious laughter were discussing their projects with the Azkár in our caravan.

I could scarcely suppress a laugh when several of the Tinýlkum came and brought us the ironical assurance that there was now perfect security, and that we might indulge in sound sleep. Others came with the less agreeable but truer warning that we ought not to sleep that night. The greatest alarm and excitement soon spread through the caravan. Later in the evening, while our benevolent guests were devouring their supper, Mohammed el Túnsi called me and Overweg aside, and informed us that we were threatened with great danger indeed, these Hogár, as he called them, having brought a letter from Nakhnúkhen, authorizing them to collect people in the territory of the Kélowí, and there to dispatch us in such a way that not even a trace of us should be found, but not to touch us so long as we were within the confines of Azkár.

I was convinced that this account, so far as it regarded Nakhnúkhen, was an absurd fiction of our persecutors, and I tried to persuade our servant to this effect. When he returned from us to the caravan a council of war was held, and a resolution passed that, if a number of from twenty to thirty people came to attack us, they would undertake to defend us, but if we should be

* The name has probably some connection with that of the tribe I'manang.

threatened by a more numerous host, they would try to make a compromise by yielding up a part of our goods. In consequence of this resolution, all possible warlike preparations were made once more, and Bóro delivered another speech; but it seemed rather irreconcilable with such a state of things that while we, as well as the Tinýlkum, brought all our camels close to our tents at an early hour, the Kél-owí left theirs out the whole night. Perhaps, being natives of the country, they did not expect that the freebooters would seize their animals.

Be this as it may, great anxiety arose when, early in the morning, it was found that the camels were gone; and when day broke, our guests of last night, who had stolen away before midnight, were seen riding down from the rocky ridge on the south, and, with a commanding air, calling the principal men of the caravan to a council. Then followed the scenes which Mr. Richardson has so graphically described.

I will only mention that Bóro Serki-n-turáwa, sword in hand, led us on with great energy. He called me to keep close to him; and I think that now (when we had atoned for the neglect with which he had been treated by us by assuring him that we were convinced of his high position and influence in the country) he had the honest intention to protect us. Of the Tinýlkum only our faithful Músa and the amiable young Slimán adhered to us, and, of the other people, the Tawáti and Mohammed e' Sfaksi, although the latter trembled with fear, and was as pale as death; Yusuf Mukni remained behind. Fárreji, on this occasion, behaved with great courage, and bravely challenged the enemy. What frightened the latter most were the bayonets on our guns, as they saw that, after having received our fire, they would not yet have done with us, but would still have a weapon to encounter at least as formidable as their own spears.

As soon as the enemy had protested that he was only come against us as Christians, all sympathy for us ceased in the caravan. All expected that we would become Moslemín without great difficulty; and our servant Mohammed, when we rejected this condition as an impossibility, immediately relapsed into his ordinary impudence, laughing in our faces because, forsooth, we

were so absurd as still to think of some other expedient. This clever but spoiled youngster was a protégé of the British consulate in Tunis.

At length all seemed to be settled. The whole host of the enemy, besides its rich booty, had been treated with an enormous quantity of mohamsa; and we had repeatedly been assured that now we might be certain of reaching the chief A'nnur's residence without any further disturbance. when the little A'nnur, a man of honest but mild character, came to beg us most earnestly to be on our guard, lest behind the rocks and ridges there might be some persons in ambush. At length we left this inhospitable place; but we were far from being at ease, for it was clear that there was still a cloud on the horizon, which might easily gather to another storm.

After a short march we encamped in a small valley without pitching our tents. The Merábet who had accompanied and sanctioned the expedition against us was now in our company, and that was thought to be the best means of preventing any further molestation. This man, as I made out afterward, was no other than Ibrahím Aghá-batúre (the son of Háj Beshír, a well-known and influential person settled in Ferwán, or Iferwán), who, in consequence of these proceedings, was afterward punished severely by the Sultan of A'gades. With Aghá-batúre himself I met accidentally at a later period, in 1853, near Zinder, when he was greatly astonished to see me still alive. notwithstanding all the hardships I had gone through. Bóro. who passed the evening with him in reading the Kurán, treated him hospitably—with Mr. Richardson's mohamsa.

Monday, August 26th. After a march of three miles and a half, having ascended a little, we obtained a clear view of the great mountain mass which, lying between Tídik on the north and Tintagh-odé on the west, seems not to be marked with a collective proper name, although it is very often called by the people Mount Absen.* But I can not say whether this name,

* Absen and Asben are used indiscriminately, though a ba-Háushe or Háusa man will always say Asben, ba-Asbenchi, Asbenáwa, while the native half-caste will prefer the other form—Absen, Absenáwa.

which is the old Góber name for the whole country called by the Berbers Aïr, belonged originally only to these mountains, or whether it is now given to them merely on account of their being the conspicuous elevation of the country so named to people coming from the north; for this, according to the unanimous statement of the Kél-owí, is the frontier of Sudán, to which neither Tághajít nor even Tídik belongs. The Tawárek, it would seem, have no indigenous proper name for Sudán (properly Beled e' sudán) or Negroland; most of them call it Agús (the south). Nevertheless, Tekrúr seems to be an ancient Libyan name for Negroland.

A remarkable peak, called Téngik or Tímge, towers over this mountain mass, being, according to the intelligent old chief, A'nnur (who ought to be well acquainted with his own country), the most elevated point in the whole country of Aïr. Unfortunately, our situation in the country was such that we could not think of exploring this very interesting northern barrier, which must be supposed to possess many beautiful glens and valleys.

But we were still at some distance from these picturesque mountains, and had to cross a very rugged and dreary waste, where, however, we caught sight of the first ostrich as yet seen on our journey. We encamped at length in a shallow valley devoid of any interesting features.

During the night, while I was on the first watch, walking round the encampment of the caravan, it struck me that at one end of it, beyond the Kél-owí, a small party was separately encamped. When I went there for the first time, all was quiet; but a little after eleven o'clock (for in general, on such a journey, every one lies down at an early hour), hearing a noise on that side, I saw two armed Tawárek saddle their mehára and make off in the gloom of night. From this circumstance I concluded that something was still going on against us; but as it appeared useless to make an alarm, I only took the precaution to put Overweg, who succeeded me on the watch, upon his guard.

Tuesday, August 27th. We started at a very early hour,

but fortunately the moonlight was so clear and beautiful that I was not interrupted for a moment in marking down all the features of the country, at least along our route, for our situation was now too precarious to allow of our observing angles to fix the exact position of mountains lying at some distance from us.

The road in general continued rugged for the first six miles, and formed at times very difficult passes; but, notwithstanding these obstacles, the whole caravan kept as close together as possible, and so frustrated the plans of our persecutors, who, as we concluded from the appearance of several Mehára in the distance, intended to attack us on the road if occasion offered. There are two roads, the easternmost of which passes farther on through a remarkable gorge in the mountains, which we had for a long time ahead of us. Here, where we turned off with a westerly deviation, beautiful white marble, but slightly weather-worn on the surface, appeared between the nodules of granite and gneiss, while on our right we had a rocky ridge called Itsa, the crest of which was indented in a most remarkable way. Farther on, where for a while we entered on a gravelly soil, the whole ground was covered with fresh footsteps of camels and men, and there was not the least doubt that another host was gathering against us.

Mount Kadamméllet, with its tapering double peak, at a greater distance in the west, formed an interesting object, while the country was gradually improving. While turning round the

lower offshoots of the large mountain mass which we had now approached, we entered a rather narrow but very rich valley, adorned with most luxuriant talha-trees completely inwrapped and bound together by creepers, while the ground was richly clothed with herbage. This is the valley of Tídik; the village

of that name, which is situated in a recess of the mountains on our left, remained invisible. It is said to consist of huts formed of a kind of long dry grass, and therefore makes some approach to the fashion of Sudán; these huts are called tághamt or táramt by the Southern Imóshagh. But at present the village was desolate, all the inhabitants, the Kél-tídik (people of Tídik) having gone for a while to the fine valleys in the west, which appear to be richer than those to the east.

Farther on we crossed the bed of a considerable torrent, the valley terminating in a narrow passage, which, though considered as the very entrance into the region of Sudán, led us once more into a desolate rocky district, at times widening to dry hollows. Here Mount Kadamméllet, of which only the double peak had been previously visible, exhibited to us its ample

flanks. The country became so extremely rugged that we advanced but slowly; and having here received distinct information which fully confirmed our apprehension of another predatory expedition against us, we marched in order of battle. Thus we reached a pond of rain-water in the narrow rugged hollow Tároï,* where we filled our water-bags. We found here several donkeys of a remarkably fine breed, belonging to the men who had brought us the news.

The country beyond this place became more interesting, and even picturesque at times, several fine glens descending one after the other from the beautifully-indented mountains on our left, which now rose into full view, as the offshoots had gradually receded.

* Mr. Richardson calls the pond Anamghur; correctly, perhaps, though I did not hear it so called. The name of the valley, however, is Tároï; and, if I am not mistaken, Anamaghúr, or Anemághera, means, in the Southern Berber dialect, in general, "a watering-place;" for our halting-place near Tághajít was also called by this name.

We were only about eight miles from Selúfiet, where we might expect to be tolerably safe; and we had not the least doubt that we were to sleep there, when suddenly, before noon, our old Azkár mádogu Awed el Khér turned off the road to the right, and chose the camping-ground at the border of a broad valley richly overgrown with herbage. As if moved by supernatural agency, and in ominous silence, the whole caravan followed; not a word was spoken.

It was then evident that we were to pass through another ordeal, which, according to all appearance, would be of a more serious kind than that we had already undergone. How this plot was laid is rather mysterious, and it can be explained only by supposing that a diabolical conspiracy was entered into by the various individuals of our caravan. Some certainly were in the secret; but A'nnur, not less certainly, was sincere in our interest, and wished us to get through safely. But the turbulent state of the country did not allow this weak, unenergetic man to attain his object. Black mail had been levied upon us by the frontier tribes; here was another strong party to be satisfied, that of the Merábetín or Anislimen, who, enjoying great influence in the country, were in a certain degree opposed to the paramount authority of the old chief A'nnur in Tintéllust; and this man, who alone had power to check the turbulent spirit of these wild and lawless tribes, was laid up with sickness. In A'gades there was no sultan, and several parties still stood in opposition to each other, while by the great expedition against Welád Slimán, all the warlike passions of the people had been awakened, and their cupidity and greediness for booty and rapine excited to the utmost pitch. All these circumstances must be borne in mind in order to form a right view of the manner in which we were sacrificed.

The whole affair had a very solemn appearance from the beginning, and it was apparent that this time there were really other motives in view besides that of robbing us. Some of our companions evidently thought that here, at such a distance from our homes and our brethren in faith, we might yield to a more serious attack upon our religion, and so far were sincerely in-

terested in the success of the proceeding; but whether they had any accurate idea of the fate that awaited us, whether we should retain our property and be allowed to proceed, I can not say. But it is probable that the fanatics thought little of our future destiny; and it is absurd to imagine that, if we had changed our religion as we would a suit of clothes, we should have thereby escaped absolute ruin.

Our people, who well knew what was going on, desired us to pitch only a single tent for all three of us, and not to leave it, even though a great many people should collect about us. The excitement and anxiety of our friend A'nnur had reached the highest pitch, and Bóro was writing letter after letter. Though a great number of Merábetín had collected at an early hour, and a host of other people arrived before sunset, the storm did not break out; but as soon as all the people of our caravan, arranged in a long line close to our tent, under the guidance of the most respected of the Merábetín as Imám, had finished their Mughreb prayers, the calm was at an end, and the scene which followed was awful.

Our own people were so firmly convinced that, as we stoutly refused to change our religion, though only for a day or two, we should immediately suffer death, that our servant Mohammed, as well as Mukni, requested us most urgently to testify, in writing, that they were innocent of our blood. Mr. Richardson himself was far from being sure that the sheikhs did not mean exactly what they said. Our servants and the chiefs of the caravan had left us with the plain declaration that nothing less than certain death awaited us; and we were sitting silently in the tent, with the inspiring consciousness of going to our fate in a manner worthy alike of our religion and of the nation in whose name we were traveling among these barbarous tribes, when Mr. Richardson interrupted the silence which prevailed with these words: "Let us talk a little. We must die; what is the use of sitting so mute?" For some minutes death seemed really to hover over our heads, but the awful moment passed by. We had been discussing Mr. Richardson's last propositions for an attempt to escape with our lives, when, as a forerunner of

the official messenger, the benevolent and kind-hearted Slimán rushed into our tent, and with the most sincere sympathy stammered out the few words, "You are not to die."

The amount of the spoil taken from us was regulated by the sum which we had paid to our Kél-owí escort, the party concerned presuming that they had just the same demands upon us as our companions. The principal, if not the only actors in this affair were the Merábetín; and A'nnur, the chief of Tintéllust, afterward stated to us that it was to them we had to attribute all our losses and mishaps. There was also just at this period a young sheríf from Medína at Tin-tagh-odé, with whom we afterward came into intimate relations, and who confessed to us that he had contributed his part to excite the hatred of the people against the Christian intruders. Experienced travelers have very truly remarked that this sort of sherífs are at the bottom of every intrigue. To the honor of Bóro Serki-n-turáwa, I have to state that he was ashamed of the whole affair, and tried to protect us to the best of his power, although in the beginning he had certainly done all that he could to bring us into difficulties.

It was one of the defects of the expedition that our merchandise, instead of comprising a few valuable things, was, for the most part, composed of worthless bulky objects, and that it made all the people believe that we were carrying with us enormous wealth, while the whole value of our things scarcely amounted to two hundred pounds. We had, besides, about ten large iron cases filled with dry biscuit, but which all the ignorant people believed to be crammed with money. The consequence was, that the next morning, when all the claims had at length been settled, and we wanted to move on, there was still great danger that the rabble, which had not yet dispersed, would fall upon the rest of our luggage; and we were greatly obliged to the Sfaksi, who not only passed some of our luggage as his own, but also dashed to pieces one of the iron cases, when, to the astonishment of the simple people, instead of heaps of dollars, a dry and tasteless sort of bread came forth from the strong inclosure.

Meanwhile, the persecuted Christians had made off, accompanied by some of the Kél-owí, and at length the whole caravan collected together. The valley was here very beautiful; and having crossed some smaller hollows, we reached the fine valley of Selúfiet, rich in trees and bushes, but without herbage, while at the distance of less than a mile on our left the high peak of the Tímge stood erect. Toward the west the valley forms a deep gap behind a projecting mass of granite blocks; and it was here that I met again my old acquaintance from the S'aid and Nubia, the dúm-tree or *Cucifera Thebaïca*, here called gáriba, after the Háusa name góreba. From the Kél-owí I could not learn the proper Berber name of this tree;* but the Western Imóshagh call it akóf. Even the *Capparis sodata* seems to be called by the Berber conquerors of this country only by the Háusa name abísga, while their western brethren call it téshak. Besides the *Cucifera*, or fan-palm, there were here also a few isolated specimens of the date-palm.

The village of Selúfiet itself, consisting of sixty or seventy grass huts of peculiar shape, lies on the southern side of a broad valley running here from east to west, and richly overgrown with górebas, abísgas, and talha-trees, but without any grass, for which the ground seems too elevated and stony. Our camping-ground also was of this bare character, and not at all pleasing; it was protected in the rear by large buttresses of rock.

We had not yet enjoyed much tranquillity and security, and we here felt its want the more keenly, as, our camel-drivers having been hired only as far as this place, we had henceforth to take charge of all our things ourselves. A large mob of lawless people came about us in the course of the night, howling like hungry jackals, and we were obliged to assure them, by frequent firing, that we were on the watch. We had been obliged to leave our camels to the care of the Kél-owí; but the freebooters having succeeded in dispersing the camels in every direction, our friends were unable in the evening to collect either their own animals or ours, and in the night they were all driven away, as

* I think, however, that the more learned among them call it tágait. The palm-tree is called táshdait.

we were told, by the Merábetín themselves, who so repeatedly assured us of their protection.

In the letters which we sent to Europe during our next day's halt in this place, by a caravan of Arabs and Kél-owí, the largest part of which was already in advance, we were unable to give a perfectly satisfactory account of our progress; nevertheless, we had made a great step in advance, and were justified in hoping that we should be able to overcome whatever difficulties might still await us, and the more so as we were now able to place ourselves in direct communication with the chief of Tintéllust, from whom we might soon expect to receive an escort.

Thursday, August 29th. Some of the stolen camels having been recovered, though fifteen were still wanting, we were enabled to move from this uncomfortable place the next day, leaving behind us, however, the boat and some other things, which were valueless to any but ourselves.

Pleased as we were with our onward movement, we were still more cheered when we observed in the fine valley, which here seems to bear the name E'rasa, or rather E'razar,* some small fields with a fresh green crop of negro millet—a delicious sight to travelers from the desert, and the best assurance that we had entered cultivable regions. The fields or gardens were watered by means of a kind of khattára of very simple construction—a simple pole with a longer cross pole, to which the bucket is fastened. A little further on, the whole valley was clothed with fine wide-spreading bushes of the abísga or *Capparis*, but it soon narrowed, while we marched straight upon the high pointed peak overtowering Tin-tagh-odé, which forms an interesting object. The valley of Selúfiet seems to have no connection with that of the latter place; at least, the principal branch, along which our route lay, was entirely separated from it by rocky ground. Here a broad gap dividing the mountain mass allows a peep into the glens formed by the several ridges of which it consists, and which seem to rise to greater elevation as they recede. The slope is rather precipitous; and the gen-

* "E'razar," properly "éghazar," means "the valley" in general; but nevertheless here it seems to be a proper name.

eral elevation of this mountain mass seems scarcely less than 3300 feet above the bottom of the valley, or about 5000 feet above the level of the sea.

We soon descended again from the rocky ground into a hollow plain richly clothed with vegetation, where, besides the abísga, the tunfáfia or *Asclepias gigantea*, which we had entirely lost sight of since leaving E'geri, appeared in great abundance. Here also was a new plant which we had not seen before—the "állwot," with large succulent leaves and a pretty violet flower. The camels devoured it most eagerly, and in the whole district of Aïr preferred it to any other kind of food. It has a great resemblance to the poisonous damankádda, which in Sudán is often the cause of dangerous disease, and even of death, to the camel.

After marching along this valley for two miles, we encamped on an open space encircled with the green spreading bushes of the abísga, a little beyond Tin-tagh-odé, the village of the Merábetin or Anislimen,* which is spread in a long line over the low offshoots of the mountain range, and contains about a hundred light huts, almost all of them being made of grass and the leaves of the dúm-palm, a few only being built of stones.

Small as this village is, it is of very great importance for the intercourse between Central Africa and the northern region beyond the desert; for, under the authority of these learned and devout men, commerce is carried on with a security which is

* "Anislim" is the term in the Temáshight language equivalent to the Arabic Merábet; and though it evidently has the most intimate relation to the word "selem" (Islám), meaning properly a man professing Islám, this signification has been entirely lost sight of. I was generally deemed and called by the Western Tawárek an Anislim, because I wrote and read.

really surprising if regard be had to the wild and predatory habits of the people around. As these Anislimen belong to a tribe of the Kél-owí, we may infer that their settlement here was contemporaneous with the conquest of the country by the latter tribe—a conclusion favored by the narrative of Ebn Batúta, who does not appear to have found any settlements in this quarter.

The Anislimen, however, though they style themselves "devout men," have not, therefore, relinquished all concern about the things of this world, but, on the contrary, by their ambition, intrigues, and warlike proceedings, exercise a great influence upon the whole affairs of the country, and have placed themselves, as I have already mentioned, in a sort of opposition to the powerful chief of Tintéllust. Recently, however, a great calamity had befallen them, the Awelímmiden (the "Surka" of Mungo Park, the dreaded enemies of the Kél-owí) having by a sudden inroad carried away all their camels; and it may have been partly the desire to make use of the opportunity afforded them by the arrival of some unprotected infidels to repair their losses in some measure, which made them deal so hostilely with us.

As we encamped, the boys of the village hovered around us in great numbers, and, while we kept a good look-out to prevent their pilfering, we could not but admire their tall, well-formed figures and their light color—the best proof that this little clan does not intermarry with the black race. They wore nothing but a leathern apron, and their hair was shorn on the sides, leaving a crest in the middle.

When we had made ourselves somewhat comfortable, we were desirous of entering into some traffic with the people, in order to replace our provisions, which were almost wholly exhausted; but we soon had reason to be convinced how erroneous were the ideas which we had formed from reports as to the cheapness of provisions in this country, and that we should have very great difficulty in procuring even the little that was absolutely necessary. Of butter and cheese we were unable to obtain the smallest quantity, while only very small parcels of

dukhn, or gero (millet, or *Pennisetum typhoïdeum*), were offered to us, and greatly to our disadvantage, as the articles we had to barter with, such as bleached and unbleached calico, razors, and other things, were estimated at a very low rate. A common razor brought us here ten zekka of millet, worth, according to the estimate of the country, one third of a mithkál, equal to 333 kurdi, or about sixpence halfpenny. I learned from E'meli that the Sakomáren, a tribe of Imóshagh possessing large flocks of sheep and even much cattle, bring almost every year a considerable supply of butter to this country, a statement which was soon confirmed by my own experience.

The man just mentioned, who had something extremely noble and prepossessing about him, was about to return to Ghát, and I confided to him a letter for Europe. In all probability, this is the letter which was afterward found in the desert, and was brought by Nakhnúkhen (the chief of the Azkár) himself to Mr. Dickson, her majesty's agent in Ghadámes, who, from its fate, drew some sinister conclusions as to my own.

Several other people having left us, we remained in tolerable quiet and repose the whole day; but it was reported that the next day, during which we should be obliged to stay here in order to wait for the restitution of our camels, there would be a great concourse of Mehára to celebrate a marriage in the village; but, fortunately, the immense quantity of rain which fell in the whole of the neighborhood, and which, on the 1st of September, changed our valley into the broad bed of a rapid river, placing all our property in the utmost danger, prevented this design from being executed, and, while it seemed to portend to us a new misfortune, most probably saved us from a much greater mischief.

Having just escaped from the dangers arising from the fanaticism and the rapacity of the people, it was a hard trial to have to contend again against an element the power of which, in these border regions of the desert, we had been far from appreciating and acknowledging. We had no antecedents from which to conclude the possibility that in this region a valley, more than half a mile wide, might be turned, in twenty-four hours, into a

stream violent enough to carry away the heaviest things, not excepting even a strong, tall animal like the camel; and it was with almost childish satisfaction that, in the afternoon of Saturday, we went to look at the stream, which was just beginning to roll its floods along. It was then a most pleasant and refreshing sight; the next day it became a grand and awful picture of destruction, which gave us no faint idea of a deluge. To the description of the flood itself, as it is given by Mr. Richardson, I shall not add any thing; but I have to mention the following circumstances, which seem not to have been placed in their true light.

Half an hour after midday the waters began to subside, and ceased to endanger our little island, which, attacked on all sides by the destructive fury of an impetuous mountain torrent swollen to the dimensions of a considerable river, was fast crumbling to pieces, and scarcely afforded any longer space enough to hold our party and our things. Suddenly, on the western shore, a number of Mehára were seen, while, at the same time, the whole population of Tin-tagh-odé, in full battle array, came from the other side, and formed themselves in regular groups, partly round our hill, and partly opposite to the Tinýlkum. While we looked with distrust on these preparations, most of our muskets having been wetted, the mischievous Mokhammed approached our hill, and, addressing me with a very significant and malevolent look, cried out, "Lots of people!" The previous afternoon, when I had requested him, while squatting himself insolently upon my carpet, to leave this only piece of comfort for my own use, he threatened me in plain terms, and in the coolest manner, that the following night I should lie on the bottom of the wadi, and he upon my carpet. Not put out by his malice, though I was myself rather doubtful as to the friendly intentions of all these people, I told him that the Mehára were our friends, sent by the chief A'nnur as an escort to conduct us safely to Tintéllust. With a threatening gesture he told me I should be sadly disappointed, and went away. Fortunately, it turned out that the people mounted on camels were really A'nnur's escort; but, at the same time, a large band of robbers had collected, in

order to make a last effort to take possession of our property before we should obtain the protection of A'nnur, and only withdrew reluctantly when they saw that they should meet with a strong opposition.

We were then justified in hoping that we had at length entered a harbor affording us a certain degree of security, and with thankful and gladdened hearts we looked forward to our further proceedings. Our present situation, however, was far from being comfortable: almost all our things were wet; our tents were lying in the mud at the bottom of the stream; and our comfortable and strong, but heavy Tripolitan tent was so soaked with water and earth that a camel could scarcely carry it. Leaving at length our ill-chosen camping-ground, Overweg and I were passing the principal torrent (which was still very rapid), when the camels we rode, weakened by the dreadful situation they had been in the whole day, were unable to keep their feet, and, slipping on the muddy bottom, set us down in the midst of the stream. Soaked and barefoot, having lost my shoes, I was glad to reach in the dark the new encampment which had been chosen on the elevated rocky ground a little beyond the border of the valley. Our beds were in the most cheerless condition, and in an unhealthy climate would certainly have been productive of bad consequences. Aïr, however, in every respect may be called the Switzerland of the desert.

Fortunately, the weather on the following morning cleared up, and, although the sun came forth only now and then, a fresh wind was very favorable for drying, and it was pleasant to see one thing after another resume a comfortable appearance. The whole encampment seemed to be one large drying-ground.

Having recovered a little from the uncomfortable state in which we had passed the night, we went to pay a visit to the principal men of our new escort, who had seated themselves in a circle, spear in hand, with their leader Hámma (a son-in-law of the chief A'nnur) in the midst of them. Entire strangers as both parties were to each other, and after the many mishaps we had gone through, and the many false reports which must have reached these men about our character, the meeting could not

fail to be somewhat cool. We expressed to the leader our sincere acknowledgment of the service which the chief A'nnur had rendered us, and begged him to name us to such of his companions as were related to the chief. On this occasion, Mohammed, the chief's cousin, who afterward became a great friend of mine, made himself remarkable by his pretensions and arrogance. They were all of them tolerably good-looking, but they were not at all of the same make as the Azkár and the people living near the border of Aïr. They were blacker, and not so tall, and, instead of the austere and regular northern features, had a rounder and more cheerful, though less handsome expression of countenance. Their dress, also, was more gay, several of them wearing light blue instead of the melancholy-looking dark blue tobes.

At about ten o'clock we at length moved on, and chose the western of the two roads, leading hence to Tin-téllust by way of Fódet; the eastern one passes through Tágo and Táni. Leaving the large green valley of Tin-tagh-odé on our left, we kept on more uneven ground, passing some smaller glens, till we reached the commencement of the fine broad valley Fódet, and encamped near the cliffs bordering its eastern side. Here the water, rushing down from the rocks in a sort of cascade, had formed a pond, which, however, was not destined to remain long.

Tuesday, September 3d. We made a very interesting march through a country marked with bold features, and showing itself in more than one respect capable of being the abode of man. Turning away from the eastern border, we kept more along the middle of the valley till we reached the most picturesque spot, where it divided into two branches, the eastern of which, bordered by several imposing mountain spurs, presented a very interesting perspective, of which the following sketch, drawn as it was on the back of my camel, will give only a faint idea.

The whole bottom of the valley, where, the day before yesterday, a mighty torrent had been foaming along, was now glittering with fragments of minerals. We then passed the ruins of some houses carried away by the floods, and met farther on

a little troop of asses laden with éneli.* Our whole caravan was in good spirits; and our escort, in order to give us a specimen of their horsemanship, if I may so call it, got up a race, which, as may be readily imagined, proved a very awkward affair. Two or three of the riders were thrown off, and the sport soon came to an end. The swift camel is excellent for trotting, but it can never excel in a gallop.

In our ascent we had reached very considerable mountain masses on our right, when some of our old companions, who had come with us from Ghát, separated from us, in order to go to their village Túngadu. Among these was A'kshi, a very modest and quiet man, who alone of all these people had never begged from me even the merest trifle, though he gave me some information, and I might have learned much more from him if I had seen him more frequently. But I had the good fortune to meet with him again at a later period.

* E'neli, انلى—dukhn—is a word several times mentioned by the learned traveler Ebn Batúta in his Travels, where it has not been understood by the translators. See Journal Asiatique, 1843, série iv., tom. i., p. 188, 191, 200. At p. 194 he describes the favorite beverage dakno, made of this corn.

The country here became very mountainous, and the ascent steep, till we reached a valley called by some of the Kél-owí the upper course of the valley of Tin-téllust. Having reached the crest of the elevation, we began to descend, first gradually along smaller valleys, afterward more steeply into a deep ravine, while in the distance toward the southwest, above the lower hills, a ridge of considerable elevation became visible. Gradually the ravine widened, and became clothed with fine herbage. Here, to our great disappointment, the little A'nnur, Dídi, Fárreji, and several of the Tinýlkum (among them the intelligent and active Ibrahím) left us in order to reach their respective residences.

Of course, A'nnur ought to have seen us safe to the chief's residence; but, being without energy, he allowed our new companions, with whom we had not yet been able to become acquainted, to extort from us what they could, as the Fade-ang and the Anislimen had done before. Keeping along some smaller valleys, we reached, about noon, a considerable pond of rain-water, where I watered my thirsty camel. Almost all the smaller valleys through which we passed incline toward the west.

Much against our wish, we encamped a little after three o'clock P.M. in a widening of the valley Afís, near the southern cliffs (which had a remarkably shattered appearance), there being a well at some little distance. We had scarcely encamped when a troublesome scene was enacted, in the attempt to satisfy our escort, the men not being yet acquainted with us, and making importunate demands. But there was more turmoil and disturbance than real harm in it; and though half of the contents of a bale of mine were successfully carried off by the turbulent Mohammed, and a piece of scarlet cloth was cut into numberless small shreds in the most wanton manner, yet there was not much to complain of, and it was satisfactory to see Hámma (A'nnur's son-in-law, and the chief of the escort) display the greatest energy in his endeavors to restore what was forcibly taken.

Wednesday, September 4th. We were glad when day dawned; but with it came very heavy rain, which had been por-

tended last night by thickly accumulated clouds and by lightning. Rain early in the morning seems to be rather a rare phenomenon, as well in this country as all over Central Africa,* if it be not in continuation of the previous night's rain; and it was probably so on this occasion, rain having fallen during the whole night in the country around us.

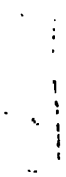
Having waited till the rain seemed to have a little abated, we started at seven o'clock, in order to reach the residence of the powerful chief A'nnur, in whose hands now lay the whole success of the expedition. Though all that we had heard about him was calculated to inspire us with confidence in his personal character, yet we could not but feel a considerable degree of anxiety.

Soon emerging from the valley of Afís, we ascended rocky ground, over which we plodded, while the rain poured down upon us with renewed violence, till we reached another valley, and a little farther, on its northern side, the small village Sára-ra, or Asárara, divided into two groups, between which we passed. We then crossed low rocky ground intersected by many small beds of torrents descending from the mountains on our left, which rise to a considerable elevation. All these channels incline toward the south, and are thickly clothed with bushes.

It was half past nine o'clock, the weather having now cleared up, when we enterred the valley of Tintéllust,† forming a broad sandy channel, bare of herbage, and only lined with bushes along its border. On the low rocky projections on its eastern side lay a little village, scarcely discernible from the rocks around; it was the long and anxiously looked-for residence of

* In many parts of India just the contrary seems to occur.

† It will be well to say a few words about this name, as the way in which I write it has been made the subject of criticism. Tin-téllust means "(the valley) with or of the téllust;" "tin" is the pronoun expressing possession, and exactly corresponds with the Western Arabic تاع. It is of very frequent occurrence as well in names of localities as of tribes, and even of men, such as Tin-Yerátan, son of Wasembú, the celebrated King of Aúdaghost. "Téllust" is the feminine form of "ellus," the feminine Berber nouns having the peculiarity of not only beginning with *t*, but often ending with it likewise. (Newman, in Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes, 1845, vol. vi., p. 275.)



TINTÉLLUST.

the chief E' Núr or A'nnur. Our servants saluted it with a few rounds. Leaving the village on the eastern border of the sandy bed, we went a little farther to the south, keeping close to the low rocky projection on our right, at the foot of which was the little tebki or water-pond, and encamped on a sand-hill rising in a recess of the rocky offshoots, and adorned at its foot with the beautiful green and widely-spreading bushes of the *Capparis sodata*, while behind was a charming little hollow with luxuriant talha-trees. Over the lower rocky ground rose Mount Tunán, while toward the south the majestic mountain-group of Búnday closed the view. As for the prospect over the valley toward the village, and the beautiful mountain mass* beyond, it is represented in the annexed sketch, made at a later period, and for the accuracy of which I can answer.

Altogether it was a most beautiful camping-ground, where in ease and quiet we could establish our little residence, not troubled every moment by the intrusion of the townspeople; but it was rather too retired a spot, and too far from our protector, being at least eight hundred yards from the village, in a country of lawless people, not yet accustomed to see among them men of another creed, of another complexion, and of totally different usages and manners.

This spot being once selected, the tents were soon pitched; and, in a short time, on the summit of the sand-hill, there rose the little encampment of the English expedition, consisting of four tents forming a sort of semicircle, opening toward the south, the point to which all our arduous efforts were directed—Mr. Richardson's tent toward the west, Overweg's and mine adjoining it toward the east, and each flanked by a smaller tent for the servants. Doubtless this sand-hill will ever be memorable in the annals of the Asbenáwa as the "English Hill," or the "Hill of the Christians." But, before I proceed to relate the incidents of our daily life while we staid here, it will be well to introduce the reader to the country and the people with whom we have come in contact.

* These mountains, which from this side seem to form a well-defined group, have, as far as I know, no general name.

CHAPTER XIV.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL RELATIONS OF AÏR.

THE name Aïr, exactly as it is written and pronounced by the natives at the present day, first occurs in the description of Leo, which was written in 1526.* The country Káher, mentioned by the traveler Ebn Batúta† on his home-journey from Tekádda by way of the wells of Asïu, is evidently somewhere hereabouts, but seems rather to denote the region a few days' journey west from Tintéllust, and to be identical with the "Ghir" of Leo,‡ though this extended more to the S.W. The name being written by the Arabs with an *h* (Ahír), most historical geographers have erroneously concluded that this is the true indigenous form of the name.§

Aïr, however, does not appear to be the original name of the country, but seems to have been introduced by the Berber con-

* Leo Africanus, Descrizione dell' Africa, i., c. 6: "E *Air*, diserto ancora esso, ma nomato dalla bontà dell' aere." This derivation of the name is manifestly apocryphal. Comp., l. vi., c. 55, 56.

† Ebn Batúta's Travels, ed. Lee, p. 45. Compare Journal Asiatique, 1843, p. 237.

‡ Leo, l. vi., c. 55. Ebn Batúta counts seventy days' march from Tekádda to Tawát, or rather Búda. Now we shall see that Tekádda is situated three days southwest from A'gades, while, from what the traveler says about the place where the road to Egypt separated from that to Tawát, it is evident that he went by Asïu, or rather that the place just mentioned was identical with Asïu. Asïu, then, forty days from Tawát, was thirty days from Tekádda; Káher therefore, being distant eighteen days from Asïu, was twelve days from Tekádda, and was somewhere between the parallels of Selúfiet and Tintéllust, but rather, as we see from the sterile character of the country through which he traveled, and from the situation of Tekádda, in the more barren district to the west. About Tekádda I shall have to speak further on.

§ The Tawárek, as well the Kél-owí as all the other tribes, constantly write ◊ ⵉ· (Aïr); and the reason why the Arabs write اهير is simply to avoid the obscenity of أَيْر (*veretrum*).

querors, the former name being Asben or Absen, as it is still called by the black and the mixed population. Asben was formerly the country of the Góberáwa, the most considerable and noble portion of the Háusa nation, which does not seem to belong to the pure Negro races, but to have originally had some relationship with North Africa; and from this point of view the statement of Sultan Bello can not be regarded as absurd, when, in the historical work on the conquests of the Fulbe, "Infák él misúri fi fat hah el Tekrúri," he calls the people of Góber Copts,* though only one family is generally considered by the learned men of the country as of foreign origin.

The capital of this kingdom of Asben, at least since the 16th century, was Tin-shamán, at present a village a little to the west of the road from Aúderas to A'gades, and about twenty miles from the latter place. The name is evidently a Berber one;† and the Berber influence is still more evident from the fact that a portion, at least, of the population of the town were Masúfa, a well-known Berber tribe who in former times were the chief guides on the road from Sejilmésa to Waláta.‡ Be this as it may, several learned men, inhabitants of this place, are mentioned by the native historians of Negroland, which shows that there existed in it some degree of comparative civilization. In the middle of the fourteenth century, not only Tekádda, but even Káhír, was in the hands of the Berbers, as we see from Batúta's narrative; and this eminent traveler mentions a curious custom with regard to the Berber prince, whom he styles El Gérgeri, or Tegérgeri,§ which even at the present moment is in full opera-

* Denham and Clapperton's Travels, vol. ii., p. 162.

† I have spoken about the word "tin" before. I have strong reason for supposing that the original name of the place was Ansamán.

‡ Ebn Batúta, Journal Asiatique, 1843, série iv., vol. i., p. 188; Cooley, Negroland, p. 17.

§ It seems to be the title of his kingdom, so that we may translate it rather "the ruler of Kerker" or Gerger. See Cooley, p. 107, who first pointed out that Kerker was not a mere clerical error for Kaúkaú. But what this learned gentleman says at p. 109 is based upon wrong information, there being no such name as Birni-n-Gurgar in Háusa. The real name of the place is Góga. It is also impossible that the name Gérgeri can have any thing to do with the pagan tribe Kerékeré.

tion in this country, viz., that the succession went not to his own sons, but to his sister's sons.* This remarkable fact is a certain proof that it was not a pure Berber state, but rather a Berber dominion ingrafted upon a Negro population, exactly as was the case in his time in Waláta. Leo, who first calls the country by its present Berber name Aïr, states also expressly that it was then occupied by Tawárek, "Targa populo;"† and we learn also from him that the ruler of A'gades (a town first mentioned by him) was likewise a Berber;‡ so that it might seem as if the state of the country at that time was pretty nearly the same as it is now; but such was not the case.

The name of the Kél-owí is not mentioned either by Leo or any other writer before the time of Horneman, who, before he set out from Fezzán on his journey to Bórnu, obtained some very perspicuous information§ about these people, as well as about their country A'sben. At that time, before the rise of the Fúlbe under their reformer (El Jihádi) Othmán, the son of Fódiye, it was a powerful kingdom, to which Góber was tributary. From Horneman's expression it would seem that the Kél-owí had conquered the country only at a comparatively recent date;‖ and this agrees perfectly with the results of my inquiries, from which I conclude that it took place about A.D. 1740. However, we have seen that four centuries before that time the country was in the hands of the Berbers.

It appears that the Kél-owí are traceable from the northwest, and the nobler part of them belong to the once very powerful and numerous tribe of the Aurághen, whence their dialect is called Auraghíye even at the present day. Their name signifies "the people settled in (the district or valley of) Owí;" for "kél" is exactly identical with the Arabic word áhel, and seems, be-

* Ebn Batúta, p. 237. † Leo, l. vi., c. 56.

‡ *Ibid.*, i., c. 10, toward the end.

§ Horneman's Journal, 1802, p. 109, fl.

‖ That was also what Major Rennell concluded from the traveler's expression when he says, p. 181, "From recent conquest it would seem," &c. I think that the Kél-owí may have formerly borne another name, and received this name only from a place where they were settled. I would not refer to the Cillaba mentioned by Pliny, l. v., c. 5. The name Kél-owí is properly a plural form.

sides, to be applied with especial propriety to indicate the settled in opposition to the nomadic tribes; for, in general, the characteristic mark of the Kél-owí and their kinsmen is that they live in villages consisting of fixed and immovable huts, and not in tents made of skins, like the other tribes, or in movable huts made of mats, like the Tagáma and many of the Imghád of the Awelímmiden. With this prefix kél may be formed the name of the inhabitants of any place or country: Ferwán, Kél-ferwán; Bághzen, Kél-bághzen; Afélle (the north), Kel-afélle, "the people of the north," whom the Arabs in Timbúktu call A'hel e' Sáhel; and no doubt a Targi, at least of the tribe of the Awelímmiden or Kél-owi, would call the inhabitants of London Kél-london or Kél-londra, just as he says Kél-ghadámes, Kél-tawát.

But there is something indeterminate in the name Kél-owí, which has both a narrower and a wider sense, as is frequently the case with the names of those tribes which, having become predominant, have grouped around them, and, to a certain extent, even incorporated with themselves many other tribes which did not originally belong to them. In this wider sense the name Kél-owí comprises a great many tribes, or, rather, sections, generally named after their respective settlements.

I have already observed that the Berbers, in conquering this country from the Negro, or I should rather say the sub-Libyan race (the Leucæthiopes of the ancients), did not entirely destroy the latter, but rather intermingled with them by intermarriage with the females, thereby modifying the original type of their race, and blending the severe and austere manners and the fine figure of the Berber with the cheerful and playful character and the darker color of the African. The way in which they settled in this country seems to have been very similar to that in which the ancient Greeks settled in Lycia; for the women appear to have the superiority over the male sex in the country of A'sben, at least to a certain extent; so that, when a ba-A'sbenchi marries a woman of another village, she does not leave her dwelling-place to follow her husband, but he must come to her in her own village. The same principle is shown in the

regulation that the chief of the Kél-owí must not marry a woman of the Targi blood, but can rear children only from black women or female slaves.

With respect to the custom that the hereditary power does not descend from the father to the son, but to the sister's son—a custom well known to be very prevalent not only in many parts of Negroland, but also in India, at least in Malabar—it may be supposed to have belonged originally to the Berber race; for the Azkár, who have preserved their original manners tolerably pure, have the same custom; but they also might have adopted it from those tribes (now their subjects—the Imghád) who conquered the country from the black natives. It may therefore seem doubtful whether, in the mixed empires of Ghánata,* Melle,† and Waláta,‡ this custom belonged to the black natives, or was introduced by the Berbers. Be this as it may, it is certain that the noble tribe of the Awelímmiden deem the custom in question shameful, as exhibiting only the man's mistrust in his wife's fidelity; for such is certainly its foundation.

As for the male portion of the ancient population of A'sben, I suppose it to have been for the most part exterminated, while the rest was degraded into the state of domestic slavery, with the distinct understanding that neither they nor their children should ever be sold out of the country. The consequence of this covenant has been an entire mixture§ between the Berber

* A'bu 'Obeid Alla el Bekri el Kórtobi, Notices et Extraits, vol. xii., p. 644.

† With regard to Melle, see what Leo says, l. i., c. 10, fin., "E quello (rè) che fù di Melli è dell' origine del popolo di Zanaga."

‡ Ebn Batúta, p. 234, ed. Lee. He says, "And the sister's son always succeed to property in preference to the son, a custom I witnessed nowhere else except among the infidel Hindoos of Malabar." But the traveler forgot that he had soon to relate the same of the Gérgeri dynasty (see above, p. 278); or, rather, the learned man who was ordered to publish his journal did not correct the expression, which, at the time when Ebn Batúta made his memorandum of his stay in Waláta, may have been quite true.

§ This circumstance explains a curious fact in Mr. Koelle's Polyglotta Africana, a work of the greatest merit, but in which, on account of the immense ground over which it extends, some errors must be expected. One of the most unfortunate examples in this respect are his specimens of a language called Kándín (xii., C.). Now the name Kándín is quite inadmissible in ethnography, being a name given to the Imóshagh or Tawárek only by the Kanúri people, to say noth-

conquerors and the female part of the former population, changing the original Berber character entirely, as well in manners and language as in features and complexion. Indeed, the Háusa language is as familiar to these people as their Auraghíye, although the men, when speaking among themselves, generally make use of the latter. The consequence is that the Kél-owí are regarded with a sort of contempt by the purer Berber tribes, who call them slaves (ikelán). But there is another class of people, not so numerous, indeed, in A'sben itself as in the districts bordering upon it; these are the Búzawe, or Abogelíte, a mixed race, with generally more marked Berber features than the Kél-owí, but of darker color and lower stature, while in manners they are generally very debased, having lost almost entirely that noble carriage which distinguishes even the most lawless vagabond of pure Targi blood. These people, who infest all the regions southward and southeastward from A'sben, are the offspring of Tawárek females with black people, and may belong either to the Háusa or to the Sónghay race.

What I have here said sets forth the historical view of the state of things in this country, and is well known to all the enlightened natives. The vulgar account of the origin of the Kél-owí from the female slave of a Tinýlkum who came to A'sben, where she gave birth to a boy who was the progenitor of the Kél-owí, is obviously nothing but a popular tale indicating, at the utmost, only some slight connection of this tribe with the Tinýlkum.

Having thus preliminarily discussed the name of the tribe and the way in which it settled in the country, I now proceed

ing of the very odd geographical blunder involved in the expression "Absen, a town of Egades." But the specimens of the language which Mr. Koelle gives under this head are a curious mixture of Targíye, Háusa, and even some Kanúri terms; and his informant, Abárshi (a very common name in A'sben), was most probably a slave by origin, at least not a free man, even before he was enslaved by the Kanúri. But these specimens are not uninteresting, giving a fair idea of the state of things in the country, although any respectable native would be ashamed to mix Háusa and Berber terms in this way. And, moreover, the latter, as given here, are mostly corrupted from the very beginning, for "one" is not díyen, but íyen, and *d* is only added in composition, as meráw d'íyen, meráw d'esín—"eleven," "twelve," &c.

to give a list, as complete as possible, of all the divisions or tiúsi (*sing.* tausit) which compose the great community of the Kél-owí.

The most noble (that is to say, the most elevated, not by purity of blood, but by authority and rank) of the subdivisions of this tribe at the present time are the Irólangh, the Amanókalen or sultan family, to which belongs A'nnur, with no other title than that of sheikh or elder (the original meaning of the word)—"sófo" in Háusa, "ámaghár" or "ámghár" in Temáshight. The superiority of this section seems to date only from the time of the present chief's predecessor, the Kél-ferwán appearing to have had the ascendency in earlier times. Though the head of this family has no title but that of sheikh, he has nevertheless far greater power than the amanókal or titular sultan of the Kél-owí, who resides in A'sodi, and who is at present really nothing more than a prince in name. The next in authority to A'nnur is Háj 'Abdúwa, the son of A'nnur's eldest sister, and who resides in Táfidet.

The family or clan of the Irólangh, which, in the stricter sense of the word, is called Kél-owí, is settled in ten or more villages lying to the east and the southeast of Tintéllust, the residence of A'nnur, and has formed an alliance with two other influential and powerful families, viz., the Kél-azanéres, or people of Azanéres, a village, as I shall have occasion to explain farther on, of great importance on account of its situation in connection with the salt lakes near Bilma, which constitute the wealth and the vital principle of this community. On account of this alliance, the section of the Kél-azanéres affected by it is called Irólangh wuén Kél-azanéres; and to this section belongs the powerful chief Lúsu, or, properly, El U'su, who is, in reality, the second man in the country on the score of influence.

On the other side, the Irólangh have formed alliance and relationship with the powerful and numerous tribe of the Ikázkezan or Ikéshkeshen, who seem likewise to have sprung from the Aurághen; and on this account the greater, or at least the more influential part of the tribe, including the powerful chief Mghás, is sometimes called Irólangh wuén Ikázkezan, while,

with regard to their dwelling-place Támar, they bear the name Kél-támar. But this is only one portion of the Ikázkezan. Another very numerous section of them is partly scattered about Damerghú, partly settled in a place called Elákwas (or, as it is generally pronounced, Alákkos), a place between Damerghú and Múnio, together with a mixed race called Kél-elákwas. The Ikázkezan of this latter section bear, in their beautiful manly figure and fine complexion, much more evident traces of the pure Berber blood than the Irólangh; but they lead a very lawless life, and harass the districts on the borders of Háusa and Bórnu with predatory incursions, especially those settled in Elákwas.

There are three tribes whose political relations give them greater importance, namely, the Kél-táfidet, the Kél-n-Néggaru, and the Kél-fares. The first of these three, to whom belongs the above-mentioned Háj 'Abdúwa, live in Táfidet, a group of three villages lying at the foot of a considerable mountain chain thirty miles to the southeast of Tintéllust, and at the distance of only five good days' march from Bilma. The Kél-n-Néggaru form an important family originally settled in Néggaru, a district to the north of Selúfiet; but at present they live in A'sodi and in the village Eghellál, and some of them lead a nomadic life in the valleys of Tin-téggana and A'sada. On account of the present sultan (who belongs to them) being called Astáfidet, they are now also named Aushi-n-Astáfidet (the tribe of Astáfidet). The Kél-fares, to whom belongs the great m'allem Azóri, who, on account of his learning, is respected as a prince in the whole country, live in Tin-téyyat, a village about thirty-five miles E.N.E. from Tintéllust.

I now proceed to name the other sections of the Kél-owí in geographical order from north to south.

The Fadaye, or E'fadaye, dwell in the district Fáde-angh, containing several villages, the principal of which is called Zurríka, inhabited by the Kél-zurríka. The E'fadaye, although they maintain a sort of independence, are nevertheless regarded as belonging to the community of the Kél-owí, while another tribe, likewise called from the district Fáde-angh, namely, the

Kél-fadaye, are viewed in a different light, and will therefore be mentioned farther on with respect to their political relation with the Sultan of A'gades. The E'fadaye are renowned on account of their warlike propensities, and to the wild inhabitants of these districts the Fadaye is a model of a man—"hális."

The Kél-tédele, who were among the people who attacked the mission, live in a place called Tédele, a little to the north of Oinu-mákaren.

The Kél-tédek, or Kél-tídik, dwell in Tídik, the village I noticed on our journey as lying at the northern foot of the large mountain chain which forms the beginning of A'sben and Sudán.

The Im-ásrodangh.*

The Kél-ghazár, comprising the inhabitants of Selúfiet and those of Tintágh-odé, who are more generally named Anislimen or Merabetín. The name is formed from *éghazar*, "the valley," meaning the large valley of Selúfiet and Tintagh-odé.

The Kél-élar, living in E'lar, three hours east from Selúfiet. in the mountain glens.

The Kél-gharús.

The E'ndefar.

The Tanútmolet.

The Abírken.

The Tesébet.

The Kel-télak.

The Azaíken.

The Kél-úlli, meaning "the people of the goats," or goatherds. Another tribe of the same name among the Awelímmiden I shall have frequent opportunity of mentioning in the course of my travels as my chief protectors during my stay in Timbúktu.

The Fedalála, dwelling, if I am not mistaken, in Fedékel.

The Kél-ásarar, living in Sárara, the village we passed an hour before reaching Tintéllust.

The Im-ezúkzál, a considerable family living in A'gwau.

* *Im* or *em*, in composition, is almost identical with *kél*, meaning "the people of," "the inhabitants of."

The Kél-teget.
The Kél-enúzuk.
The Kél-tákriza.
The Kél-aghellál.
The Kél-tádenak, living in Tadenak, about half a day's journey east from Aghellál, and about eleven hours west from Tintéllust.
The Kél-wádigi, living in Wádigi, a large village about fifteen miles west from Tintéllust. This village, in consequence of erroneous native information, has been hitherto placed near the Isa, or middle course of the Niger.
The Kél-teghérmat, at present in the village Azauraíden, E.N.E. from Tintéllust. Of their number is the active chief Háj Makhmúd.
The Kél-erárar, in Erárar, a village three hours from Tintéllust.
The Kél-zéggedan, in Zéggedan, one day and a half from Tintéllust.
The Kél-tághmart, in Tághmart, one day and a half north from the latter.
The Kél-áfarár, in A'farár, two hours east a little south from Tághmart.
The Im-ékketen, living at present round Azatártar, but originally settled in the neighborhood of A'gades.
The Kél-sadáwat.
The Kél-tafíst.
The Kél-ágaten, living in A'gata, a village at the foot of Mount Belásega.
The Kél-bághzen, for the greatest part herdsmen or shepherds, living scattered over and around Mount Bághzen. These are the Kél-owí; but there is another tribe, of the Kél-gerés, known by the same name, on account of their having in former times occupied those seats.
The Kél-chémia, in Chémia.
The Ikádmawen, a numerous tribe living generally in four villages which lie at the southern foot of Mount Bághzen, and are called respectively A'fasás (this being the largest

of the four), Tagóra, Tamanít, and Inferéraf. But for a great part of the year they lead rather a nomadic life.

The Kél-ajéru, in Ajéru, a village situate in the upper part of the valley, in the lower part of which lies A'fasás. Here resides another important personage of the name of Háj Makhmúd.

The I'tegén.

The Kél-idákka, in Idákka, the native place of the mother of Astáfidet, the amanókal of the Kél-owí.

The Kél-tezárenet, in Tezárenet, a district rich in date-trees.

The Kél-tawár.

The Kél-táfasás (?). I am not quite certain with regard to this name.

The Kél-táranet.

The Kél-átarár, living in the neighborhood of A'gades, and having but an indifferent reputation.

The Kél-aríl.

The Im-ersúten.

The Kél-azelálet.

The Kél-anuwísheren, in Timázgaren (?).

The Kél-táferaut.

The Kél-aghrímmat.

The Kél-awéllat.

All these tribes in a certain degree belong to the body of the Kél-owí, whose nominal chief, if I may so call him, is the amanókal residing in A'sodi; but there is now another greater association or confederation, formed by the Kél-owí, the Kél-gerés, and the Itísan, and some other smaller tribes combined together; and the head of this confederation is the great amanókal residing in A'gades. This league, which at present hardly subsists (the Kél-gerés and Itísan having been driven by the Kél-owí from their original settlements, and being opposed to them almost constantly in open hostility), was evidently in former times very strong and close.

But, before speaking of the Kél-gerés and their intimate friends the Itísan, I shall mention those small tribes which, though not regarded as belonging to the body of the Kél-owí,

and placed under the special and direct supremacy or government of the Sultan of A'gades, are nevertheless more intimately related to them than the other great tribes. These are, besides the E'm-egédesen,* or the inhabitants of A'gades or A'gadez, of whom I shall speak in the account of my journey to that interesting place, the three tribes of the Kél-fadaye, the Kél-ferwán, and the Izeráren.

As for the Kél-fadaye, they are the original and real inhabitants of the district Fáde-angh, which lies round Tághajít, while the E'fadaye, who have been called after the same district, are rather a mixture of vagabonds flocking here from different quarters, and principally from that of the Azkár. But the Kél-fadaye, who, as well as their neighbors the E'fadaye, took part in the ghazzia against the expedition on the frontiers of Aïr, are a very turbulent set of people, being regarded in this light by the natives themselves, as appears from the letter of the Sultan of A'gades to the chiefs A'nnur and Lúsu, of which I brought back a copy, wherein they are called Mehárebín,† or freebooters. Nevertheless, they are of pure and noble Berber blood, and renowned for their valor; and I was greatly astonish-

* This name clearly shows that the final consonant of the name of the great town is not distinctly a ز (z), though the Arabs generally write it so. In fact, as I shall have to state farther on, it was originally *sh*. From E'm-egédesen is formed E'm-egedesíye, "the language of the people of A'gades."

† Mehárеoí—محاربى—though not to be found in our dictionaries, is a very common word with the Mohammedans all over Central Africa, and is regularly formed from "hareb," حرب, quite in the same way as Mehára, the common name given in Morocco to a guard or escort, from "hares." The Emir Hámedu of Hamd-Alláhi did me the honor to call me by this name, on account of the resistance I made to his attempt to seize me and my property during my stay in Timbúktu; and I do not doubt that the following passage in one of the angry and learned letters which he wrote to my protector, the Sheikh El Bakáy, will have some interest for such of my readers as understand Arabic:

ولم نفطز بذلك محاربتك بل الذى حاربناه النصرانى الكافر الذى حارب الله ورسوله وهوحرب ورثناه من اه باد واهجراد ادى هلم جرا وحضنا عليه ربّنا ووعد نا فيه اجرا ودخرا

But his sacrilegious wishes were not fulfilled.

ed to learn afterward from my noble and intimate friend and protector, the Sheikh Sídi Ahmed el Bakáy, that he had married one of their daughters, and had long resided among them. Even from the letter of the Sultan of A'gades it appears that they have some relations with the Awelímmiden. The name of their chief is Shúrwa.

The Kél-ferwán, though they are called after the fine and fertile place I-ferwán, in one of the valleys to the east of Tintághodé, where a good deal of millet is sown, and where there are plenty of date-trees, do not all reside there at present, a numerous portion of them having settled in the neighborhood of A'gades, whence they make continual marauding expeditions, or "égehen," upon the Timbúktu road, and against the Awelímmiden. Nevertheless, the Kél-ferwán, as the kinsmen of the Aurághen, and as the Amanókalen (that is to say, the clan to which, before the different tribes came to the decision of fetching their sultan from Sókoto, the family of the sultan belonged), are of nobler and purer blood than any of the rest. As an evidence of their former nobility, the custom still remains, that, when the Sultan of A'gades leaves the town for any length of time, his deputy or lieutenant in the place is the chief of the Kél-ferwán.

The third tribe of those who are under the direct authority of the Sultan of A'gades, viz., the Izeráren, live between A'gades and Damerghú. But I did not come into contact with them.

The Kél-gerés and Itísan seem to have been originally situated in the fertile and partially-beautiful districts round the Bághzen, or (as these southern tribes pronounce the name in their dialect) Mághzem, where, on our journey toward Damerghú, we found the well-built stone houses in which they had formerly dwelt.

On being driven out of their original seats by the Kél-owí, about twenty-five or thirty years ago, they settled toward the west and southwest of A'gades, in a territory which was probably given them by the Awelímmiden, with an intention hostile to the Kél-owí. From that time they have been alternately in bloody feud or on amicable terms with the Kél-owí; but a san-

guinary war has recently (in 1854) broken out again between these tribes, which seems to have consumed the very sources of their strength, and cost the lives of many of my friends, and among them that of Hámma, the son-in-law of A'nnur. The principal dwelling-place of the Kél-gerés is A'rar, while their chief market-place is said to be Jóbeli, on the road from A'gades to Sókoto.

The Kél-gerés and the Itísan together are equal in effective strength to the Kél-owí, though they are not so numerous, the latter being certainly able to collect a force of at least ten thousand armed men all mounted, besides their slaves, while the former are scarcely able to furnish half as many. But the Kél-gerés and Itísan have the advantage of greater unity, while the interests of the various tribes of the Kél-owí are continually clashing, and very rarely allow the whole body to collect together, though exceptions occur, as in the expedition against the Welád Slimán, when they drove away all the camels (according to report, not less than fifty thousand), and took possession of the salt lakes near Bilma.

Moreover, the Kél-gerés and Itísan, having preserved their Berber character in a purer state, are much more warlike. Their force consists, for the greater part, of well-mounted cavalry, while the Kél-owí, with the exception of the Ikázkezan, can muster but few horses, and of course the advantage of the horseman over the camel-driver is very great, either in open or close fight. The Kél-gerés have repeatedly fought with success even against the Awelímmiden, by whom they are called Aráuwen. They have even killed their last famous chief E' Nábega. The Kél-gerés came under the notice of Clapperton on account of the unfortunate expedition which they undertook against the territories of the Fúlbe in the year 1823, though it seems that the expedition consisted chiefly of Tagáma, and that they were the principal sufferers in that wholesale destruction by Sultan Bello.

Their arms in general are the same as those of the Kél-owí, even the men on horseback bearing (besides the spear, the sword, and the dagger) the immense shield of antelope-hide,

with which they very expertly protect themselves and their horses; but some of them use bows and arrows even on horseback, like many of the Fúlbe, in the same way as the ancient Assyrians. A few only have muskets, and those few keep them rather for show than for actual use.

The Itísan* (who seem to be the nobler tribe of the two, and, as far as I was able to judge, are a very fine race of men, with expressive, sharply-cut features, and a very light complexion) have a chief or amanókal of their own, whose position seems to resemble closely that of the Sultan of the Kél-owí, while the real influence and authority rests with the war-chiefs, támbelis or támberis, the most powerful among whom were, in 1853, Wanagóda, who resides in Tswáji near Góber, on the side of the Kél-gerés, and Maiwa or M'oáwíya, in Gulluntsúna, on the side of the Itísan. The name of the present amanókal is Ghámbelu.

I now proceed to enumerate the subdivisions of the two tribes, as far as I was able to learn them, and first those of the Itísan: the Kél-tagay, the Télamsé, the Máfinet or Máfidet, the Tesídderak, the Kél-mághzem, the A'laren, the Kél-innik, the Kél-dugá, the Kél-úye, and the Kél-ághelel. Probably also the Ijdánarnén,† or Jedánarnén, and the Kél-manen belong to them. The following are the principal subdivisions of the Kél-gerés: the Kél-téghzeren or Tadmúkkeren, the Kél-ungwar, the Kél-garet, the Kél-n-sábtafan, or Kél-n-sàttafan,‡ the Kél-tadéni.

* It has been concluded (though erroneously, as the following will show), from the circumstance of the joint salt-caravan of the Itísan and Kél-gerés, in the letter of the Sultan of the A'gades, being called only after the former tribe, that these two tribes were identical. The Itísan, as "Benú Itísan," are mentioned by Ebn Khaldún among the clans of the Sanhája, vol. i., p. 195, Arab. t.; vol. ii., p. 3, trad. par le Baron de Slane.

† These, in the form of Ajdaranín, are mentioned by Bello in his geographical introduction to his historical work (Clapperton's Travels, Appendix II., p. 160), among the first Berber tribes who came from Aújila and took Ahír (Aïr) from the Sudán inhabitants of Góber.

‡ This is the tribe of which Bello speaks (Clapperton's Travels, ii., p. 160) when he says "they appointed a person of the family of Ansatfen." But his knowledge of the Tawárek was very insufficient; and the chapter to which that passage belongs is full of confusion.

the Tadáda, the Tagáyes, the Tilkátine,* the Iberúbat with the támberi Al-Hássan, the Táshil, the Tagínna, the Kél-azar, the I'ghalaf (pronounced I'ralaf), the Toiyámmawa,† the Isóka, the Tegíbbu, the Raina, the Túji. Among the Kél-gerés is a noble family called in the Arab form A'hel e' Sheikh, which is distinguished for its learning, their chief and most learned man being at present Sídi Makhmúd.

I must here state that, in political respects, another tribe at present is closely related with the Kél-gerés, viz., that section of the Awelímmiden (the "Surka" of Mungo Park) which is called Awelímmiden wuén Bodhál; but as these belong rather to the Tawárek or Imóshagh of the west, I shall treat of them in the narrative of my journey to Timbúktu. Other tribes settled near A'gades, and more particularly the very remarkable tribe of the I'ghdalén, will, in consequence of the influence exerted on them by the Sónghay race, be spoken of in my account of that place.

Many valleys of Aïr or Asben‡ might produce much more than they do at present; but as almost the whole supply of provision is imported, as well as all the clothing-material, it is evident that the population could not be so numerous as it is, were it not sustained by the salt-trade of Bilma, which furnishes the people with the means of bartering advantageously with Háusa.

* The tribe of the Tilkátine, appearing here among the clans of the Kél-gerés, is of the highest historical interest; for there can be no doubt of their being identical with the tribe of the Tel-káta mentioned by Ebn Khaldún (vol. i., p. 195, Arab. t., vol. ii., p. 3, trad. par le Baron de Slane) as the most noble and predominant among all the sections of the Sanhája.

† The form of this name seems to indicate the sub-Libyan influence which this subdivision has undergone.

‡ The list of all the villages and towns of Aïr, given in the note at the end of the first volume of Mr. Richardson's Journal, is in general, I think, exact; there are only two mistakes of importance—with regard to the population of Taláze-ghrín and that of A'fasás (p. 341), each of which places is stated to have 1000 male inhabitants, while the whole population scarcely reaches that number. On the other hand, the estimate of the population of A'gades at 2500 (p. 343) is too low. Besides, some places are left out there, such as Iséllef, the residence of Dídi's wife, and some others. I have to regret the loss of a paper which I sent home from Aïr, where a topographical arrangement of the villages had been attempted.

As far as I was able to learn from personal information, it would seem that this trade did not take the road by way of A'sben till about a century ago, consequently not before the country was occupied by the Kél-owí. It is natural to suppose that, so long as the Tébu, or rather Tedá, retained political strength, they would not allow strangers to reap the whole advantage of such natural wealth.* At present, the whole authority of A'nnur, as well as Lúsu, seems to be based upon this trade, of which they are the steady protectors, while many of their nation deem this trade rather a degrading occupation, and incline much more to a roving life.

I now return to our encampment near Tintéllust, reserving a brief account of the general features of the country till the moment when we are about to leave it.

CHAPTER XV.

RESIDENCE IN TINTÉLLUST.

We saw the old chief on the day following our arrival. He received us in a straightforward and kindly manner, observing very simply that even if, as Christians, we had come to his country stained with guilt, the many dangers and difficulties we had gone through would have sufficed to wash us clean, and that we had nothing now to fear but the climate and the thieves. The presents which were spread out before him he received graciously, but without saying a single word. Of hospitality he showed no sign. All this was characteristic.

We soon received further explanations. Some days after-

* In the account of the expedition of the Bórnu king Edrís Alawóma, of which I shall have to speak in the second volume, no mention is made of this salt-trade of the Tébu, but from this silence no conclusion can be drawn as to the non-existence of the salt-trade at that time. On the contrary, we may conclude from the interesting account of Edrísi (trans. Jaubert, vol. i., p. 117, f.), who certainly means to speak of the salt-trade of the Tébu country, although he uses the term "alum," that this article formed a very important staple in remote times.

ward he sent us the simple and unmistakable message that, if we wished to proceed to Sudán at our own risk, we might go in company with the caravan, and he would place no obstacle in our way; but if we wanted him to go with us and to protect us, we ought to pay him a considerable sum. In stating these plain terms, he made use of a very expressive simile, saying that as the leffa (or snake) killed every thing that she touched, so his word, when it had once escaped his lips, had terminated the matter in question; there was nothing more to be said. I do not think this such an instance of shameful extortion as Mr. Richardson represents it, considering how much we gave to others who did nothing for their pay, and how much trouble we caused A'nnur. On the contrary, having observed A'nnur's dealings to the very last, and having arrived under his protection safely at Kátsena, I must pronounce him a straightforward and trustworthy man, who stated his terms plainly and dryly, but stuck to them with scrupulosity; and as he did not treat us, neither did he ask any thing* from us, nor allow his people to do so. I shall never forgive him for his niggardliness in not offering me so much as a drink of fura or ghussub-water when I visited him, in the heat of the day, on his little estate near Tasáwa; but I can not withhold from him my esteem both as a great politician in his curious little empire, and as a man remarkable for singleness of word and purpose.

Having come into the country as hated intruders pursued by all classes of people, we could not expect to be received by him otherwise than coldly; but his manner changed entirely when I was about to set out for A'gades, in order to obtain the goodwill of the sultan of the country. He came to our encampment to see me off, and from that day forth did not omit to visit us every day, and to maintain the most familiar intercourse with us. So it was with all the people; and I formed so many friendships with them that the turbulent Mohammed, A'nnur's cousin, used often to point to them as a proof how impossible it was that he could have been the instigator of the misdeeds per-

* The little trifles which we gave him occasionally are scarcely worth mentioning.

petrated on the night preceding our arrival in Tintéllust, when we were treated with violence and our luggage was rifled. Still we had, of course, many disagreeable experiences to make before we became naturalized in this new country.

It was the rainy season; and the rain, setting in almost daily, caused us as much interest and delight (being a certain proof that we had reached the new regions after which we had so long been hankering) as served to counterbalance the trouble which it occasioned. Sometimes it fell very heavily, and, coming on always with a dreadful storm, was very difficult to be kept out from the tent, so that our things often got wet. The heaviest rain we had was on the 9th of September, when an immense torrent was formed, not only in the chief valley, but even in the small ravine behind our encampment. Yet we liked the rain much better than the sand-storm. In a few days nature all around assumed so fresh and luxuriant a character, that, so long as we were left in repose, we felt cheered to the utmost, and enjoyed our pleasant encampment, which was surrounded by masses of granite blocks, wide-spreading bushes of the abísga, and large, luxuriant talha-trees, in wild and most picturesque confusion. It was very pleasant and interesting to observe every day the rapid growth of the little fresh leaves and young offshoots, and the spreading of the shady foliage.

Monkeys now and then descended into the little hollow beyond our tents to obtain a draught of water, and numbers of jackals were heard every night roving about us, while the trees swarmed with beautiful ring-doves and hoopoes, and other smaller birds. The climate of Aïr has been celebrated from the time of Leo, on account "della bontà e temperanza dell'aere." But, unfortunately, our little English suburb proved too distant from the protecting arm of the old chief; and after the unfortunate attack in the night of the 17th of September, which, if made with vigor, would inevitably have ended in our destruction, we were obliged to move our encampment, and, crossing the broad valley, pitch it in the plain near the village.

But the circumstances connected with this attack were so curious that I must relate them in a few words. The rain, which

had wetted all our things, and made us anxious about our instruments and arms, seemed to abate; and Overweg and I decided, the very day preceding the attack in question, on cleaning our guns and pistols, which had been loaded for some time; and having cleaned them, and wishing to dry them well, we did not load them again immediately. In the afternoon we had a visit from two well-dressed men, mounted on a mehára; they did not beg for any thing, but inspected the tents very attentively, making the remark that our tent was as strong as a house, while Mr. Richardson's was light and open at the bottom.

The moon shed a splendid light over the interesting wilderness; and our black servants being uncommonly cheerful and gay that night, music and dancing was going on in the village, and they continued playing till a very late hour, when they fell asleep. Going the round of our encampment before I went to lie down, I observed at a little distance a strange camel, or rather méheri, kneeling quietly down with its head toward our tents. I called my colleagues, and expressed my suspicion that all was not right; but our light-hearted and frivolous servant Mohammed calmed my uneasiness by pretending that he had seen the camel there before, though that was not true. Still I had some sad foreboding, and, directing my attention unluckily to the wrong point, caused our sheep to be tied close to our tent.

Being uneasy, I did not sleep soundly; and a little after two o'clock I thought I heard a very strange noise, just as if a troop of people were marching with a steady step round our tents, and muttering in a jarring voice. Listening anxiously for a moment, I felt sure that there were people near the tent, and was about to rush out; but again, on hearing the sound of music proceeding from the village, I persuaded myself that the noise came from thence, and lay down to slumber, when suddenly I heard a louder noise, as if several men were rushing up the hill, and, grasping a sword and calling aloud for our people, I jumped out of the tent; but there was nobody to be seen. Going then round the hill to Mr. Richardson's tent, I met him coming out half dressed, and begging me to pursue the robbers,

who had carried away some of his things. Some of his boxes were dragged out of the tent, but not emptied: none of his servants were to be seen except S'aid, all the rest having run away without giving an alarm, so that all of us might have been murdered.

But immediately after this accident we received the distinct assurance of protection both from the Sultan of A'gades and from the great m'allem Azóri; and I began to plan my excursion to A'gades more definitely, and entered into communication with the chief on this point. Meanwhile I collected a great deal of information* about the country, partly from a Tawáti of the name of 'Abd el Káder (not the same who accompanied us on the road from Ghát), and partly from some of the Tinýlkum, who, having left us the day after our arrival in Tintéllust, had dispersed all over the country, some pasturing their camels in the most favored localities, others engaged in little trading speculations, and paying us a visit every now and then. Small caravans came and went, and among them one from Sudán, with its goods laden almost entirely on pack-oxen—a most cheerful sight, filling our hearts with the utmost delight, as we were sure that we had now passed those dreary deserts where nothing but the persevering and abstemious camel can enable man to maintain communications.

At length, then, we were enabled to write to government, and to our friends in Europe, assuring them that we had now overcome, apparently, most of the difficulties which appeared likely to oppose our progress, and that we felt justified in believing that we had now fairly entered upon the road which would lead directly to the attainment of the objects of the expedition.

With regard to our provisions, Overweg and I were at first rather ill off, while Mr. Richardson, although he had been obliged to supply food on the road to troops both of friends and foes, had still a small remnant of the considerable stores which he had laid in at Múrzuk. We had been led to expect that we should find no difficulty in procuring all necessaries, and even a

* That part of my information which regarded the topography of the country, and which I forwarded during our stay there, has unfortunately been lost.

few luxuries, in A'sben (and carriage was so dear that we were obliged to rely upon these promises); but we were now sadly disappointed. After a few days, however, the inhabitants being informed that we were in want of provisions, and were ready to buy, brought us small quantities of Guinea-corn, butter—the botta (or box made of rough hide, in the way common over almost the whole of Central Africa) for two or two and a half mithkáls—and even a little fresh cheese; we were also able to buy two or three goats, and by sending Ibrahím, who had now recovered from his Guinea-worm, to A'sodi, where provisions are always stored up in small quantities, we obtained a tolerable camel-load of durra or sorghum.

But I could not relish this grain at all, and as I was not able to introduce any variety into my diet, I suffered much; hence it was fortunate for me that I went to A'gades, where my food was more varied, and my health consequently improved. I afterward became accustomed to the various preparations of sorghum and *Pennisetum*, particularly the asída or túvo, and found that no other food is so well adapted for a hot climate; but it requires a good deal of labor to prepare it well, and this, of course, is a difficult matter for a European traveler, who has no female slave or partner to look after his meals. Our food during our stay in A'sben was so ill prepared (being generally quite bitter, owing to the husk not being perfectly separated from the grain) that no native of the country would taste it.

Meanwhile, my negotiation with the chief with regard to my going to A'gades, which I managed as silently and secretly as possible, went on prosperously, and on the 30th of September I took my leave of him, having with me on the occasion a present for himself, worth about eighty riyáls, or eleven pounds sterling, and the presents intended for the Sultan of A'gades, in order that he might see what they were and express his opinion upon them; and I was greatly pleased to find that he was satisfied with both. He promised me perfect safety, although the undertaking looked a little dangerous, and had a letter written to 'Abd el Káder (or, in the popular form, Kádiri—this was the name of the new sultan), wherein he recommended me to him in

the strongest terms, and enumerated the presents I meant to offer to him.

But as soon as my intention transpired, all the people, uninvited as well as invited, hastened to give me their best advice, and to dissuade me from embarking in an undertaking which would certainly be my ruin. Conspicuous among these motley counselors was a son of Háj 'Abdúwa, the presumptive heir of A'nnur, who conjured me to abandon my design. These people, indeed, succeeded in frightening Yusuf Mákni, Mr. Richardson's interpreter, whom the latter wished to send with me; but as for myself, I knew what I was about, and had full confidence in the old chief's promise, and was rather glad to get rid of Mákni, whom I well knew to be a clever, but no less malicious and intriguing person. With difficulty I persuaded Mohammed, our Tunisian shushán, to accompany me; and I also succeeded in hiring Amánkay, Mr. Richardson's active black Búzu servant, who, however, on this trip proved utterly useless, as we had no sooner set out than he began to suffer from his old complaint of Guinea-worm, and was the whole time too lame for service.

I then arranged with Hámma, A'nnur's son-in-law, under whose especial protection I was to undertake my journey, but whom I had to pay separately. I gave him the value of eleven mithkáls, or about one pound sterling, for himself, and hired from him two camels, each for six mithkáls. After various delays, which, however, enabled me to send off two more of my journals, together with letters, to Múrzuk, by the hand of a half-caste Kél-owí of the name of Báwa Amákita, our departure was definitively fixed for the 4th of October.

CHAPTER XVI.

JOURNEY TO A'GADES.

Friday, October 4th. AT length the day arrived when I was to set out on my long-wished-for excursion to A'gades; for although at that time I was not aware of the whole extent of interest attaching to that place, it had nevertheless been to me a point of the strongest attraction. For what can be more interesting than a considerable town, said to have been once as large as Tunis, situated in the midst of lawless tribes, on the border of the desert and of the fertile tracts of an almost unknown continent, established there from ancient times, and protected as a place of rendezvous and commerce between nations of the most different character, and having the most various wants? It is by mere accident that this town has not attracted as much interest in Europe as her sister town Timbúktu.

It was a fine morning, with a healthy and refreshing light breeze, invigorating both body and mind. The old chief, who had never before visited our encampment, now came out to pay us his compliments, assuring me once more that "my safety rested upon his head." But his heart was so gladdened at witnessing our efforts to befriend the other great men of his country that his habitual niggardliness was overcome, and with graceful hospitality he resigned one of his bullocks to our party.

The little caravan I was to accompany consisted of six camels, five-and-thirty-asses, and two bullocks, one of which was allotted to me, till my protector Hámma should be able to hire a camel for me. But, although well accustomed to ride on horseback as well as on a camel, I had never yet in my life tried to sit astride on the broad back of a bullock; and the affair was the more difficult as there was no saddle, nor any thing to sit upon, except parcels of luggage not very tightly fastened to the animal's back, and swinging from one side to the other.

After the first bullock had been rejected as quite unfit, in its wild, intractable mood, to carry me, or indeed any thing else, and when it had been allowed to return to the herd, the second was at length secured, the luggage fastened somehow on his back, and I was bid to mount. I must truly confess that I should have been better pleased with a horse, or even an ass; but still, hoping to manage matters, I took my seat, and, bidding my fellow-travelers farewell, followed my black companions up the broad valley by which we had come from the north. But we soon left it and ascended the rocky ground, getting an interesting view of the broad and massive Mount Eghellál before us.

Having at first thought my seat rather too insecure for making observations, I grew by degrees a little more confident, and, taking out my compass, noted the direction of the road, when suddenly the baggage threatened to fall over to the right, whereupon I threw the whole weight of my body to the left, in order to keep the balance; but I unluckily overdid it, and so all at once down I came, with the whole baggage. The ground was rocky; and I should inevitably have been hurt not a little if I had not fallen upon the muzzle of my musket, which I was carrying on my shoulder, and which, being very strong, sustained the shock, and kept my head from the ground. Even my compass, which I had open in my left hand, most fortunately escaped uninjured; and I felt extremely glad that I had fallen so adroitly, but vowed never again to mount a bullock.

I preferred marching on foot till we reached the valley Eghellúwa, where plenty of water is found in several wells. Here we halted a moment, and I mounted behind Hámma, on the lean back of his camel, holding on by his saddle; but I could not much enjoy my seat, as I was greatly annoyed by his gun sticking out on the right, and at every moment menacing my face. I was therefore much pleased when we reached the little village of Tiggeréresa, lying on the border of a broad valley well clothed with talha-trees, and a little further on encamped in a pleasant recess formed by projecting masses of granite blocks; for here I was told we should surely find camels, and, in fact, Hámma hired two for me, for four mithkáls each, to go to and return

from A'gades. Here we also changed our companions, the very intelligent Mohammed, a son of one of A'nnur's sisters, returning to Tintéllust, while the turbulent Mohammed (I called him by no other name than Mohammed bábo hánkali), our friend from Afís, came to attend us, and with him Hámmeda, a cheerful and amiable old man, who was a fair specimen of the improvement derivable from the mixture of different blood and of different national qualities; for, while he possessed all the cheerfulness and vivacity of the Góber nation, his demeanor was nevertheless moderated by the soberness and gravity peculiar to the Berber race; and though, while always busy, he was not effectively industrious, yet his character approached very closely to the European standard.

He was by trade a blacksmith, a more comprehensive profession in these countries than in Europe, although in general these famous blacksmiths have neither iron nor tools to work with. All over the Tawárek country the "énhad" (smith) is much respected, and the confraternity is most numerous. An "énhad" is generally the prime minister of every little chief. The Arabs in Timbúktu call these blacksmiths "m'allem," which may give an idea of their high rank and respected character. Then there is also the "m'allema," the constant female companion of the chief's wife, expert above all in beautiful leather works.

In order to avoid, as much as possible, attracting the attention of the natives, I had taken no tent with me, and sheltered myself at night under the projecting roof of the granite blocks, my Kél-owí friends sleeping around me.

Saturday, October 5th. Hámma was so good as to give up to me his fine tall méheri, while he placed his simple little saddle or "kiri" on the back of the young and ill-trained camel hired here, a proceeding which in the course of our journey almost cost him his ribs. In truth, I had no saddle; yet my seat was arranged comfortably by placing first two leathern bags filled with soft articles across the back of the camel, and then fastening two others over them lengthwise, and spreading my carpet over all. Even for carrying their salt, the Kél-owí very rarely employ saddles, or if they do, only of the lightest descrip-

tion, made of straw, which have nothing in common with the heavy and hot "hawiya" of the Arabs.

The country through which we traveled was a picturesque wilderness, with rocky ground intersected at every moment by winding valleys and dry water-courses richly overgrown with grasses and mimosas, while majestic mountains and detached peaks towered over the landscape, the most interesting object during the whole day being Mount Cheréka, with its curious

double peak, as it appeared from various sides, first looking as if it were a single peak, only bifurcated at the top, then after a while showing two peaks separated almost to the very base, and rising in picturesque forms nearly to the same elevation. Un-

fortunately, our road did not lead us near it, although I was as anxious to explore this singular mountain as to visit the town of A'sodi, which some years ago attracted attention in Europe. We had sent a present to Astáfidet, the chief of the Kél-owi residing here, and probably I should have been well received: but Hámma would not hear of our going there now, so we left the town at no great distance to the right, and I must content myself with here inserting the information obtained from other people who had been there repeatedly.

A'sodi,* lying at no great distance from the foot of Mount Cheréka, which forms the most characteristic feature of the surrounding landscape, was once an important place, and a great resort for merchants, though, as it is not mentioned by any Arabic writer, not even by Leo, it would seem to be of much later origin than A'gades. Above a thousand houses, built of clay and stone, lie at present in ruins, while only about eighty are still inhabited; this would testify that it was once a comparatively considerable place, with from eight to ten thousand inhabitants. Such an estimate of its magnitude is confirmed by the fact that there were seven tamizgídas, or mosques, in the town, the largest of which was ornamented with columns, the "mamber" alone being ornamented with three, while the naves were covered in partly with a double roof, made of the stems of the dúm-tree, and partly with cupolas.

The town, however, seems never to have been inclosed with a wall, and in this respect, as well as in its size, was always inferior to A'gades. At present, although the population is scattered about, the market of A'sodi is still well provided with provisions, and even with the more common merchandise. The house of the amanókal of the Kél-owí is said to stand on a little eminence in the western part of the town, surrounded by about twenty cottages. There is no well inside, all the water being fetched from a well which lies in a valley stretching from north to south.

Conversing with my companions about this place, which we left at a short distance to our right, and having before us the interesting picture of the mountain range of Búnday, with its neighboring heights, forming one continuous group with Mount Eghellál, we reached the fine valley Chizólen, and rested in it during the hottest hours of the day under a beautiful talha-tree, while the various beasts composing our little caravan found a rich pasturage all around.

* It is an obvious mistake to derive this name, which is written إصّطه and إصوطه, though the former is the more correct form, and is evidently of sub-Libyan origin, from the Arabic word إسود (black).

Having taken here a sufficient supply of very good water from hollows scooped in the sand, we continued our march over rocky ground thickly covered with herbage, and surmounted on our right by the angular outlines and isolated sugar-loafs of a craggy ridge, while on our left rose the broad, majestic form of Mount Eghellál. As evening came on I was greatly cheered at the sight of a herd of well-fed cattle returning from their pasture-grounds to their night-quarters near the village of Eghellál, which lies at the foot of the mountain so named. They were fine, sturdy bullocks of moderate size, all with the hump, and of glossy dark-brown color.

In the distance, as the Eghellál began to retire, there appeared behind it, in faint outlines, Mount Bághzen, which of late years had become so famous in Europe, and had filled my imagination with lofty crests and other features of romantic scenery. But how disappointed was I when, instead of all this, I saw it stretching along in one almost unbroken line! I soon turned my eyes from it to Mount Eghellál, which now disclosed to us a deep chasm or crevice (the channel of powerful floods) separating a broad cone, and apparently dividing the whole mountain mass into two distinct groups.

At six o'clock in the evening we encamped in the shallow valley of Eghellál, at some distance from the well, and were

greatly delighted at being soon joined by Háj 'Abdúwa, the son of Fátim (A'nnur's eldest sister), and the chief's presumptive heir, a man of about fifty years of age, and of intelligent and agreeable character. I treated him with a cup or two of coffee well sweetened, and conversed with him a while about the difference between Egypt, which he had visited on his pilgrimage, and his own country. He was well aware of the immense superiority even of that state of society; but, on the other hand, he had not failed to observe the misery connected with great density of population, and he told me, with a certain degree of pride, that there were few people in Aïr so miserable as a large class of the inhabitants of Cairo. Being attacked by severe fever, he returned the next morning to his village Táfidet, but afterward accompanied the chief Astáfidet on his expedition to A'gades, where I saw him again. I met him also in the course of my travels twice in Kúkawa, whither he alone of all his tribe used to go in order to maintain friendly relations with that court, which was too often disturbed by the predatory habits of roving Kél-owí.

Sunday, October 6th. Starting early, we soon reached a more open country, which to the eye seemed to lean toward Mount

Bághzen; but this was only an illusion, as appeared clearly from the direction of the dry water-courses, which all ran from E. to W.S.W. On our right we had now Mount A'gata, which has given its name to the village mentioned above as lying at its foot. Here the fertility of the soil seemed greatly increased, the herbage becoming more fresh and abundant, while numerous talhas and abísgas adorned the country. Near the foot of the extensive mountain group of Bághzen, and close to another mountain called Ajúri, there are even some very favored spots,

especially a valley called Chímmia, ornamented with a fine date-grove, which produces fruit of excellent quality. As we entered the meandering windings of a broad water-course, we obtained an interesting view of Mount Belásega. The plain now contracted, and, on entering a narrow defile of the ridges, we had to cross a small pass, from the top of which a most charming prospect met our eyes.

A grand and beautifully-shaped mountain rose on our right, leaving, between its base and the craggy heights, the offshoots of which we were crossing, a broad valley running almost east and west, while at the eastern foot of the mountain a narrow but richly-adorned valley wound along through the lower rocky ground. This was Mount Abíla, or Bíla, which is at once one of the most picturesque objects in the country of Aïr, and seems to bear an interesting testimony to a connection with that great family of mankind which we call the Semitic; for the name of this mountain, or, rather, of the moist and "green vale" at its foot (throughout the desert, even in its most favored parts, it is the valley which generally gives its name to the mountain), is probably the same as that of the well-known spot in Syria from which the province of Abilene has been named.*

A little beyond the first dry water-course, where water was to be scooped out a few feet under the surface of the ground, we rested for the heat of the day; but the vegetation around was

* See Gesenius, *s. v.* "abel;" and compare Porter, Five Years in Damascus, vol. i., p. 264; Stanley, Sinai and Palestine, p. 405, 485.

far from being so rich here as in the valley Tíggeda, at the eastern foot of the picturesque mountain, where, after a short march in the afternoon, we encamped for the night. This was the finest valley I had yet seen in the country. The broad, sandy bed of the torrent, at present dry, was bordered with the most beautiful fresh grass, forming a fine turf, shaded by the richest and densest foliage of several kinds of mimosa, the tabórak or *Balanites*, the tághmart, the abísga, and tunfáfia,* while over all this mass of verdure towered the beautiful peaks which on this side start forth from the massive mountain, the whole tinged with the varied tints of the setting sun. This delicious spectacle filled my heart with delight; and having sat down a little while quietly to enjoy it, I made a sketch of the beautiful forms of the mountain peaks.

Just before encamping we had passed a small chapel in ruins surrounded by a cemetery. At that time I thought this valley identical with the Tekádda (as the name is generally spelled),

* I have noticed in my memorandum-book also that I saw here the first túji: but what "túji" means I am at present unable to say.

mentioned by Ebn Khaldún and by Ebn Batúta* as an independent little Berber state between Gógo and Káhir, lying on the road of the pilgrims; but I found afterward that there is another place which has better claims to this identification.

Monday, October 7th. We began a most interesting day's march, winding first along the valley Tíggeda (which now, in the cool of the morning, was enlivened by numerous flocks of wild pigeons), and then over a short tract of rocky ground, entering the still more picturesque "érazar-n-A'sada," on the west only lined by low rocky ridges, but bordered toward the east by the steep massive forms of the Dógem. Here, indeed, a really tropical profusion of vegetation covered the whole bottom of the valley, and scarcely left a narrow low passage for the camels, the rider being obliged to stoop every moment to avoid being swept off his seat. The principal tree here is the dúm-tree, or *Cucifera Thebaïca*, which I had not seen since Selúfiet, but here it was in the wild picturesque state into which it soon relapses if left to nature. There was, besides, a great variety of the acacia tribe all growing most luxuriantly, and interwoven with creepers, which united the whole mass of vegetation into one thick canopy. I regret that there was no leisure for making a sketch, as this valley was far more picturesque even than Aúderas, of which I have been able to give the reader a slight outline.

In this interesting valley we met two droll and jovial-looking musicians, clad in a short and narrow blue shirt well-fastened round their loins, and a small straw hat. Each of them carried a large drum or timbalí, with which they had been cheering the spirits of a wedding-party, and were now proceeding to some other place on a similar errand. We then met a large slave-caravan, consisting of about forty camels and sixty slaves, winding along the narrow path, hemmed in by the rank vegetation, and looking rather merry than sad—the poor blacks gladdened doubtless by the picturesque landscape, and keeping up a lively song in their native melody. In the train of this caravan,

* Ebn Khaldún, texte Arabe, tom. i., p. 265; Ebn Batúta, Journal Asiatique, 1843, p. 233.

and probably interested in its lawless merchandise, went Snúsi and Awed el Khér, two of the camel-drivers with whom we had come from Múrzuk, and who probably had laid out the money gained from the English mission in the very article of trade which it is the desire of the English government to prohibit. This is a sinister result of well-meant commercial impulses, which will probably subsist as long as the slave-trade itself exists on the north coast of Africa.*

On emerging from the thick forest, we obtained the first sight of the majestic cone of the Dógem, while a very narrow ravine or cleft in the steep cliffs on our left led to the village of A'sada. We then began to ascend, sometimes along narrow ravines, at others on sloping rocky ground, all covered with herbage up to the summits of the lower mountains. In this way we reached the highest point of the pass, about 2500 feet, having the broad cone of the Dógem on our left, which I then thought to be the most elevated point of Aïr, though, as I mentioned above, the old chief A'nnur maintained that the Tímge is higher. This conspicuous mountain most probably consists of basalt; and, from what I shall observe further on, it may be inferred that the whole group of the Bághzen does so too.

From this pass we descended into the pebbly plain of Erárarn-Déndemu, thickly overgrown with small talha-trees, and showing along the path numerous footprints of the lion, which is extremely common in these highland wildernesses, which, while affording sufficient vegetation and water for a variety of animals, are but thinly inhabited, and every where offer a safe retreat. However, from what I saw of him, he is not a very ferocious animal here.

The weather meanwhile had become sultry, and when, after having left the plain, we were winding through narrow glens, the storm, the last of the rainy season, broke out, and, through the mismanagement of the slaves, not only our persons, but all our things, were soaked with the rain. Our march became rather cheerless, every thing being wet, and the whole ground cov-

* At the moment I am revising this, I am happy to state that the slave-trade is really abolished.

ered with water, which along the water-courses formed powerful torrents. At length we entered the gloomy, rugged valley of Tághist, covered with basaltic stones, mostly of the size of a child's head, and bordered by sorry-looking rocky hills.

Tághist is remarkable as the place of prayer founded by the man who introduced Islám into Central Negroland,* and thus gave the first impulse to that continual struggle which, always extending further and further, seems destined to overpower the nations at the very equator, if Christianity does not presently step in to dispute the ground with it. This man was the celebrated Mohammed ben 'Abd el Kerím ben Maghíli, a native of Búda in Tawát,† and a contemporary and intimate friend of the Sheikh e' Soyúti,‡ that living encyclopædia and keystone, if I may be allowed the expression, of Mohammedan learning.

Living in the time when the great Sónghay empire began to decline from that pitch of power which it had reached under the energetic sway of Sónni 'Ali and Mohammed el Háj A'skia, and stung by the injustice of A'skia Ism'aíl, who refused to punish the murderers of his son, he turned his eyes on the country where successful resistance had first been made against the all-absorbing power of the Asáki, and which, fresh and youthful as it was, promised a new splendor, if enlightened by the influence of a purer religion. Instigated by such motives, partly merely personal, partly of a more elevated character, Mohammed ben 'Abd el Kerím turned his steps toward Kátsena, where we shall find him again; but on his way thither he founded in this spot a place of prayer, to remain a monument to the traveler of the path which the religion of the One God took from the far East to the country of the blacks.

* I trust my readers will approve of my using the expression Western Negroland to denote the countries from Fúta as far as Sókoto; Middle Sudán, or Central Negroland, from Sókoto to Bagírmi; and Eastern Negroland, comprising Wadäy, Darfúr, Kordofán, and Sennár. However, here, when I say that Mohammed ben 'Abd el Kerim introduced Islám into Central Negroland, I exclude Bórnu, where the Mohammedan religion is much older.

† He may have been born in Telemsán, but at least from very early youth he was settled in Tawát.

‡ E' Soyúti's full name is Abu 'l Fadhl Jelál e' dín 'Abd e' Rahmán el Khodaíri e' Soyúti.

The "msíd" or "mesálla" at present is only marked by stones laid out in a regular way, and inclosing a space from sixty to seventy feet long and fifteen broad, with a small mehhráb, which is adorned (accidentally or intentionally, I can not say) by a young talha-tree. This is the venerated and far-famed "Makám e' Sheikh ben 'Abd el Kerím," where the traveler coming from the north never omits to say his prayers; others call it Msíd Sídi Baghdádi, the name Baghdádi being often given by the blacks to the sheikh, who had long resided in the East.

At length we descended from the rugged ground of Tághist into the commencement of the celebrated valley of Aúderas, the fame of which penetrated to Europe many years ago. Here we encamped, wet as we were, on the slope of the rocky ground, in order to guard against the humidity of the valley. Opposite to us, toward the south, on the top of a hill, lay the little village Aërwen wan Tídrak. Another village, called I'farghén, is situated higher up the valley on the road from Aúderas to Damerghú. On our return I saw in this valley a barbarous mode of tillage, three slaves being yoked to a sort of plow, and driven like oxen by their master. This is probably the most southern place in Central Africa where the plow is used; for all over Sudán the hoe or fertaña is the only instrument used for preparing the ground.

Tuesday, October 8th. While the weather was clear and fine, the valley, bordered on both sides by steep precipices, and adorned with a rich grove of dúm-trees, and bush and herbage in great variety, displayed its mingled beauties, chiefly about the well, where, on our return-journey, I made the accompanying sketch. This valley, as well as those succeeding it, is able to produce not only millet, but even wheat, wine, and dates, with almost every species of vegetable; and there are said to be fifty garden-fields (gónaki) near the village of I'farghén.

But too soon we left this charming strip of cultivation, and ascended the rocky ground on our right, above which again rose several detached hills, one of which had so interesting and well-marked a shape that I sketched its outlines. The road which

we followed is not the common one. The latter, after crossing very rugged ground for about fifteen miles, keeps along the fine deep valley Télwa for about ten miles, and then ascending for about an hour, reaches A'gades in three hours more. This latter road passes by Tímelén, where, at times, a considerable market is said to be held.

Having descended again, we found the ground in the plain covered with a thin crust of natron, and farther on met people busy in collecting it; but it is not of very good quality, nor at all comparable to that of Múnio or to that of the shores of Lake Tsád. There are several places on the border between the desert and the fertile districts of Negroland which produce this mineral, which forms a most important article of commerce in middle Sudán. Another well-known natron-district is in Zabérma; but in Western Sudán natron is almost unknown, and it is only very rarely that a small sample of it can be got in Timbúktu. Many of the Kél-owí have learned (most probably from the Tedá or Tébu) the disgusting custom of chewing tobacco intermixed with natron, while only very few of them smoke.

The monotony of the country ceased when we entered the valley Búdde, which, running in the direction of our path from S.S.W. to N.N.E., is adorned with a continuous strip of dum-trees, besides abísga and talha; but the latter were of rather poor growth in the northern part of the valley. Having crossed at noon the broad, sandy water-course, which winds through the rich carpet of vegetation, and where there happened to be a tolerably large pond of water, we encamped in the midst of the thicket. Here the mimosas attained such an exuberance as I had scarcely observed, even in the valley of A'sada, and being closely interwoven with "gráffeni" or climbing plants, they formed an almost impenetrable thicket. From the midst of this

thorny mass of vegetation a beautiful ripe fruit, about an inch and a half long, of the size of a date, and of dark-red color, awakened the desire of the traveler; but, having eaten a few, I found them, though sweet, rather mawkish.

Here, too, I first became acquainted with the troublesome nature of the "karéngia," or *Pennisetum distichum*, which, together with the ant, is to the traveler in Central Africa his greatest and most constant inconvenience. It was just ripe, and the little bur-like seeds attached themselves to every part of my dress. It is quite necessary to be always provided with small pincers, in order to draw out from the fingers the little stings, which, if left in the skin, will cause sores. None even of the wild roving natives is ever without such an instrument. But it is not a useless plant; for, besides being the most nourishing food for cattle, it furnishes even man with a rather slight, but by no means tasteless food. Many of the Táwarek, from Bórnu as far as Timbúktu, subsist more or less upon the seeds of the *Pennisetum distichum*, which they call "úzak." The drink made of it is certainly not bad, resembling in coolness the fúra or ghussub-water.

From the circumstance that our Kél-owí were here cutting grass for the camels, I concluded that the next part of our journey would lead through an entirely sterile tract; but, though the herbage was here exuberant, it was not at all wanting farther on. Having left the valley a while to our right, we soon re-entered it, and crossed several beautiful branches of it very rich in vegetation. We then encamped on an open place beyond the southernmost branch, close to a cemetery of the Imghád, who inhabit a small village to the east called Tawár Nwaijdúd, and farther on some other villages, called Téndau, Tinta-Lórak, and Emélloli.

While, with the rest of our companions, we tried to make ourselves comfortable on the hard ground and under the open canopy of heaven, Hámma and Mohammed took up their quarters with the Imghád, and, according to their own statement on their return the following morning, were very hospitably treated, both by the male and female part of the inhabitants. As

for the Imghád who live in these fertile valleys round A'gades, they are divided into numerous sections, of which I learned the following names: the Ehér-heren, the Kél-chísem, the Taranaiji, the Edárreban, the Yowúswosan, the Efeléngeras, the E'heten,* the Tariwáza, the Ihíngemángh, the Egemmén, the Edellén, the Kél-tédele, and the Ikóhanén.

Wednesday, October 9th. Our route led us over stony ground till we reached another favored valley, called Tefárrakad, where, owing to the water-course being divided into several branches, vegetation is spread over a larger space. Here, while our Kélowí hung a little behind, two Imghád, mounted on camels, attached themselves to us and became rather troublesome; but they looked so famished and thin that they awakened pity rather than any other feeling, their dress and whole attire being of the poorest description. Farther on, when we had left the valley and ascended rocky ground, we met a small caravan of the same mixed kind as our own troop—camels, bullocks, asses, and men on foot; they were returning to their village with provision of Negro millet, which they had bought in A'gades.

We had scarcely advanced three miles when we descended again into another long, beautiful hollow in the rocky ground, the valley Bóghel, which, besides a fine grove of dúm-trees, exhibits one very large and remarkable specimen of the tree called baure† in Háusa, a large ficus with ample fleshy leaves of beautiful green. This specimen, so far to the north, measured not less than twenty-six feet in circumference at the height of eight feet from the ground, and was certainly eighty feet high, with a full, wide-spreading crown. I scarcely remember afterward to have seen in all Sudán a larger baure than this. Here, for the first time, I heard the Guinea-fowl ("táliat" or "tailelt" in Temashight, "zabó" in Háusa); for I did not see it, the birds keeping to the thick and impenetrable underwood which filled the intervals between the dúm-trees.

* This name may be connected with the Sónghay or Sónrhay; the Awelímmiden, at least, call the Sónghay people Ehétane.

† This tree has nothing in common with the *Adansonia*, with which it has been supposed to be identical.

At noon the wood, which was rather more than half a mile in breadth, formed one continued and unbroken cluster of thicket in the most picturesque state of wild luxuriance, while farther on, where it became a little clearer of underwood, the ground was covered with a sort of wild melon; but my friend the blacksmith, who took up one of them and applied his teeth to it, threw it away with such a grimace that I rather suspect he mistook a colocynth, "jangunna," for a melon, "gunna." Numbers of the *Asclepias gigantea*, which never grows on a spot incapable of cultivation, bore testimony to the fertility of the soil, which was soon more clearly demonstrated by a small cornfield still under cultivation. Traces of former cultivation were evident on all sides. There can scarcely be the least doubt that these valleys, which were expressly left to the care of the degraded tribes or the Imghád, on condition of their paying from the produce a certain tribute to their masters, once presented a very different aspect; but when the power of the ruler of A'gades dwindled away to a shadow, and when the Imghád, who received from him their kaid or governor, "tágaza," ceased to fear him, preferring robbery and pillage to the cultivation of the ground, these fine valleys were left to themselves, and relapsed into a wilderness.

We encamped at an early hour in the afternoon near the water-course, but did not succeed in obtaining water by digging, so that we could not even cook a little supper. Farther down the valley there had been a copious supply of water, and we had passed there a numerous caravan of asses near a large pool; but my companions, who were extremely negligent in this respect, would not then lay in a supply. Several Tawárek, or rather Imóshagh and Imghád, encamped around us for the night, and thus showed that we were approaching a centre of intercourse.

Owing to our want of water, we started at a very early hour, and, ascending gradually, after a little more than three miles, reached the height of the pebbly plateau on which the town of A'gades has been built. After having received several accounts of this naked "hammáda" or "ténere" stretching out to the

distance of several days, I was agreeably surprised to find that it was by no means so dreary and monotonous as I had been led to expect, forming now and then shallow depressions a few feet only lower than the pebbly surface, and sometimes extending to a considerable distance, where plenty of herbage and middle-sized acacia were growing. The road was now becoming frequented; and my companions, with a certain feeling of pride, showed me in the distance the high "Mesállaje," or minaret, the glory of A'gades. Having obtained a supply of water, and quenched our thirst, to my great astonishment we proceeded to encamp at half past seven in the morning in one of these shallow hollows; and I learned that we were to stay here the whole day till near sunset, in order to enter the town in the dark.

We were here met by two horsemen from A'gades (the son of the kádhi and a companion), who, I suppose, had come out on purpose to see us. They had a very *chevaleresque* look, and proved highly interesting to me, as they were the first horsemen I had seen in the country. The son of the kádhi, who was a fine, tall man, was well dressed in a tobe and trowsers of silk and cotton; he carried only an iron spear besides his sword and dagger, but no shield. But, for me, the most interesting part of their attire was their stirrups, which are almost European in shape, but made of copper. Of this metal were made also the ornaments on the harness of their horses; their saddles also were very unlike what I had yet seen in these countries, and nearly the same as the old Arab saddle, which differs little from the English.

While encamped here I bought from Hámma a black Sudán tobe, which, worn over another very large white tobe or shirt, and covered with a white bernús, gave me an appearance more suited to the country, while the stains of indigo soon made my complexion a few shades darker. This exterior accommodation to the custom of the natives my friend Hámma represented as essential for securing the success of my undertaking; and it had, besides, the advantage that it gave rise to the rumor that the Sultan of A'gades himself had presented me with this dress.

At length, when the sun was almost down, and when it was known that the Kél-gerés and Itísan (who had come to A'gades in very great numbers, in order to proceed on their journey to Bílma after the investiture of the new sultan) had retreated from their encampments at some distance from the town, we started, and were soon met by several people, who came to pay their compliments to my companions. On entering the town, we passed through a half-deserted quarter, and at length reached the house of A'nnur, where we were to take up our abode. But arriving in a new place at night is never very pleasant, and must be still less so where there are no lamps; it therefore took us some time to make ourselves tolerably comfortable. But I was fortunate in receiving hospitable treatment from our traveling companion 'Abd el Káder, who, being lodged in a chamber close to mine, sent me a well-prepared dish of kuskusu, made of Indian-corn. I could not relish the rice sent by one of A'nnur's wives, who resides here, owing to its not being seasoned with any salt, a practice to which I became afterward more accustomed, but which rather astonished me in a country the entire trade of which consists in salt.

Having spread my mat and carpet on the floor, I slept well, in the pleasing consciousness of having successfully reached this first object of my desires, and dreaming of the new sphere of inquiry on which I had entered.

CHAPTER XVII.

A'GADES.

EARLY in the morning, the whole body of the people from Tawát who were residing in the place, 'Abd el Káder at their head, paid me a visit. The Tawátíye are still, at the present time (like their forefathers more than 300 years ago), the chief merchants in A'gades; and they are well adapted to the nature of this market, for, having but small means, and being more like

peddlers or retail dealers, they sit quietly down with their little stock, and try to make the most of it by buying Negro millet when it is cheap, and retailing it when it becomes dear. Speculation in grain is now the principal business transacted in A'gades, since the branches of commerce of which I shall speak further on, and which once made the place rich and important, have been diverted into other channels. Here I will only remark that it is rather curious that the inhabitants of Tawát, though enterprising travelers, never become rich. Almost all the money with which they trade belongs to the people of Ghadámes; and their profits only allow them to dress and live well, of which they are very fond. Till recently, the Kél-owí frequented the market of Tawát, while they were excluded from those of Ghát and Múrzuk; but at present the contrary takes place, and, while they are admitted in the two latter places, Tawát has been closed against them.

Several of these Tawátíye were about to return to their native country, and were anxiously seeking information as to the time when the caravan of the Sakomáren, which had come to Tintéllust, intended to start on their return-journey, as they wished to go in their company. Among them was a man of the name of 'Abdallah, with whom I became afterward very intimate, and obtained from him a great deal of information. He was well acquainted with that quarter of the African continent which lies between Tawát, Timbúktu, and A'gades, having been six times to A'gades and five times to Timbúktu, and was less exacting than the mass of his countrymen. The most interesting circumstance which I learned from them to-day was the identity of the Emgédesi language with that of Timbúktu—a fact of which I had no previous idea, thinking that the Háusa language, as it was the vulgar tongue of the whole of A'sben, was the indigenous language of the natives of A'gades. But about this most interesting fact I shall say more afterward.

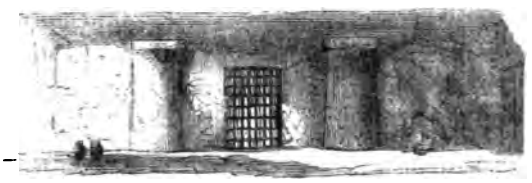
When the Tawátíye were about to go away, A'magay, or Mággi, as he is generally called, the chief eunuch of the sultan, came, and I was ordered by my Kél-owí companions, who had put on all their finery, to make myself ready to pay a visit to

the sultan. Throwing, therefore, my white heláli bernùs over my black tobe, and putting on my richly-ornamented Ghadámsi shoes, which formed my greatest finery, I took up the letters and the treaty, and solicited the aid of my servant Mohammed to assist me in getting it signed; but he refused to perform any such service, regarding it as a very gracious act on his part that he went with me at all.

The streets and the market-places were still empty when we went through them, which left upon me the impression of a deserted place of by-gone times; for even in the most important and central quarters of the town most of the dwelling-houses were in ruins. Some meat was lying ready for sale, and a bullock was tied to a stake, while numbers of large vultures, distinguished by their long naked neck of reddish color and their dirty-grayish plumage, were sitting on the pinnacles of the crumbling walls, ready to pounce upon any kind of offal. These natural scavengers I afterward found to be the constant inhabitants of all the market-places, not only in this town, but in all the places in the interior. Directing our steps by the high watch-tower, which, although built only of clay and wood, yet, on account of its contrast to the low dwelling-houses around, forms a conspicuous object, we reached the gate which leads into the palace or fáda, a small separate quarter with a large, irregular court-yard, and from twenty to twenty-five larger and smaller dwellings. Even these were partly in ruins, and one or two wretched conical cottages, built of reeds and grass, in the midst of them, showed any thing but a regard to cleanliness. The house, however, in which the sultan himself dwelt proved to have been recently repaired, and had a neat and orderly appearance; the wall was nicely polished, and the gate newly covered in with boards made of the stem of the dúm-tree, and furnished with a door of the same material.

We seated ourselves apart, on the right side of the vestibule, which, as is the case in all the houses of this place, is separated from the rest of the room by a low balustrade about ten inches high, and in this shape . Meanwhile Mággi had

announced us to his majesty, and, coming back, conducted us into the adjoining room, where he had taken his seat. It was separated from the vestibule by a very heavy wooden door, and was far more decent than I had expected. It was about forty or fifty feet in every direction, the rather low roof being supported by two short and massive columns of clay, slightly de-



creasing in thickness toward the top, and furnished with a simple abacus, over which one layer of large boards was placed in the breadth and two in the depth of the room, sustaining the roof formed of lighter boards. These are covered in with branches, over which mats are spread, the whole being completed with a layer of clay. At the lower end of the room, between the two columns, was a heavy door giving access into the interior of the house, while a large opening on either side admitted the light.

'Abd el Káderi, the son of the Sultan El Bákeri, was seated between the column to the right and the wall, and appeared to be a tolerably stout man, with large, benevolent features, as far as the white shawl wound around his face would allow us to perceive. The white color of the litham, and that of his shirt, which was of gray hue, together with his physiognomy, at once announced him as not belonging to the Tawárek race. Having saluted him one after another, we took our seats at some distance opposite to him, when, after having asked Hámma some complimentary questions with regard to the old chief, he called me to come near to him, and in a very kind manner entered into conversation with me, asking me about the English nation, of which, notwithstanding all their power, he had, in his retired spot, never before heard, not suspecting that "English powder" was derived from them.

After explaining to him how the English, although placed at such an immense distance, wished to enter into friendly relations with all the chiefs and great men on the earth, in order to establish peaceable and legitimate intercourse with them, I delivered to him A'nnur's and Mr. Richardson's letters, and begged him to forward another letter to 'Alíyu, the Sultan of Sókoto, wherein we apologized for our incapability, after the heavy losses and the many extortions we had suffered, of paying him at present a visit in his capital, expressing to 'Abd el Káder, at the same time, how unjustly we had been treated by tribes subject to his dominion, who had deprived us of nearly all the presents we were bringing with us for himself and the other princes of Sudán. While expressing his indignation on this account, and regretting that I should not be able to go on directly to Sókoto, whither he would have sent me with the greatest safety in company with the salt-caravan of the Kél-gerés, and at the same time giving vent to his astonishment that, although young, I had already performed journeys so extensive, he dismissed us, after we had placed before him the parcel containing the presents destined for him. The whole conversation, not only with me, but also with my companions, was in the Háusa language. I should have liked to have broached to him the treaty at once, but the moment was not favorable.

On the whole, I look upon 'Abd el Káder as a man of great worth, though devoid of energy. All the people assured me that he was the best of the family to which the Sultan of A'gades belongs. He had been already sultan before, but a few years ago was deposed in order to make way for Hámed e' Rufäy, whom he again succeeded; but in 1853, while I was in Sókoto, he was once more compelled to resign in favor of the former.

While returning with my companions to our lodging, we met six of Bóro's sons, among whom our traveling companion Háj 'Ali was distinguished for his elegance. They were going to the palace in order to perform their office as "fadáwa-n-serkí" (royal courtiers), and were very complaisant when they were informed that I had been graciously received by his majesty. Hav-

ing heard from them that Bóro, since his return, had been ill with fever, I took the opportunity to induce my followers to accompany me on a visit to him.

Mohammed Bóro has a nice little house for a town like A'gades, situated on the small area called "Erárar-n-sákan," or "the place of the young camels." It is shown in the accompanying sketch. The house itself consists of two stories, and furnishes a good specimen of the better houses of the town; its interior was nicely whitewashed. Bóro, who was greatly pleased with our visit, received us in a very friendly manner, and when we left accompanied us a long way down the street. Though he holds no office at present, he is nevertheless a very important personage, not only in A'gades, but even in Sókoto, where he is regarded as the wealthiest merchant. He has a little republic of his own (like the venerable patriarchs) of not less than about fifty sons with their families; but he still possesses such energy and enterprise, that in 1854 he was about to undertake another pilgrimage to Mekka.

When I had returned to my quarters, Mággi brought me, as an acknowledgment of my presents, a fat, large-sized ram from 'Abd el Káder, which was an excellent proof that good meat can be got here. There is a place called Aghíllad, three or four days' journey west from A'gades,* which is said to be very rich in cattle. On this occasion I gave to the influential eunuch, for himself, an aliyáfu or subéta—a white shawl with a red border. In the afternoon I took another walk through the town, first to the erárar-n-sákan, which, though it had been quiet in the morning, exhibited now a busy scene, about fifty camels being offered for sale, most of them very young, and the older ones rather indifferent. But, while the character of the article for sale could not be estimated very high, that of the men employed in the business of the market attracted my full attention.

They were tall men with broad, coarse features, very differ-

* I am not quite sure with regard to this place, as I find a note in my memorandum-book, "The name of the place in question is Ingal, on the road to Sókoto, and not Aghíllad."

ent from any I had seen before, and with long hair hanging down upon their shoulders and over their face in a way which is an abomination to the Tawárek; but, upon inquiry, I learned that they belonged to the tribe of Ighdalén or E'ghedel, a very curious mixed tribe of Berber and Sónghay blood, and speaking the Sónghay language. The mode of buying and selling, also, was very peculiar; for the price was neither fixed in dollars nor in shells, but either in merchandise of various description, such as calico, shawls, tobes, or in Negro millet, which is the real standard of the market of A'gades at the present time, while during the period of its prime it was apparently the gold of Gágho. This way of buying or selling is called "kárba." There was a very animated scene between two persons; and to settle the dispute, it was necessary to apply to the "serki-n-káswa," who for every camel sold in the market receives three "réjel."

From this place we went to the vegetable-market, or "káswa-n-delélti,"* which was but poorly supplied, only cucumbers and molukhia (or *Corchorus olitorius*) being procurable in considerable plenty. Passing thence to the butchers' market, we found it very well supplied, and giving proof that the town was not yet quite deserted, although some strangers were just gathering for the installation of the sultan, as well as for the celebration of the great holiday, the 'Aid el kebír, or Salla-léja. I will only observe that this market (from its name, "káswa-n-rákoma," or "yóbu yoëwoëni") seems evidently to have been formerly the market where full-grown camels were sold. We then went to the third market, called Katánga, where, in a sort of hall supported by the stems of the dúm-tree, about six or seven women were exhibiting on a sort of frame a variety of small things, such as beads and necklaces, sandals, small oblong tin boxes such as the Kél-owí wear for carrying charms, small leather boxes of the shape here represented, but of all possible sizes, from the diameter of an inch to as much as six inches. They are very neatly made in different colors, and are used

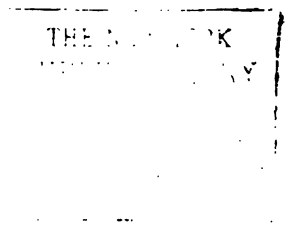
* Delélti is not a Háusa word.

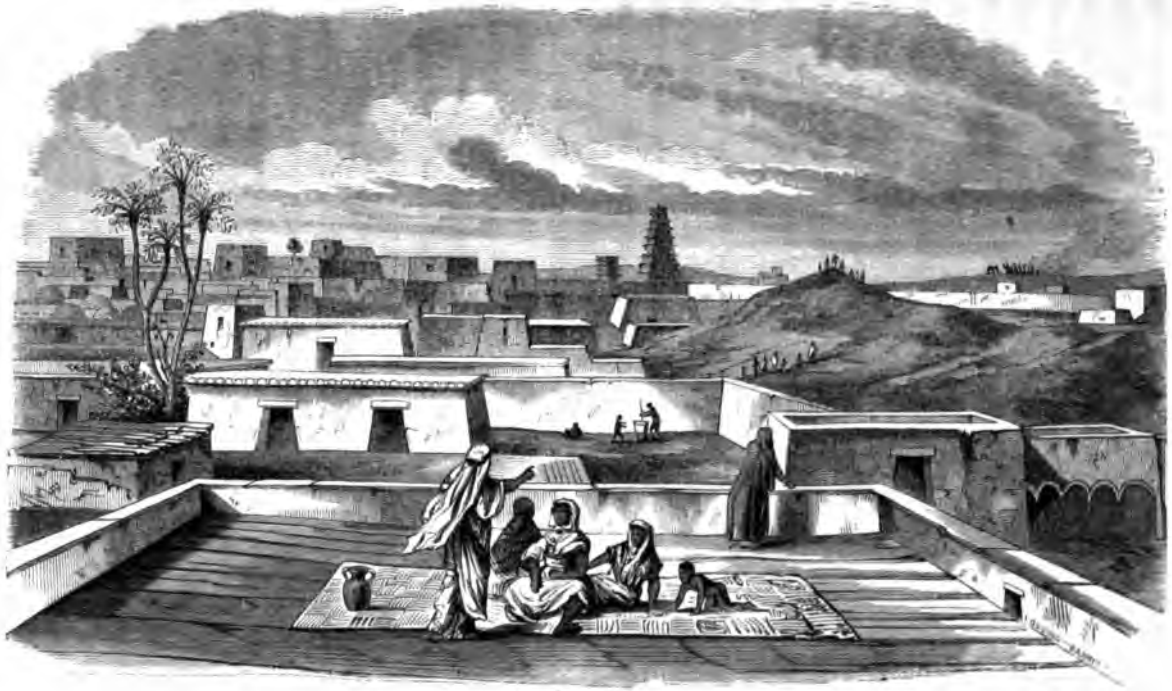
for tobacco, perfumes, and other purposes, and are called "botta." I saw here also a very nice plate of copper, which I wanted to buy the next day, but found that it was sold. A donkey-saddle, "ákomar," and a camel-saddle, or "kíri," were exposed for sale. The name "Katánga" serves, I think, to explain the name by which the former (now deserted) capital of Yóruba is generally known, I mean Katúnga, which name is given to it only by the Háusa and other neighboring tribes.

I then went, with Mohammed "the Foolish" and another Kélowí, to a shoemaker who lived in the southwestern quarter of the town, and I was greatly surprised to find here Berbers as artisans; for even if the shoemaker was an A'mghi and not a free Amóshagh (though, from his frank and noble bearing, I had reason to suspect the latter), at least he understood scarcely a word of Háusa, and all the conversation was carried on in Uraghíye. He and his assistants were busy in making neat sandals; and a pair of very handsome ones, which, indeed, could not be surpassed, either in neatness or in strength, by the best that are made in Kanó, were just ready, and formed the object of a long and unsuccessful bargaining. The following day, however, Mohammed succeeded in obtaining them for a mithkál. My shoes formed a great object of curiosity for these Emgédesi shoemakers, and they confessed their inability to produce anything like them.

On returning to our quarters we met several horsemen, with whom I was obliged to enter into a longer conversation than I liked in the streets. I now observed that several of them were armed with the bow and arrow instead of the spear. Almost all the horses were dressed with the "karaúrawa" (strings of small bells attached to their heads), which make a great noise, and sometimes create a belief that a great host is advancing, when there are only a few of these horsemen. The horses in general were in indifferent condition, though of tolerable size: of course, they are ill fed in a place where grain is comparatively dear. The rider places only his great toe in the stirrup, the rest of the foot remaining outside.

The occurrences of the day were of so varied a nature, open-





AGADES.

ing to me a glance into an entirely new region of life, that I had ample material for my evening's meditation when I lay stretched out on my mat before the door of my dark and close room. Nor was my bodily comfort neglected, the sultan being so kind and attentive as to send me a very palatable dish of "finkáso," a sort of thick pancake made of wheat, and well buttered, which, after the unpalatable food I had had in Tintéllust, appeared to me the greatest luxury in the world.

Saturday, October 12th. Having thus obtained a glance into the interior of the town, I was anxious to get a view of the whole of it, and ascending, the following morning, the terrace of our house, obtained my object entirely, the whole town being spread out before my eyes, with the exception of the eastern quarter. The town is built on a level, which is only interrupted by small hills formed of rubbish, heaped up in the midst of it by the negligence of the people. Excepting these, the line formed by the flat-terraced houses is interrupted only by the Mesállaje (which formed my basis for laying down the plan of the town), besides about fifty or fifty-five dwellings raised to two stories, and by three dúm-trees and five or six talha-trees. Our house also had been originally provided with an upper story, or, rather, with a single garret—for generally the upper story consists of nothing else; but it had yielded to time, and only served to furnish amusement to my foolish friend Mohammed, who never failed, when he found me on the terrace, to endeavor to throw me down the breach. Our old close-handed friend A'nnur did not seem to care much for the appearance of his palace in the town, and kept his wife here on rather short allowance. By-and-by, as I went every day to enjoy this panorama, I was able to make a faithful view of the western quarter of the town as seen from hence, which will give the reader a more exact idea of the place than any verbal description could do.

About noon the amanókal sent his musicians to honor me and my companions with a performance; they were four or five in number, and were provided with the instruments usual in Sudán, in imitation of the Arabs. More interesting was the performance of a single "maimólo," who visited us after we had

honorably rewarded the royal musicians, and accompanied his play on a three-stringed "mólo" or guitar with an extemporaneous song.

My companions then took me to the house of the kádhi after having paid a short visit to the camel-market. The kádhi, or here rather alkáli, who lives a little southwest from the mosque, in a house entirely detached on all sides, was sitting with the mufti in the vestibule of his dwelling, where sentence is pronounced, and, after a few compliments, proceeded to hear the case of my companions, who had a lawsuit against a native of the town named Wá-n-seres, and evidently of Berber origin. Evidence was adduced to the effect that he had sold a she-camel which had been stolen from the Kél-owí, while he (the defendant), on his part, proved that he had bought it from a man who swore that it was not a stolen camel. The pleas of both parties having been heard, the judge decided in favor of Wá-n-seres. The whole transaction was carried on in Temáshight, or, rather, in Uraghíye. Then came another party, and, while their case was being heard, we went out and sat down in front of the house, under the shade of a sort of verandah, consisting of mats supported by long stakes, after which we took leave of the kádhi, who did not seem to relish my presence, and afterward showed no very friendly feelings toward me.

While my lazy companions wanted to go home, I fortunately persuaded Mohammed, after much reluctance, to accompany me through the southern part of the town, where, lonely and deserted as it seemed to be, it was not prudent for me to go alone, as I might have easily got into some difficulty. My servant Amán-kay was still quite lame with the Guinea-worm; and Mohammed, the Tunisian shushan, had reached such a pitch of insolence when he saw me alone among a fanatical population that I had given him up entirely.

First, leaving the fáda to our right, we went through the "kófa-n-Alkáli;" for here the walls, which have been swept away entirely on the east side of the town, have still preserved some degree of elevation, though in many places one may easily climb over them. On issuing from the gate, I was struck with

the desolate character of the country on this side of the town, though it was enlivened by women and slaves going to fetch water from the principal well (which is distant about half a mile from the gate), all the water inside the town being of bad quality for drinking. At some distance from the gate were the ruins of an extensive suburb called Ben Gottára, half covered with sand, and presenting a very sorry spectacle. It was my design to go round the southern part of the town; but my companion either was, or pretended to be, too much afraid of the Kél-gerés, whose encampment lay at no great distance from the walls. So we re-entered it, and followed the northern border of its deserted southern quarter, where only a few houses are still inhabited. Here I found three considerable pools of stagnant water, which had collected in deep hollows, from whence, probably, the materials for building had been taken, though their form was a tolerably regular oval. They had each a separate name, the westernmost being called from the Masráta, who have given their name to the whole western quarter, as well as to a small gate still in existence; the next, southward from the kófa-n-Alkáli, is called (in Emgedesíye) "Masráta-hogú-me," for the three languages—the Temáshight or Tarkíye, the Góber or Háusa language, and the Sónghay- or Sonrhay-kini—are very curiously mixed together in the topography of this town, the natural consequence of the mixture of these three different national elements. This mixture of languages was well calculated to make the office of interpreter in this place very important, and the class of such men a very numerous one.

In the Masráta pool, which is the largest of the three, two horses were swimming, while women were busy washing clothes. The water has a strong taste of salt, which is also the case with two of the three wells still in use within the town. Keeping from the easternmost pool (which is called, like the whole quarter around, Terjemáne, from the interpreters, whose dwellings were chiefly hereabout) a little more to the southeast, I was greatly pleased at finding among the ruins in the southeastern quarter, between the quarters of Akáfan árina and Imurdán, some very well built and neatly-polished houses, the walls of

which were of so excellent workmanship that, even after having been deprived of their roofs for many years, perhaps, they had sustained scarcely any injury. One of them was furnished with ornamental niches, and by the remains of pipes, and the whole arrangement, bore evident traces of warm baths.

Music and song diverted us in the evening, while we rested on our mats in the different corners of our court-yard.

Sunday, October 13th, My Kél-owí companions regaled me with a string of dates from Fáshi, the westernmost oasis of the Tébu, or, as the Tawárek call them, Berauni. But, instead of indulging myself in this luxury, I laid it carefully aside as a treat for my visitors, to whom I had (so small were my means at present) neither coffee nor sugar to offer. I then accompanied my friends once more to the Alkáli; but the litigation which was going on being tedious, I left them, and returned quite alone through the town, sitting down a moment with the Tawatiye, who generally met at the house of the Emgédesi I'dder, a sort of Tawáti agent, and an intelligent man.

When I returned to our house I found there a very interesting young man of the tribe of the I'ghdalén, with a round face, very regular and agreeable features, fine, lively black eyes, and an olive complexion only a few shades darker than that of an Italian peasant. His hair was black, and about four inches long, standing upright, but cut away all round the ears, which gave it a still more bristling appearance. I hoped to see him again, but lost sight of him entirely. The Arabs call these people Arab-Tawárek, indicating that they are a mixed race between the Arab and Berber nation, and their complexion agrees well with this designation, but it is remarkable that they speak a Sónghay dialect. They possess scarcely any thing except camels, and are regarded as a kind of Merábetín.

I afterward went to call upon our old friend A'nnur Karamí from Aghwau, who had come to A'gades a day or two before us, and had accompanied me also on my visit to the sultan. He lived, together with my amiable young friend, the Tinýlkum Slimán, in the upper story, or soro of a house, and, when I called, was very busy selling fine Egyptian sheep-leather called kurna

(which is in great request here, particularly that of a green color) to a number of lively females, who are the chief artisans in leather-work. Some of them were of tolerably good appearance, with light complexion and regular Arab features. When the women were gone, A'nnur treated me with fura or ghussub-water, and young Slimán, who felt some little remorse for not having been able to withstand the charms of the Emgédesíye coquettes, told me that he was about to marry a ma-A'sbenchi* girl, and that the wedding would be celebrated in a few days.

As to the fura, people who eat, or rather drink it, together, squat down round the bowl, where a large spoon, the "lúdde," sometimes very neatly worked, goes round, every body taking a spoonful and passing the spoon to his neighbor. Subjoined is a drawing of this drinking-spoon as well as of the common spoon, both of ordinary workmanship.

The houses in A'gades do not possess all the convenience which one would expect to find in houses in the north of Europe; but here, as in many Italian towns, the principle of the "da per tutto," which astonished Göthe so much at Rivoli on

* It is remarkable that while *ba* in the Háusa language expresses the masculine in the composition of national names, *ma* originally served to denote the female; but the latter form seems to be almost lost.

the Lago di Garda, is in full force, being greatly assisted by the many ruined houses which are to be found in every quarter of the town. But the free nomadic inhabitant of the wilderness does not like this custom, and rather chooses to retreat into the open spots outside the town. The insecurity of the country, and the feuds generally raging, oblige them still to congregate, even on such occasions. When they reach some conspicuous tree, the spears are all stuck into the ground, and the party separates behind the bushes; after which they again meet together under the tree, and return in solemn procession into the town.

By making such little excursions I became acquainted with the shallow depressions which surround A'gades, and which are not without importance for the general relations of the town, while they afford fodder for any caravan visiting the market, and also supply the inhabitants with very good water. The name of the depression to the N. is Tagúrast; that to the S.W., Mérmeru; toward the S.E., Amelúli, with a few kitchen-gardens; and another a little farther on, S.S.E., Tésak-n-tálle, while at a greater distance, to the W., is Tára-béré* (meaning "the wide area" or plain, "babá-n-sárari"). Unfortunately, the dread my companions had of the Kél-gerés did not allow me to visit the valleys at a greater distance, the principal of which is that called El Hakhsás, inhabited by Imghád, and famous for its vegetable productions, with which the whole town is supplied.

Mohammed the Foolish succeeded in the evening in getting me into some trouble, which gave him great delight; for, seeing that I took more than common interest in a national dance, accompanied with a song, which was going on at some distance E.N.E. from our house, he assured me that Hámma was there, and had told him that I might go and join in their amusement. Unfortunately, I was too easily induced; and hanging only a cutlass over my shoulder, I went thither unaccompanied, sure of finding my protector in the merry crowd. It was about ten o'clock at night, the moon shining very brightly on the scene.

* I will here only observe that "béré" is one of those words in the Sónghay language which shows its connection with Sanscrit.

Having first viewed it from some distance, I approached very near, in order to observe the motions of the dancers. Four young men, placed opposite to each other in pairs, were dancing with warlike motions, and, stamping the ground violently with the left foot, turned round in a circle, the motions being accompanied by the energetic clapping of hands of a numerous ring of spectators. It was a very interesting sight, and I should have liked to stay longer; but, finding that Hámma was not present, and that all the people were young, and many of them buzawe, I followed the advice of 'Abdu, one of A'nnur's slaves, who was among the crowd, to withdraw as soon as possible. I had, however, retraced my steps but a short way, when, with the war-cry of Islám, and drawing their swords, all the young men rushed after me. Being, however, a short distance in advance, and fortunately not meeting with any one in the narrow street, I reached our house without being obliged to make use of my weapon; but my friends the Kél-owí seeing me in trouble, had thrown the chain over the door of our house, and, with a malicious laugh, left me outside with my pursuers, so that I was obliged to draw my cutlass in order to keep them at bay, though, if they had made a serious attack, I should have fared ill enough with my short, blunt European weapon against their long, sharp swords.

I was rather angry with my barbarous companions, particularly with Mohammed; and when, after a little delay, they opened the door, I loaded my pistol and threatened to shoot the first man that troubled me. However, I soon felt convinced that the chief fault was my own; and, in order to obliterate the bad impression which this little adventure was likely to make in the town, particularly as the great Mohammedan feast was at hand, which, of course, could not but strengthen greatly the prejudice against a Christian, I resolved to stay at home the next few days. This I could do the more easily, as the terrace of our house allowed me to observe all that was going on in the place.

I therefore applied myself entirely for a few days to the study of the several routes which, with the assistance of 'Abdalla, I had been able to collect from different people, and which will be

given in the Appendix, and to the language of A'gades; for, though I had left all my books behind at Tintéllust, except that volume of "Prichard's Researches" which treats of Africa, I had convinced myself, from the specimens which he gives of the language of Timbúktu, that the statement of my friends from Tawát with regard to the identity of the languages of the two places was quite correct—only with this qualification, that here this language had been greatly influenced by intercourse with the Berbers, from whom sundry words were borrowed, while the Arabic seemed to have had little influence beyond supplanting the numerals from four upward. I was also most agreeably surprised and gratified to find this identity confirmed by the fact that the people of A'gades give the Tawárek in general the name under which that tribe of them which lives near Timbúktu and along the Niger had become known to Mungo Park in those quarters where the language of Timbúktu is spoken. This was indeed very satisfactory, as the native name of that powerful tribe is entirely different; for the Surka, as they are called by Mungo Park, are the same as the Awelímmiden, of whom I had already heard so much in Asben (the inhabitants of which country seemed to regard them with much dread), and with whom I was afterward to enter into the most intimate relations.

While residing in A'gades, I was not yet aware of all the points of information which I have been able to collect in the course of my travels; and I was at a loss to account for the identity of language in places so widely separated from each other by immense tracts of desert, and by countries which seemed to have been occupied by different races. But while endeavoring, in the further course of my journey, to discover as far as possible the history of the nations with whom I had to deal, I found the clew for explaining this apparently marvelous phenomenon, and shall lay it before my readers in the following chapter.

To the Tawáti 'Abdalla I was indebted for information on a variety of interesting matters, which I found afterward confirmed in every respect. In a few points his statements were sub-

ject to correction, and still more to improvement; but in no single case did I find that he had deviated from the truth. I state this deliberately, in order to show that care must be taken to distinguish between information collected systematically by a native enjoying the entire confidence of his informant, and who, from his knowledge of the language and the subject about which he inquires, is able to control his informant's statements, and that which is picked up incidentally by one who scarcely knows what he asks.

But to return to my diary: the visits paid me by the other people of Tawát became less frequent, as I had no coffee to treat them with; but I was rather glad of this circumstance, as my time was too short for laboring in that wide field of new information which opened before me, and it was necessary to confine myself at present to narrower limits. In this respect I was extremely fortunate in having obeyed my impulse to visit this place, which, however desolate it may appear to the traveler who first enters it, is still the centre of a large circle of commercial intercourse, while Tintéllust is nothing but a small village, important merely from the character of the chief who resides in it, and where even those people who know a little about the country are afraid to communicate that very little. I would advise any traveler, who should hereafter visit this country, to make a long stay in this place, if he can manage to do so in comfort; for I am sure that there still remains to be collected in A'gades a store of the most valuable and interesting information.

In the afternoon of the 15th of October (the eve of the great holiday), ten chiefs of the Kél-gerés, on horseback, entered the town, and toward evening news was brought that Astáfidet, the chief of the Kél-owí residing in A'sodi, was not far off, and would make his solemn entry early in the morning. My companions, therefore, were extremely busy in getting ready and cleaning their holiday dress or "yadó;" and Hámma could not procure tassels enough to adorn his high red cap, in order to give to his short figure a little more height. Poor fellow! he was really a good man, and one of the best of the Kél-owí; and the news of his being killed in the sanguinary battle which was fought be-

tween his tribe and the Kél-gerés in 1854 grieved me not a little. In the evening there was singing and dancing ("wargi" and "wása") all over the town, and all the people were merry except the followers of Mákita or I'mkiten, "the Pretender;" and the Sultan 'Abd el Káder was obliged to imprison three chiefs of the Itísan, who had come to urge Mákita's claims.

It was on this occasion that I learned that the mighty King of A'gades had not only a common prison, "gida-n-damré," wherein he might confine the most haughty chiefs, but that he even exercised over them the power of life and death, and that he dispensed the favors of a terrible dungeon bristling with swords and spears standing upright, upon which he was authorized to throw any distinguished malefactor. This latter statement, of the truth of which I had some doubt, was afterward confirmed to me by the old chief A'nnur. In any case, however, such a cruel punishment can not but be extremely rare.

Wednesday, October 16th. The 10th of Dhú el kadhi, 1266, was the first day of the great festival 'Aid el kebír, or Salla-léja (the feast of the sacrifice of the sheep), which, in these regions, is the greatest holiday of the Mohammedans, and was, in this instance, to have a peculiar importance and solemnity for A'gades, as the installation of 'Abd el Káder, who had not yet publicly assumed the government, was to take place the same day. Early in the morning, before daylight, Hámma and his companions left the house and mounted their camels, in order to pay their compliments to Astáfidet, and join him in his procession; and about sunrise the young chief entered and went directly to the "fáda," at the head of from two hundred to three hundred Mehára, having left the greater number of his troop, which was said to amount to about two thousand men, outside the town.

Then, without much ceremony or delay, the installation or "sarauta" of the new sultan took place. The ceremonial was gone through inside the fáda; but this was the procedure. First of all, 'Abd el Káder was conducted from his private apartments to the public hall. Then the chiefs of the Itísan and Kél-gerés, who went in front, begged him to sit down upon

the "gadó," a sort of couch or divan made of the leaves of the palm-tree, or of the branches of other trees, similar to the angaríb used in Egypt and the lands of the Upper Nile, and covered with mats and a carpet. Upon this the new sultan sat down, resting his feet on the ground, not being allowed to put them upon the gadó, and recline in the Oriental style, until the Kél-owí desired him to do so. Such is the ceremony, symbolical of the combined participation of these different tribes in the investiture of their sultan.

This ceremony being concluded, the whole holiday-procession left the palace on its way to a chapel of a merábet called Sídi Hammáda, in Tára-bére, outside the town, where, according to an old custom, the prince was to say his prayers. This is a rule prevailing over the whole of Mohammedan Africa, and one which I myself witnessed in some of the most important of its capitals—in A'gades, in Kúkawa, in Más-eña, in Sókoto, and in Timbúktu; every where the principle is the same.

Not deeming it prudent on such an occasion to mix with the people, I witnessed the whole procession from the terrace of our house, though I should have liked to have had a nearer view. The procession having taken its course through the most important quarter of the town, and through the market-places, turned round from the "káswa-n-delélti" to the oldest quarter of the town, and then returned westward, till at last it reached the above-mentioned chapel or tomb of Sídi Hammáda, where there is a small cemetery. The prayers being finished, the procession returned by the southern part of the town, and about ten o'clock the different parties which had composed the *cortége* separated.

In going as well as in returning, the order of the procession was as follows. In front of all, accompanied by musicians, rode the sultan on a very handsome horse of Tawáti breed,* wearing, over his fine Sudán robe of colored cotton and silk, the blue bernus I had presented to him, and wearing on his side a handsome cimeter with gold handle. Next to him rode the two sá-

* The horse of Tawát is as celebrated among the Berber tribes of the desert as the I'manang woman or "the wealth of Tunis."

raki-n-turáwa—Bóro, the ex-serki, on his left, and Ashu, who held the office at the time, on his right—followed by the "fádawa-n-serki," after whom came the chiefs of the Itísan and Kélgerés, all on horseback, in full dress and armor, with their swords, daggers, long spears, and immense shields.

Then came the longer train of the Kél-owí, mostly on mehára, or swift camels, with Sultan Astáfidet at their head; and last of all followed the people of the town, a few on horseback, but most of them on foot, and armed with swords and spears, and several with bows and arrows. The people were all dressed in their greatest finery, and it would have formed a good subject for an artist. It recalled the martial processions of the Middle Ages—the more so, as the high caps of the Tawárek,* surrounded by a profusion of tassels on every side, together with the black "tesílgemist" or lithám, which covers the whole face, leaving nothing but the eyes visible, and the shawls wound over this and round the cap combine to imitate the shape of the helmet, while the black and colored tobes (over which, on such occasions, the principal people wear a red bernús thrown across their shoulders) represent very well the heavier dress of the knights of yore. I will only add, that the fact of the sultan wearing on so important and solemn an occasion a robe which had been presented to him by a stranger and a Christian, had a powerful influence on the tribes collected here, and spread a beneficial report far westward over the desert.

Shortly after the procession was over, the friendly Haj 'Abdúwa, who, after he had parted from us in Eghellál, had attached himself to the troop of Astáfidet, came to pay me a visit. He was now tolerably free from fever, but begged for some Epsom salts, besides a little gunpowder. He informed me that there was much sickness in the town, that from two to three people died daily, and that even Astáfidet was suffering from the prevalent disease. This was the small-pox, a very fatal disease in Central Africa, against which, however, several of the native pagan tribes secure themselves by inoculation, a precaution from

* These red caps, however, are an article quite foreign to the original dress of the Tarki, and are obnoxious to the tribes of pure blood.

which Mohammedans are withheld by religious prejudice. I then received a visit from the sons of Bóro in their official character as "fádawa-n-serki." They wished to inform themselves, apparently, with reference to my adventure the other night, whether the townspeople behaved well toward me; and I was prudent enough to tell them that I had nothing to complain of, my alarm having been the consequence of my own imprudence. In fact, the people behaved remarkably well, considering that I was the first Christian that ever visited the town; and the little explosions of fanaticism into which the women and children sometimes broke out, when they saw me on our terrace, rather amused me. During the first days of my residence in A'gades, they most probably took me for a pagan or a polytheist, and cried after me the confessional words of Islám, laying all the stress upon the word Allah, "the One God;" but, after a few days, when they had learned that I likewise worshiped the Deity, they began to emphasize the name of their Prophet.

There was held about sunset a grave and well-attended divan of all the chiefs, to consult with respect to a "yáki" or "égehen," a ghazzia to be undertaken against the Mehárebín or freebooters of the Awelímmiden. While we were still in Tintéllust, the rumor had spread of an expedition undertaken by the latter tribe against Aïr, and the people were all greatly excited. For the poor Kél-owí, who have degenerated from their original vigor and warlike spirit by their intermixture with the black population and by their peaceable pursuits, are not less afraid of the Awelímmiden than they are of the Kél-gerés; and old A'n-nur himself used to give me a dreadful description of that tribe, at which I afterward often laughed heartily with the very people whom he intended to depict to me as monsters. By way of consoling us for the losses we had sustained, and the ill treatment we had experienced from the people of Aïr, he told us that among the Awelímmiden we should have been exposed to far greater hardships, as they would not have hesitated to cut the tent over our heads into pieces, in order to make shirts of it. The old chief's serious speeches had afterward the more comical effect upon me, as the tent alluded to, a common English marquee,

mended as it was with cotton strips of all the various fashions of Negroland, constantly formed a subject of the most lively scientific dispute among those barbarians, who, not having seen linen before, were at a loss to make out of what stuff it was originally made. But, unluckily, I had not among the Kél-owí such a steadfast protector and mediator and so sensible a friend as I had when, three years later, I went among the Awelímmiden, who would certainly have treated me in another way if I had fallen into their hands unprotected.

The old and lurking hostility among the Kél-owí and Kélgerés, which was at this very moment threatening an outbreak, had been smoothed down by the influential and intelligent chief Sídi Ghalli el Háj A'nnur (properly E' Núr), one of the first men in A'gades; and those tribes had sworn to forget their private animosities, in order to defend themselves against and revenge themselves upon their common enemy, the Awelímmiden. Hámma was very anxious to get from me a good supply of powder for Sídi Ghalli, who was to be the leader of the expedition; but I had scarcely any with me.

While I was reclining in the evening rather mournfully upon my mat, not having been out of the house these last few days, the old friendly blacksmith came up and invited me to a promenade, and with the greatest pleasure I acceded to the proposal. We left the town by the eastern side, the moon shining brightly, and throwing her magic light over the ruins of this once-wealthy abode of commerce. Turning then a little south, we wandered over the pebbly plain till the voices heard from the encampment of the Kél-gerés frightened my companion, and we turned more northward to the wells in Amelúli; having rested here a while, we returned to our quarters.

Thursday, October 17*th.* A'nnur karamí, our amiable and indolent attendant, left this place for Tintéllust with a note which I wrote to my colleagues, informing them of my safe arrival, my gracious reception, and the general character of the place. To-day the whole town was in agitation in consequence of one of those characteristic events which, in a place like A'gades, serve to mark the different periods of the year; for here a

man can do nothing singly, but all must act together. The salt-caravan of the Itísan and Kél-gerés had collected, mustering, I was told, not less than ten thousand camels, and had encamped in Mérmeru and Tesak-n-tállem, ready to start for the salt-mines of Bilma, along a road which will be indicated further on. However exaggerated the number of the camels might be, it was certainly a very large caravan; and a great many of the inhabitants went out to settle their little business with the men, and take leave of their friends. Ghámbelu, the chief of the Itísan, very often himself accompanies this expedition, in which also many of the Tagáma take a part.

In the course of the day I had a rather curious conversation with a man from Táfidet, the native place of Háj 'Abdúwa. After exchanging compliments with me, he asked me, abruptly, whether I always knew where water was to be found; and when I told him that, though I could not exactly say in every case at what depth water was to be found, yet that, from the configuration of the ground, I should be able to tell the spot where it was most likely to be met with, he asked whether I had seen rock-inscriptions on the road from Ghát; and I answered him that I had, and generally near watering-places. He then told me that I was quite right, but that in Táfidet there were many inscriptions upon the rocks at a distance from water. I told him that perhaps at an earlier period water might have been found there, or that the inscriptions might have been made by shepherds; but this he thought very improbable, and persisted in his opinion that these inscriptions indicated ancient sepulchres, in which, probably, treasures were concealed. I was rather surprised at the philosophical conclusions at which this barbarian had arrived, and conjectured, as was really the case, that he had accompanied Háj 'Abdúwa on his pilgrimage and on his passage through Egypt, and had there learned to make some archæological observations. He affected to believe that I was able to read the inscriptions, and tell all about the treasures; but I assured him that, while he was partially right with regard to the inscriptions, he was quite wrong so far as regarded the treasures, as these rock-inscriptions, so far as I was able to de-

cipher them, indicated only names. But I was rather sorry that I did not myself see the inscriptions of which this man spoke, as I had heard many reports about them, which had excited my curiosity, and I had even sent the little Fezzáni Fáki Makhlúk expressly to copy them, who, however, brought me back only an illegible scrawl.

Friday, October 18th. The last day of the Salla-léja was a merry day for the lower class of the inhabitants, but a serious one for the men of influence and authority; and many councils were held, one of them in my room. I then received a visit from a sister's son of the sultan, whose name was Alkáli, a tall, gentlemanlike man, who asked me why I did not yet leave A'gades and return to Tintéllust. It seemed that he suspected me of waiting till the sultan had made me a present in return for that received by him; but I told him that, though I wished 'Abd el Káder to write me a letter for my sultan, which would guarantee the safety of some future traveler belonging to our tribe, I had no further business here, but was only waiting for Hámma, who had not yet finished his bartering for provisions. He had seen me sketching on the terrace, and was somewhat inquisitive about what I had been doing there; but I succeeded in directing his attention to the wonderful powers of the pencil, with which he became so delighted, that, when I gave him one, he begged another from me, in order that they might suffice for his lifetime.

Interesting also was the visit of Háj Beshír, the wealthy man of Iferwán, whom I have already mentioned repeatedly, and who is an important personage in the country of Aïr. Unfortunately, instead of using his influence to facilitate our entrance into the country, his son had been among the chief leaders of the expedition aganist us. Though not young, he was lively and social, and asked me whether I should not like to marry some nice Emgedesíye girl. When he was gone I took a long walk through the town with Hámma, who was somewhat more communicative to-day than usual; but his intelligence was not equal to his energy and personal courage, which had been proved in many a battle. He had been often wounded; and having in

the last skirmish received a deep cut on his head, he had made an enormous charm, which was generally believed to guarantee him from any further wound; and, in fact, if the charm were to receive the blow, it would not be altogether useless, for it was a thick book. But his destiny was written.

There was a rather amusing episode in the incidents of the day. The ex-sultan Hámed e' Rufáy, who had left many debts behind him, sent ten camel-loads of provisions and merchandise to be divided among his creditors; but a few Tawárek to whom he owed something seized the whole, so that the other poor people never obtained a farthing. To-day the great salt-caravan of the Kél-gerés and Itísan really started.

Saturday, October 19th. Hámma and his companions were summoned to a council which was to decide definitively in what quarter the arm of justice, now raised in wrath, was to strike the first blow, and it was resolved that the expedition should first punish the Imghád, the Ikázkezan, and Fåde-angh. The officer who made the proclamation through the town was provided with a very rude sort of drum, which was, in fact, nothing but an old barrel covered with a skin.

Sunday, October 20th. The most important event in the course of the day was a visit which I received from Mohammed Bóro, our traveling companion from Múrzuk, with his sons. It was the best proof of his noble character that, before we separated, perhaps never to meet again, he came to speak with me, and to explain our mutual relations fairly. He certainly could not deny that he had been extremely angry with us, and I could not condemn him on this account, for he had been treated ignominiously. While Mr. Gagliuffi told him that we were persuaded that the whole success of our proceedings lay in his hands, he had been plainly given to understand that we set very little value on his services. Besides, he had sustained some heavy losses on the journey, and, by waiting for us, had consumed the provisions which he had got ready for the march.

Although an old man, he was first going with the expedition, after which he intended accompanying the caravan of the Kél-gerés to Sókoto with his whole family, for Sókoto is his real

home. The salt-caravan and the company of this man offered a splendid opportunity for reaching that place in safety and by the most direct road, but our means did not allow of such a journey, and, after all, it was better, at least for myself, that it was not undertaken, since, as matters went, it was reserved for me, before I traced my steps toward the western regions, to discover the upper navigable course of the eastern branch of the so-called Niger, and make sundry other important discoveries. Nevertheless, Boro expressed his hope of seeing me again in Sókoto, and his wish might easily have been accomplished. He certainly must have been, when in the vigor of life, a man, in the full sense of the word, and well deserved the praise of the Emgedesíye, who have a popular song beginning with the words "A'gades has no men but Bóro and Dahámmi." I now also became aware why he had many enemies in Múrzuk, who unfortunately succeeded in making Gagliuffi believe that he had no authority whatever in his own country; for as serki-n-turáwa he had to levy the tax of ten mithkáls on every camel-load of merchandise, and this he is said to have done with some degree of severity. After a long conversation on the steps of the terrace, we parted the best possible friends.

Not so pleasant to me, though not without interest, was the visit of another great man—Belróji, the támberi or war-chieftain of the Ighólar Im-esághlar. He was still in his prime, but my Kél-owí (who were always wrangling like children) got up a desperate fight with him in my very room, which was soon filled with clouds of dust; and the young Slimán entering during the row, and joining in it, it became really frightful. The Kél-owí were just like children: when they went out they never failed to put on all their finery, which they threw off as soon as they came within doors, resuming their old dirty clothes.

It was my custom in the afternoon, when the sun had set behind the opposite buildings, to walk up and down in front of our house, and while so doing to-day I had a long conversation with two chiefs of the Itísan on horseback, who came to see me, and avowed their sincere friendship and regard. They were fine, tall men, but rather slim, with a noble expression of coun-

tenance, and of light color. Their dress was simple, but handsome, and arranged with great care. All the Tawárek, from Ghát as far as Háusa, and from Alákkos to Timbúktu, are passionately fond of the tobes and trowsers called "tailelt" (the Guinea-fowl), or "fílfil" (the pepper), on account of their speckled color. They are made of silk and cotton interwoven,* and look very neat. The lowest part of the trowsers, which forms a narrow band about two inches broad, closing rather tightly, is embroidered in different colors. None of the Tawárek of pure blood would, I think, degrade themselves by wearing on their head the red cap.

Monday, October 21st. Early in the morning I went with Hámma to take leave of the sultan, who had been too busy for some days to favor me with an audience; and I urged my friend to speak of the treaty, though I was myself fully aware of the great difficulty which so complicated a paper, written in a form entirely unknown to the natives, and which must naturally be expected to awaken their suspicion, would create, and of the great improbability of its being signed while the sultan was pressed with a variety of business. On the way to the fáda we met A'shu, the present serki-n-turáwa, a large-sized man, clad in an entirely white dress, which may not improbably be a sign of his authority over the white men (Turáwa†). He is said to be a very wealthy man. He replied to my compliments with much kindness, and entered into conversation with me about the difference of our country and theirs, and ordered one of his companions to take me to a small garden which he had planted near his house in the midst of the town, in order to see what plants we had in common with them. Of course, there was nothing like our plants; and my cicerone conceived rather a poor idea of our country when he heard that all the things which they had we had not—neither senna, nor bamia, nor indigo, nor cotton, nor Guinea-corn, nor, in short, the most beautiful of all

* I have brought home a specimen of these tobes, among various others. The tailelt was my common dress during all the latter part of my journey. A representation of its distinguishing ornaments will be given farther on.

† Who these Turáwa are I shall explain farther on.

trees of the creation, as he thought, the talha, or *Mimosa ferruginea;* and he seemed rather incredulous when told that we had much finer plants than they.

We then went to the fáda. The sultan seemed quite ready for starting. He was sitting in the court-yard of his palace, surrounded by a multitude of people and camels, while the loud murmuring noise of a number of schoolboys who were learning the Kurán proceeded from the opposite corner, and prevented my hearing the conversation of the people. The crowd and the open locality were, of course, not very favorable to my last audience, and it was necessarily a cold one. Supported by Hámma, I informed the sultan that I expected still to receive a letter from him to the government under whose auspices I was traveling, expressive of the pleasure and satisfaction he had felt in being honored with a visit from one of the mission, and that he would gladly grant protection to any future traveler who should happen to visit his country. The sultan promised that such a letter should be written; however, the result proved that either he had not quite understood what I meant, or, what is more probable, that in his precarious situation he felt himself not justified in writing to a Christian government, especially as he had received no letter from it.

When I had returned to my quarters, Hámma brought me three letters, in which 'Abd el Káder recommended my person and my luggage to the care of the governors of Kanó, Kátsena, and Dáura, and which were written in rather incorrect Arabic, and in nearly the same terms. They were as follows:

"In the name of God, &c.

"From the Emír of Ahír,* 'Abd el Káder, son of the Sultan Mohammed el Bákeri, to the Emír of Dáura, son of the late Emír of Dáura, Is-hhák. The mercy of God upon the eldest companions of the Prophet, and his blessing upon the Khalífa; 'Amín.' The most lasting blessing and the highest well-being to you without end. I send this message to you with regard to a stranger, my guest, of the name of 'Abd el Kerím,† who came to me, and is going to the Emír

* Here also the name of the country is written with an *h*— اهير —as is always done by the Arabs (see what I have said above).

† 'Abd el Kerím was the name I adopted from the beginning as my traveling name.

el Mumenín [the Sultan of Sókoto], in order that, when he proceeds to you, you may protect him and treat him well, so that none of the freebooters and evildoers* may hurt him or his property, but that he may reach the Emír el Mumenín. Indeed, we wrote this on account of the freebooters, in order that you may protect him against them in the most efficacious manner. Farewell."

These letters were all sealed with the seal of the sultan.

Hámma showed me also another letter which he had received from the sultan, and which I think interesting enough to be here inserted, as it is a faithful image of the turbulent state of the country at that time, and as it contains the simple expression of the sincere and just proceedings of the new sultan. Its purport was as follows, though the language in which it is written is so incorrect that several passages admit of different interpretations.†

"In the name of God, &c.

"From the Commander, the faithful Minister of Justice,‡ the Sultan 'Abd el Káder, son of the Sultan Mohammed el Bákeri, to the chiefs of all the tribe of E' Núr, and Hámed, and Sëis, and all those among you who have large possessions, perfect peace to you.

"Your eloquence, compliments, and information are deserving of praise. We have seen the auxiliaries sent to us by your tribe, and we have taken energetic measures with them against the marauders, who obstruct the way of the caravans of devout people,§ and the intercourse of those who travel as well as those who remain at home. On this account we desire to receive aid from you against their incursions. The people of the Kél-fadaye, they are the marauders. We should not have prohibited their chiefs to exercise rule over them, except for three things: First, because I am afraid they will betake themselves from the Anikel [the community of the people of Air] to the Awelímmiden; secondly, in order that they may not make an alliance with them against us, for they are all marauders; and thirdly, in order that you may approve of their paying us the tribute. Come, then, to us quickly. You know that what the hand holds it holds only with the aid of the fingers; for without the fingers the hand can seize nothing.

"We therefore will expect your determination, that is to say, your coming,

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* من المحاربين و الظالمين.

† I follow the translation of the learned Rev. G. C. Renouard.

‡ The Rev. G. C. Renouard, in interpreting this passage, has evidently made a mistake in translating "the minister *of the* sultan," and adding in a note that Emír "is here a title given to the Emír el Núr," while it is to be referred to the sultan himself.

§ By the expression "el fukarah" the sultan certainly meant us, who were not traveling for trading purposes, but rather like dervishes.

after the departure of the salt-caravan of the Itísan, fixed among you for the fifteenth of the month. God! God is merciful and answereth prayer! Come, therefore, to us, and we will tuck up our sleeves,* and drive away the marauders, and fight valiantly against them as God (be He glorified!) hath commanded.

"Lo, corruption hath multiplied on the face of the earth. May the Lord not question us on account of the poor and needy, orphans and widows, according to His word: 'You are all herdsmen, and ye shall all be questioned respecting your herds, whether ye have indeed taken good care of them or dried them up.'

"Delay not, therefore, but hasten to our residence where we are all assembled; for 'zeal in the cause of religion is the duty of all;' or send thy messenger to us quickly with a positive answer; send thy messenger as soon as possible. Farewell!"

The whole population was in alarm, and every body who was able to bear arms prepared for the expedition. About sunset the "égehen" left the town, numbering about four hundred men, partly on camels, partly on horseback, besides the people on foot. Bóro as well as A'shu accompanied the sultan, who this time was himself mounted on a camel. They went to take their encampment near that of Astáfidet, in Tagúrast, 'Abd el Káder pitching a tent of gray color, and in size like that of a Turkish aghá, in the midst of the Kél-gerés, the Kél-ferwán, and the Emgedesíye, while Astáfidet, who had no tent, was surrounded by the Kél-owí. The sultan was kind and attentive enough not to forget me even now; and, having heard that I had not yet departed, Hámma not having finished his business in the town, he sent me some wheat, a large botta with butter and vegetables (chiefly melons and cucumbers), and the promise of another sheep.

In the evening the drummer again went his rounds through the town, proclaiming the strict order of the sultan that every body should lay in a large supply of provisions. Although the town in general had become very silent when deserted by so many people, our house was kept in constant bustle; and in the course of the night three mehára came from the camp, with people who could get no supper there and sought it with us. Bóro sent a messenger to me early the next morning, urgently begging for a little powder, as the "Mehárebín" of the Imghád had

* All the tribes in Central Africa who wear the large tobes or shirts tuck their sleeves up when about to undertake any work or going to fight.

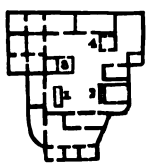
sent off their camels and other property, and were determined to resist the army of the sultan. However, I could send him but very little. My amusing friend Mohammed spent the whole day with us, when he went to join the ghazzia. I afterward learned that he obtained four head of cattle as his share. There must be considerable herds of cattle in the more favored valleys of Asben; for the expedition had nothing else to live upon, as Mohammed afterward informed me, and slaughtered an immense quantity of them. Altogether the expedition was successful, and the Fáde-ang and many tribes of Imghád lost almost all their property. Even the influential Háj Beshír was punished, on account of his son's having taken part in the expedition against us. I received also the satisfactory information that 'Abd el Káder had taken nine camels from the man who retained my méheri; but I gained nothing thereby, neither my own camel being returned nor another given me in its stead. The case was the same with all our things; but nevertheless the proceeding had a good effect, seeing that people were punished expressly for having robbed Christians, and thus the principle was established that it was not less illegal to rob Christians than it was to rob Mohammedans, both creeds being placed, as far as regards the obligations of peace and honesty, on equally favorable terms.

I spent the whole of Tuesday in my house, principally in taking down information which I received from the intelligent Ghadámsi merchant Mohammed, who, having left his native town from fear of the Turks, had resided six years in A'gades, and was a well-informed man.

Wednesday, October 23d. My old friend, the blacksmith Hámmeda, and the tall Elíyas, went off this morning with several camels laden with provision, while Hámma still staid behind to finish the purchases; for, on account of the expedition, and the insecure state of the road to Damerghú, it had been difficult to procure provisions in sufficient quantity. Our house therefore became almost as silent and desolate as the rest of the town; but I found a great advantage in remaining a few days longer, for my chivalrous friend and protector, who, as long as

the sultan and the great men were present, had been very reserved and cautious, had now no further scruple about taking me every where, and showing me the town "within and without."

We first visited the house of I'dder, a broker, who lived at a short distance to the south from our house, and had also lodged



Háj 'Abdúwa during his stay here. It was a large, spacious dwelling, well arranged with a view to comfort and privacy, according to the conceptions and customs of the inhabitants, while our house (being a mere temporary residence for A'n-nur's people occasionally visiting the town) was a dirty, comfortless abode. We entered first a vestibule, about twenty-five feet long and nine broad, having on each side a separate space marked off by that low kind of balustrade mentioned in my description of the sultan's house. This vestibule or anteroom was followed by a second room of larger size and irregular arrangement; opposite the entrance it opened into another apartment, which, with two doors, led into a spacious inner court-yard, which was very irregularly circumscribed by several rooms projecting into it, while to the left it was occupied by an enormous bedstead (1). These bedsteads are a most characteristic article of furniture in all dwellings of the Sónghay. In A'gades they are generally very solidly built of thick boards, and furnished with a strong canopy resting upon four posts, covered with mats on the top and on three sides, the remaining side being shut in with boards. Such a canopied bed looks like a little house by itself. On the wall of the first chamber, which on the right projected into the court-yard, several lines of large pots had been arranged, one above the other (2), forming so many warm nests for a number of turtle-doves which were playing all along the court-yard, while on the left, in the half-decayed walls of two other rooms (3), about a dozen goats were fastened, each to a separate pole. The background of the court-yard contained several rooms; and in front of it a large shade (4) had been built of mats, forming a rather pleasant and cool resting-place. Numbers of children were gamboling about, and gave to the

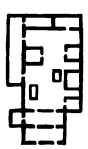
whole a very cheerful appearance. There is something very peculiar in these houses, which are constructed evidently with a view to comfort and quiet enjoyment.

We then went to visit a female friend of Hámma, who lived in the south quarter of the town, in a house which likewise bespoke much comfort; but here, on account of the number of inmates, the arrangement was different, the second vestibule being furnished on each side with a large bedstead instead of mats, though here also there was in the court-yard an immense bedstead. The court-yard was comparatively small, and a long corridor on the left of it led to an inner court-yard or "tsakangída," which I was not allowed to see. The mistress of the house was still a very comely person, although she had borne several children. She had a fine figure, though rather under the middle size, and a fair complexion. I may here remark that many of the women of A'gades are not a shade darker than Arab women in general. She wore a great quantity of silver ornaments, and was well dressed in a gown of colored cotton and silk. Hámma was very intimate with her, and introduced me to her as his friend and protégé, whom she ought to value as highly as himself. She was married, but her husband was residing in Kátsena, and she did not seem to await his return in the Penelopean style. The house had as many as twenty inmates, there being no less than six children, I think, under five years of age, and among them a very handsome little girl, the mother's favorite; besides, there were six or seven full-grown slaves.* The children were all naked, but wore ornaments of beads and silver.

After we had taken leave of this Emgedesíye lady, we followed the street toward the south, where there were some very good houses, although the quarter in general was in ruins; and here I saw the very best and most comfortable-looking dwelling

* Leo, in the interesting description which he gives of this town, l. vii., c. 9, expressly praises the size and architecture of the houses; "Le case sono benissimo edificate a modo delle case di Barberia." He also speaks here of the great number of male slaves whom the merchants were obliged to keep in order to protect themselves on the roads to Negroland.

in the town. All the pinnacles were ornamented with ostrich eggs. One will often find in an Eastern town, after the first impression of its desolate appearance is gone by, many proofs that the period of its utter prostration is not yet come, but that even in the midst of the ruins there is still a good deal of ease and comfort. Among the ruins of the southern quarter are to be seen the pinnacled walls of a building of immense circumference and considerable elevation; but, unfortunately, I could not learn from Hámma for what purpose it had been used: however, it was certainly a public building, and probably a large khán rather than the residence of the chief.* With its high, towering walls, it still forms a sort of outwork on the south side of the town, where in general the wall is entirely destroyed, and the way is every where open. Hámma had a great prejudice against this desolate quarter. Even the more intelligent Mohammedans are often afraid to enter former dwelling-places of men, believing them to be haunted by spirits; but he took me to some inhabited houses, which were all built on the same principle as that described, but varying greatly in depth and in the size of the court-yard. The staircases (abi-n-háwa) are in the court-yard, and are rather irregularly built of stones and clay.



In some of them young ostriches were running about. The inhabitants of all the houses seemed to have the same cheerful disposition, and I was glad to find scarcely a single instance of misery. I give here the ground-plan of another house.

The artisans who work in leather (an occupation left entirely to females) seem to live in a quarter by themselves, which originally was quite separated from the rest of the town by a sort of gate; but I did not make a sufficient survey of this quarter to mark it distinctly in the ground-plan of the town. We also visited some of the mat-makers.

Our maimólo of the other day, who had discovered that we had slaughtered our sheep, paid us a visit in the evening, and

* From Leo's description, l. vii., c. 9, it would appear that the palace of the sultan in former times was in the middle of the town—"un bel palazzo in mezzo della città." He kept a numerous host of soldiers.

for a piece of meat entertained me with a clever performance on his instrument, accompanied with a song. Hámma spent his evening with our friend the Emgedesíye lady, and was kind enough to beg me to accompany him. This I declined, but gave him a small present to take to her.

I had a fair sample of the state of morals in A'gades the following day, when five or six girls and women came to pay me a visit in our house, and with much simplicity invited me to make merry with them, there being now, as they said, no longer reason for reserve, "as the sultan was gone." It was, indeed, rather amusing to see what conclusions they drew from the motto "serki yátafi." Two of them were tolerably pretty and well formed, with fine black hair hanging down in plaits or tresses, lively eyes, and very fair complexion. Their dress was decent, and that of one of them even elegant, consisting of an under gown reaching from the neck to the ankles, and an upper one drawn over the head, both of white color; but their demeanor was very free, and I too clearly understood the caution requisite in a European who would pass through these countries unharmed and respected by the natives, to allow myself to be tempted by these wantons. It would be better for a traveler in these regions, both for his own comfort and for the respect felt for him by the natives, if he could take his wife with him; for these simple people do not understand how a man can live without a partner. The Western Tawárek, who in general are very rigorous in their manners, and quite unlike the Kél-owí, had nothing to object against me except my being a bachelor. But as it is difficult to find a female companion for such journeys, and as by marrying a native he would expose himself to much trouble and inconvenience on the score of religion, he will do best to maintain the greatest austerity of manners with regard to the other sex, though he may thereby expose himself to a good deal of derision from some of the lighter-hearted natives. The ladies, however, became so troublesome that I thought it best to remain at home for a few days, and was thus enabled at the same time to note down the information which I had been able to pick up. During these occupations I was always greatly

pleased with the companionship of a diminutive species of finches which frequent all the rooms in A'gades, and, as I may add from later experience, in Timbúktu also; the male, with its red neck, in particular, looks extremely pretty. The poults were just about to fledge.

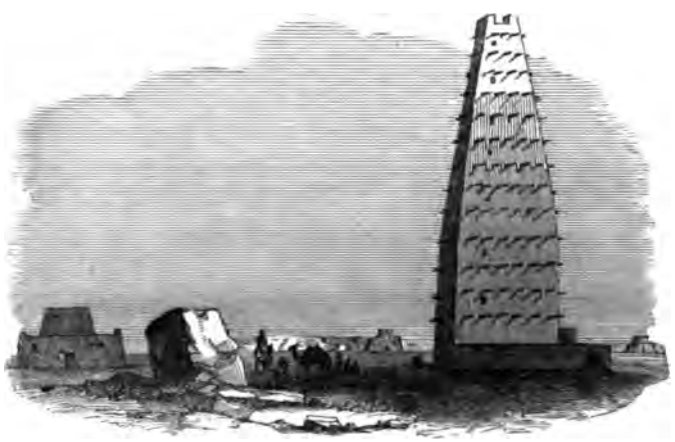
Sunday, October 27th. There was one very characteristic building in the town, which, though a most conspicuous object from the terrace of our house, I had never yet investigated with sufficient accuracy. This was the mesállaje, or high tower rising over the roof of the mosque. The reason why this building in particular (the most famous and remarkable one in the town) had been hitherto observed by me only from a distance, and in passing by, must be obvious. Difference of religious creed repelled me from it; and so long as the town was full of strangers, some of them very fanatical, it was dangerous for me to approach it too closely. I had often inquired whether it would not be possible to ascend the tower without entering the mosque; but I had always received for answer that the entrance was locked up. As soon, however, as the sultan was gone, and when the town became rather quiet, I urged Hámma to do his best that I might ascend to the top of this curious building, which I represented to him as a matter of the utmost importance to me, since it would enable me not only to control my route by taking a few angles of the principal elevations round the valley Aúderas, but also to obtain a distant view over the country toward the west and south, which it was not my good luck to visit myself. To-day Hámma promised me that he would try what could be done.

Having once more visited the lively house of I'dder, we took our way over the market-places, which were now rather dull. The vultures looked out with visible greediness and eagerness from the pinnacles of the ruined walls around for their wonted food—their share of offal during these days, when so many people were absent, being of course much reduced, though some of them probably had followed their fellow-citizens on the expedition. So few people being in the streets, the town had a more ruined look than ever, and the large heap of rubbish accumu-

lated on the south side of the butchers' market seemed to me more disgusting than before. We kept along the principal street between Dígi and Arrafiya, passing the deep well Shedwánka on our right, and on the other side a school, which resounded with the shrill voices of about fifty little boys repeating with energy and enthusiasm the verses of the Kurán, which their master had written for them upon their little wooden tablets.

Having reached the open space in front of the mosque ("sárari-n-mesállaje"), and there being nobody to disturb me, I could view at my leisure this simple but curious building, which in the subsequent course of my journey became still more interesting to me, as I saw plainly that it was built on exactly the same principle as the tower which rises over the sepulchre of the famed conqueror Háj Mohammed A'skiá (the "Ischia" of Leo).

The mesállaje starts up from the platform or terrace formed by the roof of the mosque, which is extremely low, resting apparently, as we shall see, in its interior, upon four massive pillars. It is square, and measures at its base about thirty feet,



having a small lean-to, on its east side, on the terrace of the mosque, where most probably there was formerly the entrance. From this the tower rises (decreasing in width, and with a sort of

swelling or entasis in the middle of its elevation, something like the beautiful model adopted by nature in the delêb palm, and imitated by architects in the columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders) to a height of from ninety to ninety-five feet. It measures at its summit not more than about eight feet in width. The interior is lighted by seven openings on each side. Like most of the houses in A'gades, it is built entirely of clay; and in order to strengthen a building so lofty and of so soft a material, its four walls are united by thirteen layers of boards of the dûm-tree crossing the whole tower in its entire breadth and width, and coming out on each side from three to four feet, while at the same time they afford the only means of getting to the top. Its purpose is to serve as a watch-tower, or, at least, was so at a former time, when the town, surrounded by a strong wall and supplied with water, was well capable of making resistance, if warned in due time of an approaching danger. But at present it seems rather to be kept in repair only as a decoration of the town.

The Mesállaje in its present state was only six years old at the time of my visit (in 1850), and perhaps was not even quite finished in the interior, as I was told that the layers of boards were originally intended to support a staircase of clay. About fifty paces from the southwestern corner of the mosque, the ruins of an older tower are seen still rising to a considerable height, though leaning much to one side, more so than the celebrated tower of Pisa, and most probably in a few years it will give way to an attack of storm and rain. This more ancient tower seems to have stood quite detached from the mosque.

Having sufficiently surveyed the exterior of the tower, and made a sketch of it, I accompanied my impatient companion into the interior of the mosque, into which he felt no scruple in conducting me. The lowness of the structure had already surprised me from without, but I was still more astonished when I entered the interior, and saw that it consisted of low, narrow naves, divided by pillars of immense thickness, the reason of which it is not possible at present to understand, as they have nothing to support but a roof of dûm-tree boards, mats, and a

layer of clay; but I think it scarcely doubtful that originally these naves were but the vaults or cellars of a grander superstructure, designed but not executed, and this conjecture seems to be confirmed by all that at present remains of the mosque. The gloomy halls were buried in a mournful silence, interrupted only by the voice of a solitary man, seated on a dirty mat at the western wall of the tower, and reading diligently the torn leaves of a manuscript. Seeing that it was the kádhi, we went up to him and saluted him most respectfully, but it was not in the most cheerful and amiable way that he received our compliments—mine in particular—continuing to read, and scarcely raising his eyes from the sheets before him.* Hámma then asked for permission to ascend the tower, but received a plain and unmistakable refusal, the thing being impossible, there being no entrance to the tower at present. It was shut up, he said, on account of the Kél-gerés, who used to ascend the tower in great numbers. Displeased with his uncourteous behavior, and seeing that he was determined not to permit me to climb the tower, were it ever so feasible, we withdrew and called upon the imám, who lives in a house attached to these vaults, and which looked a little neater from having been whitewashed; however, he had no power to aid us in our purpose, but rather confirmed the statement of the kádhi.

This is the principal mosque of the town, and seems to have always been so, although there are said to have been formerly as many as seventy mosques, of which ten are still in use. They deserve no mention, however, with the exception of three, the Msíd Míli,† Msíd E'heni, and Msíd el Mékki. I will only add here that the Emgedesíye, so far as their very slender stock of theological learning and doctrine entitles them to rank with any sect, are Malekíye, as well as the Kél-owí.

* The hostile disposition of the kádhi toward me was most unfortunate, as he would have been the very man to give me the information I wanted; for I did not meet any other native of the place well versed in Arabic literature, and but a few were able to speak Arabic at all.

† Whether this name be a corruption of Mghíli, meaning the fanatical Mohammedan apostle, Mohammed ben 'Abd el Kerím el Maghíli, of whom I have spoken above, I can not say.

Resigning myself to the disappointment of not being able to ascend the tower, I persuaded my friend to take a longer walk with me round the northern quarter of the town. But I forgot to mention that, besides Hámma, I had another companion of a very different character. This was Zúmmuzuk, a reprobate of the worst description, and whose features bore distinct impress of the vile and brutal passions which actuated him; yet, being a clever fellow, and (as the illegitimate son, or "dan nema," of an Emgédesi woman) fully master of the peculiar idiom of A'gades, he was tolerated not only by the old chief A'nnur, who employed him as interpreter, but even by me. How insolent the knave could be I shall soon have occasion to mention.

With this fellow, therefore, and with Hámma, I continued my walk, passing the kófa-n-alkáli, and then, from the ruins of the quarter Ben-Gottára, turning to the north. Here the wall of the town is in a tolerable state of preservation, but very weak and insufficient, though it is kept in repair, even to the pinnacles, on account of its surrounding the palace of the sultan. Not far from this is an open space called Azarmádarangh, "the place of execution," where occasionally the head of a rebellious chieftain or a murderer is cut off by the "dóka;" but, as far as I could learn, such things happen very seldom. Even on the north side, two gates are in a tolerable state of preservation.

Having entered the town from this side, we went to visit the quarter of the leather-workers, which, as I stated before, seems to have formed originally a regular ward; all this handicraft, with the exception of saddle-work, is carried on by women, who work with great neatness. Very beautiful provision-bags are made here, although those which I brought back from Timbúktu are much handsomer. We saw also some fine specimens of mats, woven of a very soft kind of grass, and dyed of various colors. Unfortunately, I had but little with me wherewith to buy; and even if I had been able to make purchases, the destination of our journey being so distant, there was not much hope of carrying the things safe to Europe. The blacksmiths' work of A'gades is also interesting, although showy and bar-

barous, and not unlike the work with which the Spaniards used to adorn their long daggers.

Monday, October 28th. During all this time I prosecuted inquiries with regard to several subjects connected with the geography and ethnography of this quarter of the world. I received several visits from Emgédesi tradesmen, many of whom are established in the northern provinces of Háusa, chiefly in Kátsena and Tasáwa, where living is infinitely cheaper than in A'gades. All these I found to be intelligent men, having been brought up in the centre of intercourse between a variety of tribes and nations of the most different organization, and, through the web of routes which join here, receiving information of distant regions. Several of them had even made the Pilgrimage, and thus come in contact with the relatively high state of civilization in Egypt and near the coast; and I shall not easily forget the enlightened view which the m'allem Háj Mohammed 'Omár, who visited me several times, took of Islámism and Christianity. The last day of my stay in A'gades, he reverted to the subject of religion, and asked me, in a manner fully expressive of his astonishment, how it came to pass that the Christians and Moslemín were so fiercely opposed to one another, although their creeds, in essential principles, approximated so closely. To this I replied by saying that I thought the reason was that the great majority both of Christians and Moslemín paid less regard to the dogmas of their creeds than to external matters, which have very little or no reference to religion itself. I also tried to explain to him that, in the time of Mohammed, Christianity had entirely lost that purity which was its original character, and that it had been mixed up with many idolatrous elements, from which it was not entirely disengaged till a few centuries ago, while the Mohammedans had scarcely any acquaintance with Christians except those of the old sects of the Jacobites and Nestorians. Mutually pleased with our conversation, we parted from each other with regret.

In the afternoon I was agreeably surprised by the arrival of the Tinýlkum Ibrahim, for the purpose of supplying his brother's house with what was wanted; and being determined to

make only one day's stay in the town, he had learned with pleasure that we were about to return by way of A'fasás, the village whither he himself was going. I myself had cherished this hope, as all the people had represented that place as one of the largest in the country, and as pleasantly situated. Hámma had promised to take me this way on our return to Tintéllust; but having staid so much longer in the town than he had intended, and being afraid of arriving too late for the salt-caravan of the Kél-owí on their way to Bilma, which he was to supply with provisions, he changed his plan, and determined to return by the shortest road. Meanwhile, he informed me that the old chief would certainly not go with us to Zinder till the salt-caravan had returned from Bilma.

Fortunately, in the course of the 29th a small caravan with corn arrived from Damerghú, and Hámma completed his purchases. He had, however, first to settle a disagreeable affair; for our friend Zúmmuzuk had bought in Hámma's name several things, for which payment was now demanded. Hámma flew into a terrible rage, and nearly finished the rogue. My Arab and Tawáti friends, who heard that we were to start the following day, though they were rather busy buying corn, came to take leave of me; and I was glad to part from all of them in friendship. But, before bidding farewell to this interesting place, I shall make a few general observations on its history.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HISTORY OF A'GADES.

If we had before us the historical work upon the authority of which Mohammed el Bágeri assured Sultan Bello that the people of Góber, who formerly possessed the country of Aïr, were Copts,* we should most probably find in it the history of

* Sultan Bello's "Enfák el Misúri fi taríkh belád el Tekrúri," in Denham and Clapperton's Travels, Appendix, vol. ii., p. 162. I myself have a copy of the same extracts from this work of Bello.

A'gades. As it is, however, until that book shall come to light, of which I do not at all despair, provided future travelers inquire diligently for it, we must be content with endeavoring to concentrate the faint and few rays of light which dimly reveal to us, in its principal features, the history of this remarkable town.

Previously to Mr. Cooley's perspicuous inquiries into the Negroland of the Arabs, this place was identified with Aúdaghost, merely on account of a supposed similarity of name. But A'gades, or rather E'gedesh, is itself a pure Berber word, in no way connected with Aúdaghost. It is of very frequent occurrence, particularly among the Awelímmiden, and means "family;" and the name was well chosen for a town of mixed elements. Moreover, while we find Aúdaghost in the west in the twelfth century, we have the distinct statement of Marmol* that A'gades was founded a hundred and sixty years before the time when he wrote (that is to say, in 1460), the truth of which statement, harmonizing as it does with Leo's more general account, that it was a modern town,† we have no reason to doubt. Neither of these authors tells us who built it; but as we know that the great Sónghay conqueror Háj Mohammed A'skiá, who conquered the town of A'gades in the year of the Hejra 921, or 1515 of our era,‡ expelled from it the five Berber tribes who, according to the information collected by me during my stay in A'gades, and which I shall soon lay before my readers, must have been long resident in the town, it appears highly probable that these Berbers were its founders. And if this be assumed, there will be no difficulty in explaining why the language of the natives of the place at present is a dialect of the Sónghay language, as it is most probable that that great and enlightened

* Marmol, Descripcion dell' Africa, vol. iii., fl. xxiv., b.: "Agadez es una provincia .... ay en ella una ciudad del proprio nombre, que a sido edificada de ciento y sesenta años á este parte."

† Leo Africanus, l. vii., c. 9: "Edificata dai moderni re (?) ne' confini di Libia." The word "re" is very suspicious.

‡ See the extracts of Bábá Ahmed's "Tarikh e' Sudán," sent by me to Europe, and published in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, 1855. This statement agrees exactly with an interesting passage in Sultan Bello's "Enfák el Misúri," which has been unaccountably omitted by Saláme in the translation appended to Denham and Clapperton's Travels.

conqueror, after he had driven out the old inhabitants, established in this important place a new colony of his own people. In a similar way we find the Sónghay nation, which seems not to have originally extended to a great distance eastward of Gágho or Gógo, now extending into the very heart of Kébbi, although we shall find other people speaking the same language in the neighborhood of A'gades, and perhaps may be able, in the course of our researches, to trace some connection between the Sónghay and ancient Egypt.

It is therefore highly probable that those five Berber tribes formed the settlement in question as an entrepôt for their commerce with Negroland, though the foundation of such a grand settlement on the border of the desert presumes that they had, at that time, a preponderating influence in all these regions; and the whole affair is so peculiar, that its history could not fail to gratify curiosity if more could be known of it. From Bello's account, it would appear that they, or at least one of these tribes (the Aújila*), conquered the whole of Aïr.

It is certainly remarkable to see people from five places, separated from each other by immense tracts, and united only by the bond of commerce and interest, founding a large colony far away from their homes, and on the very border of the desert; for, according to all that I could learn by the most sedulous inquiries in A'gades, those tribes belonged to the Gurára of Tawát, to the Tafimáta, to the Beni Wazít, and the Tésko of Ghadámes, to the once powerful and numerous tribe of the Masráta, and finally to the Aújila; and as the names of almost all these different tribes, and of their divisions, are still attached to localities of the town, we can scarcely doubt the correctness of this information, and must suppose that Sultan Bello was mistaken in referring the five tribes (settled in A'gades) to Aújila alone.†

* Bello took an erroneous view of the subject in supposing all the five tribes to have come from Aújila. Only one of them was originally from that place; and the names of the five tribes as mentioned by him are evidently erroneous. (See the following note.) The error in deriving all these five tribes from Aújila originated probably in the general tradition that the whole nation of the Berbers had spread over North Africa from Syria by way of the oasis of Aújila.

† Bello, in Appendix to Denham and Clapperton's Travels, vol. ii., p. 160.

Though nothing is related about the manner in which Háj Mohammed A'skiá took possession of the town,* except that it is stated distinctly that he drove out the five tribes, it seems, from the traditions current in A'gades, that a considerable number of the Berbers, with five hundred "jákhfa" (cages mounted on camels, such as only wealthy people can afford to keep for carrying their wives), left the town, but were all massacred. But no one who regards with the least attention the character of the present population of the town can doubt for a moment that a considerable number of the Berber population remained behind, and, in course of time, mixed with the Sónghay colonists; for, even if we set aside the consideration of the language (which is greatly intermixed with Berber words), there is evidently much Berber blood in the population even at the present day—a fact which is more evident in the females than in the males.

It is a pity that Leo says nothing about the language spoken in A'gades;† for he lived just at the very period during which the town, from a Berber settlement, became a Negro town. His expression‡ certainly implies that he regarded it as a Negro town. But, while well informed in general respecting the great

Indeed, in this passage he does not mention distinctly A'gades, but speaks in general of the province of Ahír (Aïr); it is clear, however, that the five tribes mentioned here as having wrested the whole country from the hands of the Goberáwa are identical with those settled in A'gades. Bello, in this case, was evidently ill informed, for Amákitan seems not to be the name of a tribe, but of a man; Ajdaranin is the name of a section of the Kél-gerés; the Agdálar seem to be identical with the I'ghdalén. Certainly the Aújila were a most celebrated tribe; and it appears from Edrísi's report (Jaubert, vol. i., p. 238) that even at so early an age as the middle of the 12th century of our era they carried on intercourse with Kawár and Gógo by way of Ghadámes.

* A'hmed Bábá, in relating this most interesting expedition of the greatest hero of his historical work, is most provokingly brief; but the reason is that he was well acquainted only with the countries near Timbúktu.

† In the report which I sent to government from my journey, and which has been printed in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, I stated that, according to Leo's account, the Háusa language was spoken at that time in A'gades; but it was a mere lapse of memory. From no passage of his can any conclusion be drawn with regard to this subject.

‡ "E questa città è quasi vicina alla città dei Bianchi piú che alcun' altra *de' Negri*."

conquests of Mohammed A'skiá (or, as he calls him, Ischia, whom he erroneously styles King of Timbúktu), he does not once mention his expedition against A'gades, of which he might have heard as easily as of those against Kátsena and Kanó, which preceded the former only by two years. From his account it would seem that the town was then in a very flourishing state, full of foreign merchants and slaves, and that the king, though he paid a tribute of 150,000 ducats to the King of Timbúktu (Gágo), enjoyed a great degree of independence, at least from that quarter, and had even a military force of his own. Besides, it is expressly stated that he belonged to the Berber race.* But it would almost seem as if Leo, in this passage, represented the state of things as it was when he visited the town, before A'skiá's time, and not at the date when he wrote, though the circumstance of the tribute payable to that king may have been learned from later information. In general, the great defect in Leo's description is that the reader has no exact dates to which to refer the several statements, and that he can not be sure how far the author speaks as an eye-witness, and how far from information.†

Of course, it is possible that the Berbers found a Sónghay population, if not in the place itself, which most probably did not exist before the time of their arrival, yet in the district around it; and it would seem that there existed in ancient times, in the celebrated valley of I'r-n-allem, a small town, of which‡ some vestiges are said to remain at the present day, as well as two or three date-trees, the solitary remains of a large plantation. From this town, tradition says, the present inhabitants of A'gades were transplanted. But, be this as it may, it

* Leo, l. vii., c. 9, et l. i., c. 10, near the end.

† What Leo says, l. vii., c. 1, of Abubakr Ischia (that is to say, Mohammed ben Abú Bakr el Háj A'skiá)—"Acquistando in anni quindici appresso molti regni, e poichè ebbe reso pacifico e quieto il suo, gli venne disio di andar come pellegrino a Mecca"—is very confused; for Mohammed A'skiá, having ascended the throne on the 14th of Jumád II., 898, began the pilgrimage in Safer, 902, consequently in the fifth year of his reign; yet Leo received information of his expedition against Kátsena and the adjoining provinces, which was made in 919.

‡ See Itinerary in the Appendix.

is certain that the same dialect of the Sónghay language which is spoken in A'gades is also still spoken in a few places in the neighborhood by the tribe of the I'ghdalén or Ighedálen, whose whole appearance, especially their long hair, shows them to be a mixed race of Sónghay and Berbers; and there is some reason to suppose that they belonged originally to the Zenága or Senhája. These people live in and around I'ngal, a small town four days' journey from A'gades, on the road to Sókoto,* and in and around Tegídda, a place three days' journey from I'ngal, and about five from A'gades W.S.W. This latter place is of considerable interest, being evidently identical with the town of the same name mentioned by Ebn Khaldún† and by Ebn Batúta‡ as a wealthy place, lying eastward from Gógo, on the road to Egypt, and in intimate connection and friendly intercourse with the Mzáb and Wárgela. It was governed by a Berber chief, with the title of sultan. This place, too, was for some time subject to Gógo, or rather to the empire of Mélle or Máli, which then comprised Sónghay, in the latter part of the 14th century; and the circumstance that here, too, the Sónghay language is still spoken, may be best explained by referring it to colonization, since it is evident that A'skiá, when he took possession of A'gades, must have occupied Tegídda also, which lay on the road from Gógo to that place. However, I will not indulge in conjectures, and will merely enter into historical questions so far as they contribute to furnish a vivid and coherent picture of the tribes and countries with which my journey brought me into contact. I will therefore only add that this place, Tegídda or Tekádda, was famous, in the time of Ebn Batúta, for its copper mines, the ores of which were exported as

* See Appendix.

† Ebn Khaldún, ed. Slane, Alger., 1847, tom. i., p. 267. Ebn Khaldún evidently says that the chief of Tegídda had friendly intercourse with Wárgela and Mzáb, although Mr. Cooley (Negroland, p. 65) has referred these expressions to Músa, the king of Sónghay.

‡ Ebn Batúta in the passage referred to above. It is curious that both these writers give the exact distance of Tegídda from Búda, in Tawát, and from Wárgela, both distances as of seventy marches, while they omit to mention its distance from Gógo.

far as Bórnu and Góber, while at present nothing is known of the existence of copper hereabouts; but a very good species of salt of red color (já-n-gísherí), which is far superior to that of Bílma, is obtained here, as well as in I'ngal. But I recommend this point to the inquiry of future travelers. I have mentioned above the presence of loadstone on the border of Aïr.

Having thus attempted to elucidate and illustrate the remarkable fact that the language of A'gades is derived from and akin to the Sónghay—a fact which, of course, appeared to me more surprising before I discovered, in the course of 1853, that this language extends eastward far beyond the so-called Niger—I return once more to the settlement of the Berbers in A'gades. It is evident that this settlement, if it was of the nature described above, was made for the purpose of serving as a great commercial entrepôt for the commerce with another country; and if we duly consider the statements made by El Bekri,* Ebn Batúta,† Leo,‡ Ca da Mosto,§ and by the author of the "History of Sónghay," with regard to the importance of the market of Gógo, and if we pay due attention to that circuitous route which led from Gógo by way of Tegídda, not only to Egypt, but even to Tawát,‖ there can not be the least doubt that A'gades was founded by those Berber tribes, with the distinct purpose that it might serve them as a secure abode and fortified magazine in their commercial intercourse with that splendid capital of the Sónghay empire, the principal article of which was gold, which formed also the chief article in the former commerce of A'gades. For A'gades had its own standard weight of this precious metal—the mithkál, which, even at the present day, regulates the circulating medium. And this mith-

* El Bekri, "Notices et Extraits," tom. xii., p. 649.

† Ebn Batúta repeatedly calls it the largest, handsomest, and strongest of all the cities in Negroland. ‡ Leo, l. vii., c. 7.

§ Navigazioni di Aloise Ca da Mosto, c. 13: "La prima parte di loro va con la carovana che tiene il cammino di Melli ad un luogo che si chiama Cochia."

‖ We shall see, in the further course of our proceedings, that there is another direct road from Gógo to Tawát; but this, in ancient times, seems not to have been frequented, on account either of the difficulties of the road itself, or the dangerous character of the tribes in its vicinity.

kál of A'gades is totally different from the standard of the same name which is in use in Timbúktu, the latter being, in regard to the Spanish dollar, as 1⅓ to 1, and the former only as ⅔ to 1. But for wholesale business a greater weight was in use, called "kárruwe," the smaller kárruwe containing thirty-three mithákel or mithkals and a third, equal to two rottls and a sixth, while the larger kárruwe contained a hundred mithkals, and was equal to six rottls and a half.

The importance of the trade of A'gades, and the wealth of the place in general, appear very clearly from the large tribute of a hundred and fifty thousand ducats which the King of A'gades was able to pay to that of Sónghay, especially if we bear in mind that Leo, in order to give an idea of the great expense which this same King of Sónghay had incurred on his pilgrimage to Mekka, states in another passage* that, having spent all he took with him, he contracted a debt amounting to that very sum. As for the King of A'gades, his situation was at that time just what it is now; and we can not better describe his precarious position, entirely dependent on the caprice and intrigues of the influential chiefs of the Tawárek, than by using the very words of Leo, "Alle volte scacciano il re e pongono qualche suo parente in luogo di lui, nè usano ammazzar alcuno; e quel che più contenta gli abitatori del diserto è fatto re in Agadez."

Unfortunately, we are not able to fix a date for that very peculiar covenant between the different tribes with regard to the installation of the Sultan of A'gades, and the establishing of the principle that he must belong to a certain family, which is regarded as of sheríf nobility,† and lives not in A'gades, nor even in the country of Aïr, but in a town of Góber. I was once inclined to think that this was an arrangement made in consequence of the power and influence which the Emir of Sókoto had arrogated to himself; but I have now reason to doubt this, for even the grandfather of 'Abd el Káder was sultan. Certain-

* Leo, l. vii., c. 1: "E rimase debitore di centocinquanta mila ducati."

† Whether the story which circulates among the people that this family originally comes from Stambúl or Constantinople has any reasonable foundation, I am unable to decide.

ly even now, when the power of the Fulfúlde or Féllani empire is fast crumbling to pieces, the Emír of Sókoto has a certain influence upon the choice of the Sultan of A'gades. Of this fact I myself became witness during my stay in Sókoto in April, 1853, when Hámed e' Rufäy was once more sent out to succeed 'Abd el Káder. Indeed Ittegáma, 'Abd el Káder's brother, who thought that I enjoyed the favor and confidence of the emír, called upon me (as I shall relate in due time) expressly in order to entreat me most urgently to exert my influence in order to restore my former host to his authority.

I have described already in what way the union of the tribes of the Itísan, the Kél-gerés, and the Kél-owí is expressed in installing the sultan; but, though without the presence and assent of the former the new prince could never arrive at his place of residence, the final decision seems to rest with the chief A'nnur, the inhabitants of the town having no voice in the matter. The sultan is rather a chief of the Tawárek tribes residing in A'gades than the ruler of A'gades. How difficult and precarious his position must be, may be easily conceived if it be considered that these tribes are generally at war with one another; the father of Hámed e' Rufäy was even killed by the Kél-gerés. Nevertheless, if he be an intelligent and energetic man, his influence in the midst of this wild conflict and struggle of clashing interests and inclinations must be very beneficial.

What the revenue of the sultan may at present amount to it is difficult to say. His means and income consist chiefly in the presents which he receives on his accession to authority; in a contribution of one bullock's hide or kulábu (being about the value of half a Spanish dollar) from each family; in a more considerable but rather uncertain tribute levied upon the Imghád; in the tax of ten mithkáls or four Spanish dollars which he levies on each camel-load of foreign merchandise which enters the town of A'gades* (articles of food being exempt from charge); in a small tribute derived from the salt brought from Bílma, and in the fines levied on lawless people and marauders, and often

* This seems also to have been the most important income in the time of Leo: "Riceve il re gran rendita delle gabelle che pagano le robe de' forestieri."

on whole tribes. Thus it is very probable that the expedition which 'Abd el Káder undertook immediately after his accession against the tribes who had plundered us enriched him considerably. As for the inhabitants of A'gades themselves, I was assured that they do not pay him any tribute at all, but are obliged only to accompany him on his expeditions. Of course, in earlier times, when the commerce of the town was infinitely greater than at present, and when the Imghád (who had to provide him with cattle, corn, fruit, and vegetables) were strictly obedient, his income far exceeded that of the present day. When taken altogether, it is certainly considerably under twenty thousand dollars. His title is Amanókal or Amanókal Imakóren in Temáshight, Kókoy* bére in the Emgédesi, and Babá-n-Serkí in the Háusa language.

The person second in authority in the town, and in certain respects the vizier, is now, and apparently was also in ancient times, the "kókoy gerégeré† (*i. e.*, master of the court-yard or the interior of the palace). This is his real indigenous character, while the foreigners, who regarded him only in his relation to themselves, called him Sheikh el 'Arab, or, in the Háusa language, serkí-n-turáwa‡ (the chief of the Whites); and this is the title by which he is generally known; for it was he who had to levy the tax on the merchandise imported into the town —an office which in former times, when a considerable trade

* In the Sónghay language "koy" means master, and is not only employed in other compositions, such as kút-koy (the shepherd), bír-koy (the marksman), but even as title for a governor, such as Túmbutu-koy (the governor of Timbúktu), Jínni-koy (the governor of Jínni). I therefore conclude that kó-koy means the master of the masters, or greatest master—the king of kings, like the Háusa "serkí sárakay."

† Perhaps some might conjecture that this word geré-geré has some connection with the Gér-geri of Ebn Batúta (see above); but I think there is none.

‡ "Turáwa" is the plural of "ba-túre." "Túre" or "túri" is an old word, already mentioned by Ebn Batúta (Journal Asiatique, 1843, tom. i., p. 201): "Les hommes blancs, qui professent les doctrines sonnites et suivent le rite de Malik, sont designés ici (dans le royaume de Melle) par le nom de تورى." The word, therefore, seems to have been introduced into the Háusa language at a later period as designating the white people, and, I think, has connection with the word "túra" (to pray) in Fulfúlde, the language of the Fúlbe. I have only to mention that it never refers to any but Arabs or Europeans.

was carried on, was of great importance. But the chief duty of the "serkí-n-turáwa," at the present time, is to accompany annually the salt-caravan of the Kél-gerés, which supplies the western part of Middle Sudán with the salt of Bílma, from A'gades to Sókoto, and to protect it on the road as well as to secure it against exorbitant exactions on the part of the Fúlbe of Sókoto. For this trouble he receives one "kántu," that is to say, the eighth part (eight kántu weighing three Turkish kantars or quintals) of a middle-sized camel-load, a contribution which forms a considerable income in this country, probably of from eight to ten thousand Spanish dollars, the caravan consisting generally of some thousand camels, not all equally laden, and the kántu of salt fetching in Sudán from five thousand to seven and eight thousand kurdí or shells, which are worth from two to three dollars. Under such circumstances, those officers, who at the same time trade on their own account, can not but amass considerable wealth. Mohammed Bóro, as well as A'shu, are very rich, considering the circumstances of the country.

After having escorted the salt-caravan to Sókoto, and settled the business with the Emír of this place, the serkí-n-turáwa in former times had to go to Kanó, where he received a small portion of the six hundred kurdí, the duty levied on each slave brought to the slave-market, after which he returned to A'gades with the Kél-gerés that had frequented the market of Kanó. I had full opportunity, in the further course of my journey, to convince myself that such is not now the case; but I can not say what is the reason of this custom having been discontinued, though it may be the dangerous state of the road between Sókoto and Kanó. Mohammed Bóro, the former serkí-n-turáwa, has still residences as well in Kanó and Zinder as in Sókoto and A'gades.

From what I have said, it is clear that at present the serkí-n-turáwa has much more to do with the Tawárek and Fúlbe than with the Arabs, and at the same time is a sort of mediator between A'gades and Sókoto.

Of the other persons in connection with the sultan, the "kó-

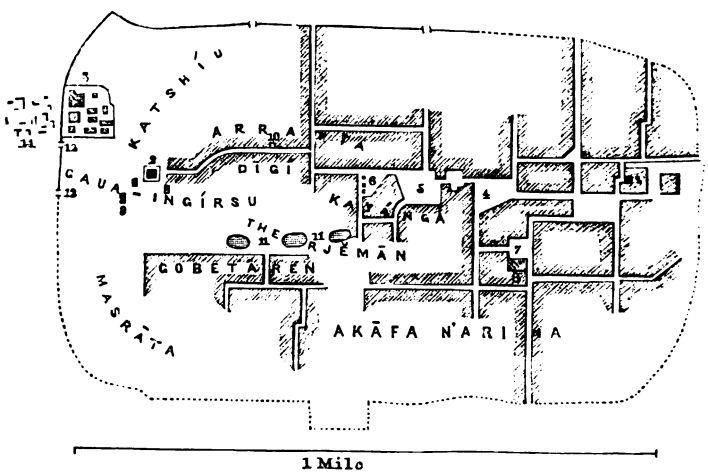
koy kaina" or "bába-n-serkí"* (the chief eunuch), at present A'magay, the fadawa-n-serkí (the aides-de-camp of the sultan), as well as the kádhi or alkáli, and the war-chief Sidi Ghalli, I have spoken in the diary of my residence in the place.

I have already stated above that the southern part of the town, which at present is almost entirely deserted, formed the oldest quarter, while Katánga, or báki-n-bírni," seems to have been its northern limit. Within these limits the town was about two miles in circuit, and when thickly peopled may have contained about thirty thousand inhabitants; but, after the northern quarter was added, the whole town had a circuit of about three miles and a half, and may easily have mustered as many as fifty thousand inhabitants, or even more. The highest degree of power seems to have been attained before the conquest of the town by Mohammed A'skiá in the year 1515, though it is said to have been a considerable and wealthy place till about sixty years ago (reckoned from 1850), when the greatest part of the inhabitants emigrated to the neighboring towns of Háusa, chiefly Kátsena, Tasáwa, Marádi, and Kanó. The exact circumstances which brought about this deplorable desertion and desolation of the place I was not able to learn; and the date of the event can not be made to coincide with the period of the great revolution effected in Middle Sudán by the rising of the Jihádi, "the reformer," 'Othmán da-n-Fódiye, which it preceded by more than fifteen years; but it coincides with or closely follows upon an event which I shall have to dwell upon in the further course of my proceedings. This is the conquest of G'ao or Gógo (the former capital of the Sónghay empire, and which since 1591 had become a province of the empire of Morocco) by the Tawárek. As we have seen above that A'gades had evidently been founded as an entrepôt for the great trade with this most flourishing commercial place on the I'sa or Niger, at that time the centre of the gold-trade, of course the

* "Kókoy kaina" properly means the little master, a very appropriate term for a eunuch in an Oriental court. The homonymy of bába-n-serkí, the chief eunuch, and babá-n-serkí, the great lord or king, in the Háusa language, is really provoking.

ransacking and wholesale destruction of this town could not but affect in the most serious manner the well-being of A'gades, cutting away the very roots through which it received life.

At present I still think that I was not far wrong in estimating the number of the inhabited houses at from six hundred to seven hundred, and the population at about seven thousand, though it must be borne in mind that, as the inhabitants have still preserved their trading character, a great many of the male inhabitants are always absent from home, a circumstance which reduces the armed force of the place to about six hundred. A numerical element capable of controlling the estimated amount of the population is offered by the number of from two hundred and fifty to three hundred well-bred boys, who, at the time of my visit, were learning a little reading and writing in five or six schools scattered over the town; for it is not every boy who is sent to school, but only those belonging to families in easy cir-



1. House where I lodged.
2. Great mosque or Mesállaje.
3. Palace or Fáda.
4. Káswa-n-delélti or Táma-n-lókoy.
5. Káswa-n-rákoma.
6. Katánga.
7. Erárar-n-zákan.
8. Mohammed Bóro's house.
9. House of the Kádhi.
10. Well Shedwánka.
11. Pools of stagnant water.
12. Kófa-n-Alkáli.
13. Masráta hogúme.
14. Suburb of Ben Gottára.

cumstances, and they are all about the same age, from eight to ten years old.

With regard to the names of the quarters of the town, which are interesting in an historical point of view, I was not able to learn exactly the application of each of the names, and I am sure very few even of the inhabitants themselves can now tell the limits of the quarters, on account of the desolate state of many of them. The principal names which can be laid down with certainty in the plan are Masráta, Gobetáren, Gáwa-Ngírsu, Dígi or Dégi, Katánga, Terjemán, and Arrafía, which comprise the southwestern quarter of the town. The names of the other quarters, which I attempted to lay down on the plan sent to government together with my report, I now deem it prudent to withdraw, as I afterward found that there was some uncertainty about them. I therefore collect here, for the information of future travelers, the names of the other quarters of the place besides those mentioned above and marked in the plan—Láre-lóg, Churúd, Hásena, Amaréwuël, Imurdán (which name, I was assured afterward, has nothing in common with the name of the tribe of the Imghád), Tafimáta (the quarter where the tribe of the same name lived), Yobímme ("yobu-mé," meaning the mouth of the market), Dégi-n-béne, or the Upper Dégi, and Bosenrára. Kachíy*u* (not Kachí*n*) seems to have been originally the name of a pool; as I was assured that, besides the three ponds still visible, there were formerly seven others, namely, Kudúru, Kachíyu, Chikinéwan, Lángusú-gázará, Kurungúsu, and Rabafáda—this latter in the square of the palace.

The whole ground upon which the town is built (being the edge of a table-land, which coincides with the transition from granite to sandstone*) seems to be greatly impregnated with salt at a certain depth, of which not only the ponds, but even the wells bear evidence, two of the three wells still in use having saltish water, and only that of Shedwánka being, as to

* Unfortunately, I was unable to ascertain the elevation of the locality by observation, as I could only take a common thermometer with me on this trip; but, considering the whole ground along the road from Tintéllust, I think it can scarcely be less than 2500 feet.

taste, free from salt, though it is still regarded as unwholesome, and all the water used for drinking is brought from the wells outside the walls. Formerly, it is said, there were nine wells inside the town.

From what I have said above, it may be concluded that the commerce of A'gades is now inconsiderable. Its characteristic feature is, that no kind of money whatever is current in the market, neither gold, nor silver, nor kurdí, nor shells; while strips of cotton or gábagá (the Kanúri, and not the Háusa term being employed in this case, because the small quantity of this stuff which is current is imported from the northwestern province of Bórnu) are very rare, and, indeed, form almost as merely nominal a standard as the mithkál. Nevertheless, the value of the mithkál is divided into ten rijáls or érjel, which measure means eight dr'a or cubits of gábagá. The real standard of the market, I must repeat, is millet or dukhn ("géro" in Háusa, "éneli" in Temáshight, *Pennisetum typhoïdeum*), durra or *Holcus sorghum* being scarcely ever brought to market. And it is very remarkable that with this article a man may buy every thing at a much cheaper rate than with merchandise, which in general fetches a low price in the place; at least it did so during my stay, when the market had been well stocked with every thing in demand by the people who had come along with us. English calico of very good quality was sold by me at twenty per cent. less than it had been bought for at Múrzuk. Senna in former times formed an article of export of some importance; but the price which it fetches on the coast has so decreased that it scarcely pays the carriage, the distance from the coast being so very great, and it scarcely formed at all an article in request here, nor did we meet on our whole journey a single camel laden with it, though it grows in considerable quantities in the valleys hereabouts.

A'gades is in no respect a place of resort for wealthy merchants, not even Arabs, while with regard to Europe its importance at present consists in its lying on the most direct road to Sókoto and that part of Sudán. In my opinion it would form for a European agent a very good and comparatively

healthy place from which to open relations with Central Africa. The native merchants seem only to visit the markets of Kátsena, Tasáwa, Marádi, Kanó, and Sókoto, and, as far as I was able to learn, never go to the northern markets of Ghát or Múrzuk unless on a journey to Mekka, which several of them have made. Neither does there seem to exist any intercourse at present with Gágho or Gógo, or with Timbúktu; but the Arabs of Azawád and those parts, when undertaking a pilgrimage, generally go by way of A'gades.

I here add the prices of different articles, as they were sold in the market during my residence in the place:

	Mithkal.*	Rojel.
Dukhn "géro" (*Pennisetum*), or durra "dáwa" (*sorghum*), twenty zekka, being equal to forty of the measure used in Tintéllust...	1	0
Rice, ten zekka	1	0
Camel, a young one, two years old, not yet fit for carrying loads	18	0
Ditto, full grown	25	0
Horse, a good strong one	100	0
Ditto, a fine one, of Tawát breed	1000	0
Ass	6 to 8	0
Ox	8	0
Calf	4	0
Ram	1	5
Sandals, a pair of common ones	0	1
Ditto, a pair of fine ones	0	5
Camel-saddle (or "rákhla" in Arabic, "kígi" in Temáshight)	10	0
Ditto, a common one	5	0
Leather bag, of colored leather, for containing clothes	1	0
Mat, a fine colored one	0	6
English calico, ten dr'a or cubits	1	0
Subéta, or white Egyptian shawl with red border	1	0
Kórnu, or the fine Egyptian colored sheep-leather, a piece	1	0
Túrkedi, or the dark-colored cotton cloth for female dress of Kanó manufacture, common	2	0
Ditto, of finer texture	3 to 5	3

I must here add that I did not observe that the people of A'gades use manna in their food, nor that it is collected in the neighborhood of the town; but I did not inquire about it on the spot, not having taken notice of the passage of Leo relating to it.

* The mithkál of A'gades is equal to 1000 kurdí, 2500 of which make a Spanish or Austrian dollar.

My stay in A'gades was too short to justify my entering into detail about the private life of the people, but all that I saw convinced me that, although open to most serious censure on the part of the moralist, it presented many striking features of cheerfulness and happiness, and nothing like the misery which is often met with in towns which have declined from their former glory. It still contains many active germs of national life, which are most gratifying to the philosophic traveler. The situation, on an elevated plateau, can not but be healthy, as the few waterpools, of small dimensions, are incapable of infecting the air. The disease which I have mentioned in my diary as prevalent at the time of my sojourn was epidemic. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the end of the rainy season everywhere in the tropical regions is the most unhealthy period of the year.*

CHAPTER XIX.

DEPARTURE FROM ÁGADES.—STAY IN TIN-TÉGGANA.

Wednesday, October 30th. We at length left A'gades. I felt as if I had enjoyed a glimpse of a totally different world, a new region of life, many relations of which were as yet obscure to me. Timbúktu, which was in the background of this novel and living picture, seemed almost an unattainable object. An acquaintance with it would not fail to throw light upon this advanced post of Sónghay nationality and its state of civilization; but at that time I little expected that it would be my destiny to dwell a year in that mysterious place, and I had even reason to doubt the possibility of reaching it from this quarter. All my thoughts were bent on the south; and although at present retracing my steps toward the north, yet, as it carried me back

* In an appendix will be given some routes which connect A'gades with other places, and, radiating from it in various directions, serve as rays of light to discover to us districts not yet visited by any European.

to our head-quarters, whence I might soon expect to start for the southern regions, I regarded it as a step in advance.

But the commencement of the journey was most abortive, and made me rather regret that I had not spent the day in the town. Hámma was unable to find some of the asses belonging to the caravan, for the simple reason that our friend Zúmmuzuk had sold them; and the whole day was lost, so that we encamped after a march of scarcely two miles and a half. Here we were joined by Ibrahím and by a very amiable, intelligent Kél-owi of the name of Rábbot, who informed me that to the east of the valley Tefárrakad there were several other valleys not at all inferior to it in exuberance and variety of vegetation. As the most important among them he named to me A'mdegra, E'dob, Téwarni, Tíndawén, and Aságatay.

When at length, on Thursday morning, we fairly began our journey, we followed entirely our old road, Hámma being anxious to get home; but nevertheless, as the mountains and ridges which characterize this region now met the eyes from the other side, the scenery was a good deal varied, and I had frequent opportunities of completing my map of this part of the country. Besides, we chose our encampments in new localities; and many little incidents varied our journey, the most interesting of which was the approach of a party of five lions in the valley Búdde, when Hámma called us to arms. He, Rábbot, Mohammed, and I advanced to meet them, but they soon turned their backs, leaping over the rocky ground toward their mountain retreat. The lion of Aïr does not seem to be a very ferocious animal, and, like those of all this border-region of the desert, has no mane—that is to say, as compared with other lions. The maneless lion of Guzerat is well known, but a similar species seems also to occur in Sind and Persia. The lion of Central Africa, at least of Bórnu and Logón, has a beautiful mane; and the skin of a lion of that region, which I took with me on my journey to western Sudán, excited the admiration of all who saw it.

The valley Tíggeda had now a very different aspect from that which it wore when we were going to A'gades; for while at that time, beautiful as it was, it was not enlivened by a single hu-

man being, now, at its very head, we met a considerable caravan of Kél-owí laden with salt, and accompanied by a herd of young camels to be bartered in the market of A'gades for corn, and farther on we found a herd of from sixty to seventy cattle, and numerous flocks of goats, indulging in the rich herbage which had previously excited my astonishment. Our minds likewise were here excited by the important news that the old chief of Tintéllust had started for Sudán, not only with my fellow-travelers, but with the whole caravan; but while my fiery and frivolous Mohammed heaped conjecture upon conjecture, meditating how we should be able to reach them, Hámma, who knew his father-in-law better, and who was conscious of his own importance and dignity, remained incredulous. We had some very pretty mountain-views from this side, especially when we approached Mount Eghellál, behind which the Búnday and other mountains rose into view.

On the morning of the 5th of November, which was to be the day of our arrival in Tintéllust, it was so cold that we started rather late, Hámma simply declaring that the cold did not allow him to go on—"Dári yahánna fataúchi." Having started at length, we made a long day's march, and after eleven hours and a half traveling reached the well-known sand-hill opposite Tintéllust, where our encampment had staid so long, not by the great road along the valley, but by "The Thief's Passage," in order to observe before we were observed.

But the residence of the great chief A'nnur was buried in the deepest silence; the courtiers, the blacksmiths, all the great men and ladies had gone away. Hámma went to see if any body remained behind, while we cooked our rice, and prepared to make ourselves comfortable for the night. That, however, was out of the question; for, when he returned, he ordered us to decamp at once; and though nothing is more dreadful than a night's march, particularly when it succeeds to a long day's journey, yet in the enthusiasm awakened by the thought of going southward, I, with all my heart, joined in the exclamation, "Sé fataúchi sé Kanó!" ("no rest before Kanó"—properly, "nothing but traveling, nothing but Kanó!")

It was ten o'clock in the evening when we started again along the broad valley, taking leave forever of "the English Hill;" but I soon began to suffer from the consequences of fatigue. In order to avoid falling from my camel in my drowsy state, I was obliged to drag myself along a great part of the night on foot, which was not at all agreeable, as the ground was at times very rugged, and covered with long grass. Having crossed a rocky flat, we entered, about four o'clock in the morning, the wide plain of Tin-téggana, stumbling along through the thick cover of bú-rékkeba and other sorts of herbage, till dawn, coming on with rather chilly air, revealed to our benumbed senses the encampment of the caravan. Having therefore made repeated halts, to give the people time to recognize us, in order not to occasion any alarm, as our leader Hámma was not with us, but had lain down at the road side to get a few hours' rest, we made straight for the two European tents, which showed us precisely the residence of my fellow-travelers. The old chief A'nnur was up, and received me with great kindness—more kindly, I must say, than my colleagues, who apparently felt some jealousy on account of the success which had attended my proceedings.

Having once more taken possession of the well-known home of our little tent, I preferred looking about the encampment to lying down, for sleeping after sunrise is not agreeable to me.

The valley Tin-téggana, wherein A'nnur, with his people, was encamped, is in this place about three miles broad, being bordered toward the east by a low range of hills, with the small cone of A'dode rising to a greater elevation; toward the west, by the Búnday and some smaller mountains; toward the south, where the ground rises, it is lined by more detached peaks, while on the north side an open view extends down the valley as far as the large mountain mass which borders the valley of Tintéllust on the north. Altogether it was a fine open landscape, embracing the country which forms the nucleus, if I may say so, of the domain of the old chief, whose camels pasture here the whole year round, while he himself usually takes up his residence in this place about this season, when nature is in its

prime, and the weather becomes cool, in order to enjoy the country air.

We ourselves had as yet no idea of making a long stay here, but indulged in the hope of starting the next day, when all of a sudden, about noon, our old friend declared solemnly that he was unable to go with us at present, that he himself was obliged to wait for the salt-caravan, while his confidential slave Zinghina was now to go southward. He said that, if we chose, we might go on with the latter. He supposed, perhaps, that none of us would dare to do so; but when I insisted upon it afterward, he, as well as Zinghína, declared that the attempt was too dangerous; and it would have been absurd to insist on accompanying the slave. For the moment such a disappointment was very trying. However, I afterward perceived that, though we had lost more than a month of the finest season for traveling, we had thereby acquired all possible security for safely attaining the object of our journey; for now we were obliged to send off all our luggage with Zinghína in advance, and might fully expect to travel with infinitely more ease and less trouble when no longer encumbered with things which, though of little value, nevertheless attracted the cupidity of the people. At the time, however, even this was not at all agreeable, as Overweg and I had to part with almost all our things, and to send them on to Kanó, to the care of a man of whose character we knew nothing.

Friday, November 8th. Nearly all the Arabs and many of the Kél-owí started; and it awakened some feeling of regret to see them go and to be ourselves obliged to stay behind. Our friend Músa, who had been the most faithful of our Tinýlkum camel-drivers, who had visited us almost daily in our tent, and from whom we had obtained so much valuable information,* was the last to take leave of us. But, as soon as the caravan was out of sight, I determined to make the best possible use of

* I am sorry that a long letter on the topography of the country (written chiefly from Músa's information), which I sent to Europe, appears never to have arrived. It is for this reason that I am unable to lay down with some degree of accuracy that part of the country of A'sben which I did not visit myself.

this involuntary leisure by sifting elaborately the varied information which I had been able to collect in A'gades, and by sending a full report to Europe, in order to engage the interest of the scientific public in our expedition, and to justify her majesty's government in granting us new supplies, without which, after our heavy losses, we should be obliged to return directly, leaving the chief objects of the expedition unattained. Owing to this resolution, our quiet life in A'sben was not, I hope, without its fruits.

Our encampment, too, became more cheerful and agreeable when, on the following day, we transferred it to the korámma Ofáyet, a beautiful little branch wadi of the spacious valley Tintéggana, issuing from a defile (a "kógo-n-dútsi") formed by the Búnday and a lower mount to the south, along which led the path to A'sodi. It was most densely wooded with talha-trees, and overgrown with tall bu-rékkeba and allwot, and was thinned only very gradually, as immense branches and whole trees were cut down daily to feed the fires during the night; for it was at times extremely cold, and we felt most comfortable when in the evening we stretched ourselves in front of our tents, round an

enormous fire. The tall herbage also was by degrees consumed, not only by the camels, but by the construction of small conical huts; so that gradually a varied and pleasant little village sprang up in this wild spot, which is represented in the preceding woodcut. The time which we were obliged to stay here would indeed have passed by most pleasantly but for the trouble occasioned to Overweg and myself by our impudent and dissolute Tunisian half-caste servant, who had become quite insupportable. Unfortunately, we did not find an opportunity of sending him back; and I thought it best to take him with me to Kanó, where I was sure to get rid of him. Our other servant Ibrahím, also, though much more prudent, was not at all trustworthy, which was the more to be regretted, as he had traveled all over Háusa, and even as far as Gónja, and might have proved of immense service. But, fortunately, I had another servant—a thin youth of most unattractive appearance, but who nevertheless was the most useful attendant I ever had; and, though young, he had roamed about a great deal over the whole eastern half of the desert, and shared in many adventures of the most serious kind. He possessed, too, a strong sense of honor, and was perfectly to be relied upon. This was Mohammed el Gatróni, a native of Gatrón, in the southern part of Fezzán, who, with a short interruption (when I sent him to Múrzuk with the late Mr. Richardson's papers and effects), remained in my service till I returned to Fezzán in 1855.

The zeal with which I had commenced finishing my report was well rewarded; for on the 14th the Ghadámsi merchant Abu Bakr el Wakhshi (an old man whom I shall have occasion to mention repeatedly in the course of my journey) came to A'n-nur to complain of a robbery committed upon part of his merchandise at Tasáwa. But for this circumstance he would not have touched at this place, and his people, whom he was sending to Ghadámes, would have traveled along the great road by A'sodi without our knowing any thing about them. Being assured by the trustworthy old man that the parcel would reach Ghadámes in two months, I sent off the first part of my report; but, unfortunately, it arrived at that place when her majesty's

agent, Mr. Charles Dickson, to whom I had addressed it, was absent in Tripoli, the consequence being that it lay there for several months.

In the course of the 15th, while sitting quietly in my tent, I suddenly heard my name, "'Abd el Kerím," pronounced by a well-known voice, and, looking out, to my great astonishment saw the little sturdy figure of my friend Hámma trotting along at a steady pace, his iron spear in his hand. I thought he was gone to Bílma, as we had been told; but it appeared that, having come up with the salt-caravan at the commencement of the Hammáda, he only supplied them with more corn, and having conferred with them, had come back to assist his old father-in-law in the arduous task of keeping the turbulent tribes in some state of quiet. The degree of secrecy with which every thing is done in this wild country is indeed remarkable, and no doubt contributes in a great measure to the influence and power of the sagacious chief of Tintéllust.

Four days later came my other friend, the foolish Mohammed, who had accompanied the expedition of the Sultan of A'gades, and who was full of interesting details of this little campaign. Neither Astáfidet, the prince of the Kél-owí, nor 'Abd el Káder, the sultan residing in A'gades, actually took part in the attack or "súkkua," but kept at a distance. On asking my merry friend what was the result of the whole, and whether the state of the country to the north was now settled and the road secure, he exclaimed, with a significant grimace, "Bábu dádi" (not very pleasant); and to what extent strength was sacrificed to euphony in this expression we were soon to learn; for the next day the "makéria," the wife of the "máke-ri" Elíyas, came to tell us that a ghazzia of the E'fadaye had suddenly fallen upon Tin-tágh-odé, and had carried off two large droves (gérki) of camels and all the movable property. Such is the state of this country, where the chiefs, instead of punishing systematically the rebels and marauders, regard such instances of crime only as opportunities for enriching themselves with plunder. The E'fadaye do not muster more than from two hundred to three hundred spears, but they are generally

assisted by the I'gammén and E'delén, two of the tribes of the Imghád whom I mentioned above.

The next day the old chief, accompanied by Hámma and seven other trusty companions, set out for Tintéyyat, in order to consult with the old m'allem Azóri, "the wise man of Aïr," about the means of preventing the bad consequences likely to arise from the turbulent state into which the country had fallen just when he was about to set out for Sudán.

The old chief, on his return from his important consultation, gave us some interesting information about "the Lion of Tintéyyat" (Azóri). Azóri, he said, had attained the highest degree of wisdom and learning, comprehending all divine and human things, without ever leaving the country of Aïr. He was now nearly blind, though younger in years than himself. His father had likewise been a very wise man. Formerly, according to our friend, there was another great m'allem in the country, named Hámi, a native of Tin-tágh-odé, and as long as he lived, the Anislimen, his fellow-citizens, had been good people and followed the way of justice, while at present their name "Anislim" was become a mere mockery, for they were the worst of the lawless, and had lost all fear of God; indeed, almost all the troubles into which the country had been plunged might be ascribed to their agency and intrigues. Here the old chief had touched on his favorite theme, and he gave vent to all his anger and wrath against those holy men, who were evidently opposed to his authority.

The old man was, in fact, on the most friendly terms with us, and instead of being suspicious of our "writing down his country," was anxious to correct any erroneous idea which we might entertain respecting it. I shall never forget with what pleasure he looked over my sketch of the route from Tintéllust to A'gades, while I explained to him the principal features of it; and he felt a proud satisfaction in seeing a stranger from a far distant country appreciate the peculiar charms of the glens and mountains of his own native land. He was, in short, so pleased with our manners and our whole demeanor that one day, after he had been reposing in my tent and chatting with me, he sent

for Yusuf, and told him plainly that he apprehended that our religion was better than theirs; whereupon the Arab explained to him that our manners indeed were excellent, but that our religious creed had some great defects, in violating the unity of the Almighty God, and elevating one of His prophets from his real rank of servant of God to that of His Son. A'nnur, rising a little from his couch, looked steadily into Yusuf's face, and said, "hákkanánne" (is it so)? As for me, in order not to provoke a disputation with Yusuf, who united in himself some of the most amiable with some of the most hateful qualities, I kept silence as long as he was present; but when he retired I explained to the chief that, as there was a great variety of sects among the Mohammedans, so there was also among the Christians, many of whom laid greater stress upon the unimpaired unity of the Creator than even the Mohammedans. So much sufficed for the justification of our religion, for the old man did not like to talk much upon the subject, though he was strict in his prayers, as far as we were able to observe. He was a man of business, who desired to maintain some sort of order in a country where every thing naturally inclines to turbulence and disorder. In other respects he allowed every man to do as he liked; and, notwithstanding his practical severity, he was rather of a mild disposition, for he thought Europeans dreadful barbarians for slaughtering without pity such numbers of people in their battles, using big guns instead of spears and swords, which were, as he thought, the only manly and becoming weapons.

The 25th of November was a great market-day for our little settlement, for on the preceding day the long-expected caravan with provisions arrived from Damerghú, and all the people were buying their necessary supply; but we had much difficulty in obtaining what we wanted, as all our things, even the few dollars we had still left, were depreciated, and estimated at more than thirty per cent. less than their real value. After having recovered in A'gades a little from the weakness of my stomach, by the aid of the princely dishes sent me by 'Abd el Káder, I had, notwithstanding the fine cool weather, once more to suffer from the effects of our almost raw and bitter dishes of Guinea-

corn, and the more so as I had no tea left to wash down this unpalatable and indigestible paste; and I felt more than common delight when we were regaled on the 27th by a fine strong soup made from the meat of the bullock which we had bought from A'nnur for twelve thousand kurdí. It was a day of great rejoicing, and a new epoch in our peaceful and dull existence, in consequence of which I found my health greatly restored.

Our patience, indeed, was tried to the utmost; and I looked for some moments with a sort of despair into Hámma's face, when, on his return from a mission to the E'fadaye, which seemed not to have been quite successful, he told me, on the 28th of November, that we should still make a stay here of twenty-five days. Fortunately, he always chose to view things on the worst side; and I was happy to be assured by the old chief himself that our stay here would certainly not exceed fifteen days. Nevertheless, as the first short days of our sham traveling afterward convinced me, the veracious Hámma, who had never deceived me, was in reality quite right in his statement. My friend came to take leave of me as he went to absent himself for a few days, in order to visit an elder sister of his, who lived in Telíshiet, farther up the valley of Tin-téggana, and, of course, I had to supply him with some handsome little production of European manufacture.

We had full reason to admire the energy of the old chief, who, on the 30th of November, went to a "privy council" with M'allem Azóri and Sultan Astáfidet, which was appointed to be held in some solitary glen, half way between Tin-téggana and A'sodi, and, after he had returned late in the evening on the 1st of December, was galloping along our encampment in the morning of the 2d, in order to visit the new watering-place lower down in the principal valley, the former well beginning to dry up, or, rather, requiring to be dug to a greater depth, as the moisture collected during the rainy season was gradually receding. This was the first time we saw our friend on horseback; and, though he was seventy-six years of age, he sat very well and upright in his saddle. Overweg went on one of the following days to see the well (which was about four miles distant

from our encampment, in a W.N.W. direction, beyond a little village of the name of O'brasen), but found it rather a basin formed between the rocky cliffs, and fed, according to report, by a spring.

Meanwhile I was surprised to learn from Mohammed Byrji, A'nnur's grandson, and next claimant to the succession after Háj 'Abdúwa, that the last-named, together with El U'su or Lúsu, the influential chief of Azanéres, and El Hossén, had started for the south six days previously, in order to purchase provisions for the salt-caravan. In this little country something is always going on, and the people all appear to lead a very restless life; what wonder, then, if most of them are the progeny of wayfarers, begotten from fortuitous and short-lived matches? Perhaps in no country is domestic life wanting to such a degree as among the Kél-owí, properly so called; but it would be wrong to include in this category the tribes of purer blood living at some distance from this centre of the salt-trade.

At length, on the 5th of December, the first body of the salt-caravan arrived from Bílma, opening the prospect of a speedy departure from this our African home; but, although we were very eager to obtain a glance at them, they did not become visible, but kept farther to the west. The following evening, however, several friends and partisans of the old chief arrived, mounted on mehára, and were received by the women with loud, shrill cries of welcome ("tirlelák" in Temáshight), very similar to the "tehlíl" of the Arabs.

Preparations were now gradually made for our setting out: but previously it was necessary to provide a supply of water, not only for the immediate use of the numerous salt-caravan, but for the constant one of those people who were to remain behind during the absence of their chief and master. Accordingly, on the 7th of December, the old chief left our encampment, with all his people, in solemn procession, in order to dig a new well; and, after having long searched with a spear for the most favorable spot, they set to work close to the entrance of a small branch wadi, joining the main valley from the east side, not far from A'dode; and, having obtained a sufficient supply

of water, they walled the well in with branches and stones, so that it was capable of retaining water at least till the beginning of the next rainy season, when, most probably, the floods would destroy it. There are, indeed, in these countries, very few undertakings of this kind, the existence of which is calculated upon for more than a year.

Meanwhile, during our long, lazy stay in this tranquil alpine retreat of the wilderness, after I had finished my report on A'gades, I began to study in a more comprehensive way the interesting language of that place, and, in order to effect that purpose, had been obliged to make a sort of treaty with that shameless profligate Zúmmuzuk, who, for his exploits in A'gades, had received severe punishment from his master. The chief conditions of our covenant were, that he was to receive every day a certain allowance, but that, during his presence in my tent, he was not to move from the place assigned him, the limits of which were very accurately defined—of course, at a respectable distance from my luggage; and if he touched any thing, I was officially permitted by A'nnur to shoot him on the spot. Notwithstanding the coolness and reserve which I was obliged to adopt in my intercourse with this man, I was fully capable of estimating his veracity, and in the course of my journey and researches I convinced myself that in no one instance did he deviate from the truth.

Going on in this way, I had completed, by the 8th of the month, an exact and full vocabulary of the Emgédesi language, and could with more leisure indulge in a conversation with my friend A'magay, the chief eunuch and confidential servant of the Sultan of A'gades, who paid me a visit, and brought me the most recent news from the capital. Affairs were all in the best state, his business now being merely to arrange a few matters with A'nnur before the latter set out for Sudán. He informed me that the salt-caravan of Kél-gerés and Itísan had long ago returned from Bílma, taking with them our letter to the Sultan of Sókoto, and accompanied by Mohammed Bóro, who had taken all his children with him except those who were still attending school. A'magay had also brought with him the curious letter

from Mustapha, the governor of Fezzán, which is spoken of by Mr. Richardson. I treated him with some coffee (which was now with me a very precious article, as I had but little left), and made him a small present.

CHAPTER XX.

FINAL DEPARTURE FOR SUDÁN.

Thursday, December 12th, 1850. *Safer 7th*, 1266. At length the day broke when we were to move on and get nearer the longed-for object of our journey, though we were aware that our first progress would be slow. But before we departed from this region, which had become so familiar to us, I wished to take a last glimpse down the valley toward Tintéllust, and wandered toward the offshoots of Mount Búnday, which afforded me a fine prospect over the whole valley up to that beautiful mountain mass which forms so characteristic a feature in the configuration of the whole country. The hills which I ascended consisted of basalt, and formed a low ridge, which was separated from the principal mountain mass by a hollow of sandstone formation. Having bid farewell to the blue mountains of Tintéllust, I took leave of the charming little valley Ofáyet, which, having been a few moments previously a busy scene of life, was now left to silence and solitude.

Late in the morning we began to move, but very slowly, halting every now and then. At length the old chief himself came up, walking like a young man before his méheri, which he led by the nose-cord, and the varied groups composing the caravan began to march more steadily. It was a whole nation in motion, the men on camels or on foot, the women on bullocks or on asses, with all the necessaries of the little household, as well as the houses themselves—a herd of cattle, another of milk-goats, and numbers of young camels running playfully alongside, and sometimes getting between the regular lines of the laden camels. The ground was very rocky and rugged, and

looked bare and desolate in the extreme, the plain being strewn for a while with loose basaltic stones, like the plain of Tághist.

Several high peaks characterize this volcanic region; and having left to our right the peak called Ebárrasa, we encamped, a little before noon, at the northeastern foot of a very conspicuous peak called Teléshera, which had long attracted my attention. We had scarcely chosen our ground when I set out on foot in order to ascend this high mountain, from which I expected to obtain a view over the eastern side of the picturesque mass of the Eghellál; but its ascent proved very difficult, chiefly because I had not exerted my strength much during our long stay in this country. The flanks of the peak, after I had ascended the offshoots, which consisted of sandstone, were most precipitous and abrupt, and covered with loose stones, which gave way under my feet, and often carried me a long way down. The summit consisted of perpendicular trachytic pillars, of quadrangular and almost regular form, 2½ feet in thickness, as if cut by the hand of man, some of them about one hundred feet high, while others had been broken off at greater or less height. It is at least 1500 feet above the bottom of the valley. The view was interesting, although the sky was not clear; I was able to take several angles, but the western flank of the Eghellál, which I was particularly anxious to obtain a sight of, was covered by other heights.

Beyond the branch wadi which surrounds this mountain on the south side there is a ridge ranging to a greater length, and rising from the ground with a very precipitous wall; this was examined by Mr. Overweg, and found to consist likewise of trachyte, interspersed with black basaltic stone and crystals of glassy feldspar. Having attained my purpose, I began my retreat, but found the descent more troublesome than the ascent, particularly as my boots were torn to pieces by the sharp stones; and the fragments giving way under my feet, I fell repeatedly. I was quite exhausted when I reached the tent, but a cup of strong coffee soon restored me. However, I never afterward, on my whole journey, felt strong enough to ascend a mountain of moderate elevation.

Friday, December 13*th.* Starting rather late, we continued through the mountainous region, generally ascending, while a cold wind made our old friend the chief shiver and regard with feelings of envy my thick black bernús, although he had got bernúses enough from us not only to protect him against cold, but us too against any envious feeling for the little which was left us.. Farther on, in several places the granite (which at the bottom of the valley alternates with sandstone) was perfectly disintegrated, and had become like meal. Here the passage narrowed for about an hour, when we obtained a view of a long range stretching out before us, with a considerable cone lying in front of it. Keeping now over rocky ground, then along the bottom of a valley called Tánegat, about half a mile broad, where we passed a well on our right, we at length reached a mountain spur starting off from the ridge on our right, and entered a beautiful broad plain stretching out to the foot of a considerable mountain group, which was capped by a remarkable picturesquely-indented cone called Mári. Here we saw the numerous camels of the salt-caravan grazing in the distance to our left; and after having crossed a small rocky flat, we encamped in the very channel of the torrent, being certain that at this season no such danger as overwhelmed us in the valley E'ghazar was to be feared. A'magay, who was still with us, paid me a visit in the afternoon, and had a cup of coffee; he also came the next morning. Near our encampment were some fine acacia-trees of the species called gáwo, which I shall have to mention repeatedly in my travels.

Saturday, December 14*th.* We started early, but encamped, after a short march of about six miles, on uneven ground intersected by numbers of small ridges. The reason of the halt was, that the whole of the caravan was to come up and to join together; and our old chief here put on his official dress (a yellow bernús of good quality), to show his dignity as leader of such a host of people.

Salt forms the only article conveyed by this caravan. The form of the largest cake is very remarkable; but it must be borne in mind that the salt in Bílma is in a fluid state, and is

formed into this shape by pouring it into a wooden mould. This pedestal or loaf of salt (kántu) is equal to five of the smaller cakes, which are called áserím, and each áserím equals four of the smallest cakes, which are called "fótu." The bags, made of the leaves of the dúm-palm (or the "kábba"), in which these loaves are packed up, are called "tákrufa." But the finest salt is generally in loose grains; and this is the only palatable salt, while the ordinary salt of Bílma is very bitter to the European palate, and spoils every thing; but the former is more than three times the value of the latter. The price paid in Bílma is but two zékkas for three kántus.

In the evening there was "urgí" or "éddil" (playing), and "ráwa" or "adéllul" (dancing), all over the large camp of the salt-caravan, and the drummers or "masugánga" were all vying with each other, when I observed that our drummer, Hassan, who was proud of his talent, and used to call for a little present, was quite outdone by the drummer of that portion of the caravan which was nearest to us, who performed his work with great skill, and caused general enthusiasm among the dancing people. The many lively and merry scenes, ranging over a wide district, itself picturesque, and illuminated by large fires in the dusk of evening, presented a cheerful picture of animated native life, looking at which a traveler might easily forget the weak points discoverable in other phases of life in the desert.

Sunday, December 15th. The general start of the united "aïri," or caravan, took place with great spirit; and a wild, enthusiastic cry, raised over the whole extent of the encampment, answered to the beating of the drums; for, though the Kél-owí are greatly civilized by the influence of the black population, nevertheless they are still "half demons," while the thoroughbred and freeborn Amóshagh (whatever name he may bear, whether Tárki, ba-A'sbenchi, Kindín, or Chapáto) is regarded by all the neighboring tribes, Arabs as well as Africans, as a real demon ("jin"). Notwithstanding all this uproar, we were rather astonished at the small number of camels laden with salt which formed A'nnur's caravan; for they did not exceed two hundred, and their loads in the aggregate would realize in

Kanó, at the very utmost, three thousand dollars, which, if taken as the principal revenue of the chief, seems very little. The whole number of the caravan did not exceed two thousand camels.

However enthusiastically the people had answered to the call of the drums, the loading of the camels took a long time; and the old chief himself had remarkably few people to get ready his train; but the reason probably was that he was obliged to leave as many people behind as possible for the security of the country. When at length we set out, the view which presented itself was really highly exciting; for here a whole nation was in motion, going on its great errand of supplying the wants of other tribes, and bartering for what they stood in need of themselves. All the drums were beating; and one string of camels after the other marched up in martial order, led on by the "mádogu," the most experienced and steadfast among the servants or followers of each chief. It was clear that our last night's encampment had been chosen only on account of its being well protected all around by ridges of rock; for, on setting out today, we had to follow up, in the beginning, a course due west, in order to return into our main direction along the valley. We then gradually began to turn round the very remarkable Mount Mári, which here assumed the figure shown in the sketch.

Further on I saw the people busy in digging up a species of edible bulbous roots called "adíllewan" by the Kél-owí. This, I think, besides the "bába" or "níle" (the *Indigofera endecaphyl-*

la), the first specimens of which we had observed two days ago shooting up unostentatiously among the herbage, was the most evident proof that we had left the region of the true desert, though we had still to cross a very sterile tract.

Having changed our direction from south to southwest, about noon we entered the high road coming directly from A'sodi, but which was, in fact, nothing better than a narrow pathway. Here we were winding through a labyrinth of large, detached projecting blocks, while Mount Mári presented itself in an entirely different shape. Gradually the bottom of the valley be-

came free from blocks, and we were crossing and recrossing the bed of the water-course, when we met a small caravan belonging to my friend the Emgédesi I'dder, who had been to Damerghú to buy corn. Shortly afterward we encamped at the side of the water-course, which is called Adóral, and which joins, further downward, another channel called Wéllek, which runs close along the western range. Here we saw the first specimens of the pendent nests of the weaver bird (*Ploceus Abyssiniacus*).

While I was filling up my journal in the afternoon, I received a visit from Mohammed Býrji, who had this morning left Tintéggana; he informed me that the women and the old men whom we had left there had not returned to Tintéllust, but had gone to Tintághalén. All the population of the other villages in the northern districts of Aïr were likewise retreating southward during the absence of the salt-caravan.

Monday, December 16*th*. On starting this morning we were

glad to find some variety in the vegetation; for, instead of the monotonous talha-trees, which, with some justice, have been called "vegetable mummies,"* the whole valley plain was adorned with beautiful spreading addwa- or tabórak-trees (the *Balanites Ægyptiaca*), the foliage of which often reached down to the very ground, forming a dense canopy of the freshest green. After winding along, and crossing and recrossing the small channel, the path ascended the rocky ground, and we soon got sight of the mountains of Bághzen, looking out from behind the first mountain range, from whose southern end a point called A'nfisék rises to a considerable elevation. This higher level, however, was not bare and naked, but overgrown with the "knotted" grass bú-rékkeba and with the addwa- and gawo-tree, while on our left the broad but nevertheless sharply-marked peak of Mount Mári towered over the whole, and gave to the landscape a peculiar character. At an early hour we encamped between buttresses of scattered blocks shooting out of the plain, which seems to stretch to the very foot of the Bághzen, and to be noted pre-eminently as the Plain, "erárar."

In the afternoon I walked to a considerable distance, first to a hill S.W. from our camp, from which I was able to take several angles, and then to the well. The latter was at a distance of a mile and a half from our tent in a westerly direction, and was carefully walled up with stones; it measured three fathoms and a half to the surface of the water, while the depth of the water itself was at present little less than three fathoms, so that it is evident that there is water here at all seasons. Its name is A'lbes. As, on account of our slow traveling, we had been four days without water, the meeting with a well was rather agreeable to us. Between the well and the foot of the mountain there was a temporary encampment of shepherds, who sent a sheep and a good deal of cheese to the old chief.

Here we remained the two following days, in order to repose

* It is remarkable and significant that the Tawárek employ one and the same name for talha and firewood in general, namely, the word "ésarér;" but it is still more significant that the Kanúri or Bórnu seem to employ the same name, "kindín," for the Tárki and the talha.

from the fatigue of our sham traveling! I went once more all over my Emgédesi collection, and made a present to the servants of the mission of twenty-two zékkas of Bílma dates, which I bought from the people of the caravan; they were all thankful for this little present. I was extremely glad to find that even the Tunisian shushán, when he had to receive orders only from me, behaved much better; and I wrote from his recital a Góber story, which, as being characteristic of the imagination of the natives, and illustrating their ancient pagan worship of the dodó, might perhaps prove of interest even to the general reader. The several divisions of the "aïri" came slowly up; among them we observed the Kél-azanéres, the people of Lúsu, the chief himself having gone on in advance, as I observed above.

Thursday, December 19th. Our heavy caravan at length set out again, the camels having now recovered a little from the trying march over the naked desert which divides the mountainous district of A'sben from the "hénderi-Tedá," the fertile hollow of the Tébu country. It attracted my attention, that the shrubby and thick-leaved "allwot" (the blue *Crucifera* mentioned before) had ceased altogether; even the eternal bú-rékkeba began to be scarce, while only a few solitary trees were scattered about.

While marching over this dreary plain, we noticed some Tébu merchants, natives of Dírki, with only three camels, who had come with the salt-caravan from Bílma, and were going to Kanó; from them we learned that a Tébu caravan had started from Kawár for Bórnu at the time of the 'Aïd el kebír. The example of these solitary travelers, indeed, might perhaps be followed with advantage by Europeans also, in order to avoid the country of the Azkár and the insecure border-districts of the Kél-owí, especially if they chose to stay in the Tébu oasis till they had obtained the protection of one of the great men of this country.

For a little while the plain was adorned with talha-trees; but then it became very rugged, like a rough floor of black basalt, through which wound a narrow path, pressing the whole

caravan into one long string. At length, at half past two o'clock in the afternoon, after having traversed extremely rugged ground, we began to descend from this broad basaltic level, and, having crossed the dry water-ccurse of a winter torrent, en-

tered the valley Telliya, which has a good supply of trees, but very little herbage. A cemetery here gave indication of the occasional or temporary residence of nomadic settlers.

On ascending again from the bottom of the valley to a higher level, and looking backward, we obtained a fine view of Mount Ajúri, at the foot of which lies Chémia, a valley and village celebrated for its date-trees. It was not our fate to see any of those places in A'sben which are distinguished by the presence of this tree—neither the valley just mentioned, nor Iferwán, nor I'r-n-Allem; and a visit to them will form one of the interesting objects of some future traveler in this country. Having kept along the plain for an hour, we encamped at a little distance west from the dry bed of a water-course running from north to south along the eastern foot of a low basaltic ridge, with a fine display of trees, but a scanty one of herbage. I went to ascend the ridge, supposing it to be connected with the Bághzen, but found that it was completely separated from the latter by a depression or hollow quite bare and naked.

This was the best point from whence to obtain a view over the eastern flank of Mount Bághzen, with its deep crevices or ravines, which seemed to separate the mountain mass into several distinct groups; and in the evening I made the sketch of it given above.

However, we had full leisure to contemplate this mountain, which is not distinguished by great elevation, the highest peaks being little more than 2000 feet above the plain;* but it is interesting, as consisting probably of basaltic formation. We staid here longer than we desired, as we did not find an opportunity to penetrate into the glens of the interior, which, from this place, seem excessively barren, but are said to contain some favored and inhabited spots, where even corn is reared. But our companions spoke with timorous exclamations of the numbers of lions which infest these retired mountain passes, and not one of them would offer himself as a companion. The reason of our

* It is scarcely necessary to say that the village Bághzen, reported to be situated on the very highest peak of these mountains, does not exist. There is no village of this name.

longer stay in this place was that our camels had strayed to a very great distance southward, so that they could not be found in the forenoon of the following day. The blame of letting them stray was thrown upon Hassan, whose inferiority as a drummer I had occasion to note above. How he was punished Mr. Richardson has described; and I will only add that the handkerchief which he paid was to be given to the "serkí-n-kárfi"* ("the task-master," properly "the master of the iron" or "of the force"); but the whole affair was rather a piece of pleasantry.

In the morning Mghás, the chief of Téllwa, a fine, sturdy man mounted upon a strong gray horse, passed by, going southward, followed by a long string of camels; and shortly afterward a small caravan of people of Selúfiet, who had bought corn in Damerghú, passed in the opposite direction.

Saturday, December 21st. The weather was clear and cheerful, and the sun was warmer than hitherto. We went on, and approached a district more favored by nature, when, having passed an irregular formation in a state of great decomposition, we reached about ten o'clock the valley Unán, or rather a branch wadi of the chief valley of that name, where dúm-palms began to appear, at first solitary and scattered about, but gradually forming a handsome grove, particularly after the junction with the chief valley, where a thick cluster of verdure, formed by a variety of trees, greeted the eye. There is also a village of the name of Unán lying on the border of the principal valley a little higher up; and wells occur in different spots. But the valley was not merely rich in vegetation—it was the richest, indeed, as yet seen on this road—it was also enlivened by man; and after we had met two I'ghdalén whom I had known in A'gades, we passed a large troop of Ikádmawen, who were busy watering their camels, cattle, and goats at one of the wells. We also saw here the first specimens of stone houses, which characterize the district to which the valley Unán forms the entrance-hall, if I may use the expression. On its western side is an irregular plain, where a division of the salt-caravan lay encamped.

* Kárfi has both meanings, by a metaphor easily to be understood; da-kárfi is "by force."

Proceeding then, after midday we passed by a low white cone on our left, after which the valley, with its variety of vegetation, and animated as it was by numerous herds of goats, made a cheerful impression. Here the remains of stone dwellings became numerous; and further on we passed an entire village consisting of such houses, which, as I was distinctly informed, constituted in former times one of the principal settlements of the Kél-gerés, who were then masters of all the territory as far as the road to A'gades. The whole valley here formed a thick grove of dúm-palms; and stone houses, entire or in ruins, were scattered all about. About three o'clock in the afternoon we left it for an hour, traversing a rocky flat with a low ridge of basalt ranging on our right, when we descended again into the dúm-valley, which had been winding round on the same side, and encamped, at half past four o'clock in the afternoon, in the midst of very wild and rank vegetation, nourished by an immense torrent which occasionally rolls its floods along the channel, and which had left, on the stems of the baggarúwa-trees with which it was lined, evident traces of the depth which it may sometimes attain. The bed of the torrent was thickly overgrown with wild melons.

Although there is no well in the neighborhood, we were to stay here the two following days, in order to give the camels a good feed. A well, called Tánis-n-tánode, lies lower down the valley, but at a considerable distance. The valley itself runs southwestward: by some it is said to join the Erázar-n-Bargót; but this seems scarcely possible. Numerous flocks of wild pigeons passed over our heads the following morning, looking for water. The monotony of the halt was interrupted, in the course of the day, by the arrival of Hámma, who had been to A'fasás, and by that of Astáfidet, the young titular Kél-owí chief residing in A'sodi, among whose companions or followers was a very intelligent and communicative man of the name of El Hasár, who gave me a great deal of interesting information. All the eminences in the neighborhood consist of basaltic formation.

Tuesday, December 24th. We again moved on a little, following the rich valley, which in some places reminded me of the

Upper Nile, the only difference being that here the broad sandy bottom of the water-course takes the place of the fine river in the scenery of Nubia. We made a short halt on the road, in order to supply ourselves with water from the well which I mentioned before. About noon, the fresh fleshy allwot, which had not been observed by us for several days, again appeared, to the great delight of the camels, which like it more than any thing else, and, having been deprived of it for some time, attacked it with the utmost greediness. Two miles and a half farther on, where the valley widened to a sort of irregular plain with several little channels, we encamped; there was a profusion of herbage all around.

It was Christmas eve, but we had nothing to celebrate it with, and we were cast down by the sad news of the appearance of the cholera in Tripoli. This we had learned during our march from a small caravan which had left that place three months previously, without bringing us a single line, or even as much as a greeting. The eternal bitter "túwo" was to be devoured to-day also, as we had no means of adding a little festivity to our repast.

We remained here the two following days, and were entertained on the morning of Christmas day by a performance of Astáfidet's musicians. This was a somewhat cheerful holiday entertainment, although our visitors had not that object in view, but merely plied their talents to obtain a present. There were only two of them, a drummer and a flutist; and though they did not much excel the other virtuosi of the country, whose abilities we had already tested, nevertheless, having regard to the occasion, we were greatly pleased with them. Here I took leave of my best Kél-owí friend, Hámma, a trustworthy man in every respect—except, perhaps, as regards the softer sex—and a cheerful companion, to whom the whole mission, and I in particular, were under great obligations. He, as well as Mohammed Býrji, the youthful grandson of A'nnur, who accompanied him on this occasion, were to return hence with Astáfidet, in order to assist this young titular prince in his arduous task of maintaining order in the country during the absence of the old

chief and the greater part of the male population of the north-eastern districts. They were both cheerful, though they felt some sorrow at parting; but they consoled themselves with the hope of seeing me again one day. But, poor fellows, they were both doomed to fall in the sanguinary struggle which broke out between the Kél-gerés and the Kél-owí in 1854.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BORDER REGION OF THE DESERT.—THE TAGÁMA.

Friday, December 27th. At length we were to exchange our too easy wandering for the rate of real traveling. Early in the morning a consultation was held with the elder men of the Kél-táfidet, who had come from their villages. We then set out, taking leave of the regions behind us, and looking forward with confidence and hope to the unknown or half-known regions before us.

The valley continued to be well clothed with a profusion of herbage, but it was closely hemmed in on both sides; after a march, however, of four miles and a half, it widened again to more than a mile, and began gradually to lose its character of a valley altogether; but even here the allwot was still seen, although of a stunted and dry appearance. We then left the green hollow, which is the valley Bargót, and I thought we should now enter upon the Hammáda or "ténere;" but after a while the valley again approached close on our left. To my disappointment, we encamped even before noon, at the easy northern slope of the rocky ground, where there is a watering-place called Aghálle. The afternoon, however, passed away very pleasantly, as I had a conversation with the old chief, who honored me with a visit, and touched on many points of the highest interest.

Saturday, December 28th. Starting at a tolerably early hour, we ascended the slope; but no sooner had we reached the level

of the plain than we halted, beating the drum until all the different strings of camels had come up; we then proceeded. At first the plain consisted almost exclusively of gravel overgrown with herbage and allwot, with only now and then a rock seen projecting; but gradually it became more pebbly, and was then intersected by a great many low crests of rock consisting chiefly of gneiss. We gradually ascended toward a low ridge called Abadárjen, remarkable as forming in this district the northern border of the elevated sandy plain, which seems to stretch across a great part of the continent, and forms the real transition-land between the rocky wilderness of the desert and the fertile arable zone of Central Africa. This sandy ledge is the real home of the giraffe and of the *Antilope leucoryx*.

Just about noon we entered upon this district, leaving the rocky range at less than a mile on our left, and seeing before us a sandy level broken only now and then by blocks of granite thickly overgrown with the "knotted" grass called bú-rékkeba, and dotted with scattered talha-trees. Two miles farther on we encamped. A very long ear of géro (*Pennisetum typhöideum*), which was broken from a plant growing wild near the border of the path, was the most interesting object met with to-day, while an ostrich egg, though accidentally the very first which we had yet seen on this journey, afforded us more material interest, as it enabled us to indulge our palates with a little tasteful *hors d'œuvre*, which caused us more delight, perhaps, than scientific travelers are strictly justified in deriving from such causes. Our caravan to-day had been joined by Gajére, a faithful servant of A'nnur, who was coming from A'gades, and who, though a stranger at the time, very shortly became closely attached to me, and at present figures among the most agreeable reminiscences of my journey.

Sunday, December 29th. When we started we were surprised at the quantity of hád with which the plain began to be covered. This excellent plant is regarded by the Arab as the most nutritious of all the herbs of the desert, and in the western part of that arid zone it seems to constitute its chief food. Numerous footprints of giraffes were seen, besides those of ga-

zelles and ostriches, and toward the end of the march those of the Welwaiji, the large and beautiful antelope called *leucoryx*, from the skin of which the Tawárek make their large bucklers. Farther on, the plain presented some ups and downs, being at times naked, at others well wooded and overgrown with grass. At length, after a good day's march, we encamped.

To-day we made the acquaintance of another native of Middle Sudán, the name of which plays a very important part in the nomenclature of articles of the daily market in all the towns and villages. This was the magariá (called by the Kanúri "kúsulu"), a middle-sized tree with small leaves of olive-green color, and producing a fruit nearly equal in size to a small cherry, but in other respects more resembling the fruit of the cornel (*Cornus*), and of light-brown color. This fruit, when dried, is pounded and formed into little cakes, which are sold all over Háusa as "túwo-n-magariá," and may be safely eaten in small quantities even by a European, to allay his hunger for a while, till he can obtain something more substantial; for it certainly is not a very solid food, and if eaten in great quantities has a very mawkish taste.

While the cattle and the asses went on already in the dark, the camels were left out during the night to pick up what food they could; but early in the morning, when they were to be brought back, a great many of A'nnur's camels could not be found. Hereupon the old chief himself set his people an example; and galloping to the spot where their traces had been lost, he recovered the camels, which were brought in at an early hour. Meanwhile, however, being informed how difficult it would be to obtain water at the well before us, in the scramble of people which was sure to take place, I arranged with Overweg that while I remained behind with Mohammed and the things, he should go on in advance with the Gatróni and Ibrahím to fill the water-skins; and we afterward had reason to congratulate ourselves on this arrangement, for the well, though spacious and built up with wood, contained at the time but a very moderate supply of muddy water for so large a number of men and beasts. Its name is Terguláwen.

This locality, desolate and bare in the extreme, is considered most dangerous on account of the continual ghazzias of the Awelímmiden and Kél-gerés, who are sure to surprise and carry off the straggling travelers, who, if they would not perish by thirst, must resort to this well. Our whole road from our encampment, for more than seven hours and a half, led over bare, barren sand-hills. The camping-ground was chosen at no great distance beyond the well, in a shallow valley or depression ranging east and west, and bordered by sand-hills on its south side, with a little sprinkling of herbage. The wind, which came down with a cold blast from N.N.E., was so strong that we had great difficulty in pitching the tent.

December 31*st*. Last day of 1850. A cold day and a mountainous country. After we had crossed the sand-hills, there was nothing before us but one flat expanse of sand, mostly bare, and clothed with trees only in favored spots. The most remarkable phenomenon was the appearance of the feathery bristle, the *Pennisetum distichum*, which on the road to A'gades begins much farther northward. Indeed, when we encamped, we had some difficulty in finding a spot free from this nuisance, though of course the strong wind carried the seeds to a great distance. All our enjoyment of the last evening of the old year centred in an extra dish of two ostrich eggs.

January 1*st*, 1851. This morning the condition in which the people composing the caravan crawled out of their berths was most miserable and piteous; and, moreover, nobody thought of starting early, as several camels had been lost. At length, when the intense cold began to abate, and when the animals had been found, every body endeavored to free himself and his clothing from the bristles, which joined each part of his dress to the others like so many needles; but what one succeeded in getting rid of was immediately carried by the strong wind to another, so that all were in every respect peevish when they set out at half past nine o'clock. Nevertheless, the day was to be a very important one to me, and one on which princely favor was to be shown to me in a most marked manner.

I have remarked above that on the day I started for A'gades

the old chief made a present of a bullock to the other members of the mission; but in this present I myself did not participate, and I had not yet received any thing from him. Perhaps he was sensible of this, and wanted to give me likewise a proof of his royal generosity, but I am afraid he was at the same time actuated by feelings of a very different nature. He had several times praised my Turkish jacket, and I had consoled him with a razor or some other trifle; he had avowedly coveted my warm black bernús, and had effected by his frank intimations nothing more than to make me draw my warm clothing closer round my body. In order to bear the fatigue of the journey more easily, he had long ago exchanged the little narrow kígi or méheri-saddle for the broad pack-saddle, with a load of salt, as a secure seat.

He was one of the foremost in his string, while I, mounted upon my Bu-Séfi (who, since the loss of my méheri, had once more become my favorite saddle-horse), was riding outside the caravan, separated from him by several strings of camels. He called me by name; and, on my answering his call, he invited me to come to him. To do this, I had to ride round all the strings. At length I reached him. He began to complain of the intense cold, from which he was suffering so acutely, while I seemed to be so comfortable in my warm clothes; then he asked if the ostrich eggs of yesterday evening had pleased us, whereupon I told him that his people had cheered us greatly by contributing, with their gift, to enable us to celebrate our chief festival. He then put his hand into his knapsack, and drawing forth a little cheese, and lifting it high up, so that all his people might see it, he presented the princely gift to me, with a gracious and condescending air, as a "mágani-n-dári" (a remedy against the cold), words which I, indeed, was not sure whether they were not meant ironically, as an intimation that I had withheld from him the real mágani-n-dári, my black bernús.

We were gladdened when, about noon, the plain became clothed with brushwood, and, after a while, also with bú-rekkeba. Large troops of ostriches were seen—once the whole family, the parents, with several young ones of various ages, all

running in single file one after the other. We encamped at half past three in the afternoon on a spot tolerably free from karéngia, where we observed a great many holes of the fox, the fének, or ñauñáwa (*Megalotis famelicus*), particularly in the neighborhood of ant-hills. There were also the larger holes of the earth-hog (*Orycteropus Æthiopicus*), an animal which never leaves its hole in the daytime, and is rarely seen even by the natives. The holes, which are from fourteen to sixteen inches in diameter, and descend gradually, are generally made with great accuracy.

The following day, the country, during the first part of our march, continued rather bare; but after half past two in the afternoon it became richer in trees and bushes, forming the southern zone of this sandy inland plateau, which admits of pastoral settlements. The elevation of this plain or transition zone seems to be in general about two thousand feet above the level of the sea. We encamped at length in the midst of prickly underwood, and had a good deal of trouble before we could clear a spot for pitching the tent.

Thursday, January 3d. Soon after setting out on our march we met a caravan consisting of twenty oxen laden with corn, and farther on we passed a herd of cattle belonging to the Tagáma—a most cheerful sight to us. We then encamped before ten o'clock a little beyond a village of the same tribe, which, from a neighboring well, bears the name In-asámet. The village consisted of huts exactly of the kind described by Leo; for they were built of mats (*stuore*) erected upon stalks (*frasche*), and covered with hides over a layer of branches, and were very low. Numbers of children and cattle gave to the encampment a lively aspect. The well is rather deep, not less than seventeen fathoms.

We had scarcely encamped when we were visited by the male inhabitants of the village, mounted upon a small, ill-looking breed of horses. They proved to be somewhat troublesome, instigated as they were by curiosity, as well as by their begging propensities; but, in order to learn as much as possible, I thought it better to sacrifice the comfort of my tent, and con-

verse with them. They were generally tall men, and much fairer than the Kél-owí; but in their customs they showed that they had fallen off much from ancient usages, through intercourse with strangers. The women not only made the first advances, but, what is worse, they were offered even by the men—their brethren or husbands. Even those among the men whose behavior was least vile and revolting did not cease urging us to engage with the women, who failed not to present themselves soon afterward. It could scarcely be taken as a joke. Some of the women were immensely fat, particularly in the hinder regions, for which the Tawárek have a peculiar and expressive name—tebúllodén. Their features were very regular and their skin fair. The two most distinguished among them gave their names as Shabó and Támatu, which latter word, though signifying "woman" in general, may nevertheless be also used as a proper name. The wealthier among them were dressed in black túrkedí and the zénne; the poorer in white cotton. The dress of most of the men was also white; but the chief peculiarity of the latter was, that several of them wore their hair hanging down in long tresses. This is a token of their being Anísli-men or Merábetín (holy men), which character they assume, notwithstanding their dissolute manners. They have no school, but pride themselves on having a m'allem appointed at their mesállaje, which must be miserable enough. Having once allowed the people to come into my tent, I could not clear it again the whole day. The names of the more respectable among the men were Kílle, El Khassén, Efárret, Cháy, Rissa, Khándel, and Amaghár (properly "the Elder"). All these people, men and women, brought with them a variety of objects for sale; and I bought from them some dried meat of the welwaiji (*Antilope leucoryx*), which proved to be very fine, as good as beef; others, however, asserted that it was the flesh of the "rákomi-n-dáwa" or giraffe.

Hunting, together with cattle-breeding, is the chief occupation of the Tagáma; and they are expert enough with their little swift horses to catch the large antelope as well as the giraffe. Others engage in the salt-trade, and accompany the Kél-gerés

on their way to Bílma, without, however, following them to Sókoto, where, for the reason which I shall presently explain, they are not now allowed to enter; but they bring their salt to Kanó. In this respect the Tagáma acknowledge, also, in a certain degree, the supremacy of the Sultan of A'gades.

Their slaves were busy in collecting and pounding the seeds of the karéngia, or úzak (*Pennisetum distichum*), which constitutes a great part of their food. Whatever may be got here is procurable only with money; even the water is sold: the water-skin for a zekka of millet; but, of course, grain is here very much cheaper than in Aïr, and even than in A'gades. Altogether, the Tagáma* form at present a very small tribe, able to muster, at the utmost, three hundred spears, but most of them are mounted on horseback. Formerly, however, they were far more numerous, till I'bram, the father of the present chief, undertook, with the assistance of the Kél-gerés, the unfortunate expedition against Sókoto (then governed by Bello), of which Clapperton has given a somewhat exaggerated account.† The country around is said to be greatly infested by lions, which often carry off camels.

Friday, January 4th. Our setting out this morning, after the camels were all laden and the men mounted, was retarded by the arrival of a queen of the desert, a beauty of the first rank, at least as regarded her dimensions. The lady, with really handsome features, was mounted upon a white bullock, which snorted violently under his immense burden. Nevertheless, this luxurious specimen of womankind was sickly, and required the assistance of the tabíb, or "ne-meglán,"‡ a title which Overweg had earned for himself by his doctoring, though his practice was rather of a remarkable kind; for he used generally to treat his patients, not according to the character of their sickness, but ac-

* The Tagáma were said by some of our informants to have come from Jánet: but I was not able to confirm this piece of information. However, I am sure that they belong to a stock settled in these regions long before the Kél-owí. We find them settled on the borders of Negroland in very ancient times. Horneman, from what he heard about them, believed them to be Christians.

† Clapperton and Denham's Travels, vol. ii., p. 107.

‡ The Western Tawárek call the doctor "anéssafar."

cording to the days of the week on which they came. Thus he had one day of calomel, another of Dover's powder, one of Epsom salts, one of magnesia, one of tartar emetic, the two remaining days being devoted to some other medicines; and it, of course, sometimes happened that the man who suffered from diarrhœa got Epsom salts, and he who required opening medicine was blessed with a dose of Dover's powder. Of course, my friend made numerous exceptions to this calendary method of treating disease, whenever time and circumstances allowed him to study more fully the state of a patient. However, in the hurry in which we just then were, he could scarcely make out what the imaginary or real infirmity of this lady was, and I can not say what she got. She was certainly a woman of great authority, as the old chief himself was full of kind regards and deference to her. We were rather astonished that he exchanged here his brown mare for a lean white horse, the owners of which seemed, with good reason, excessively delighted with the bargain.

At length we got off, proceeding toward the land of promise in an almost direct southerly course. After three miles' march, the thick bush "dílu" made its appearance in the denser underwood, and the country became more hilly and full of ant-holes, while in the distance ahead of us, a little to our left, a low range became visible, stretching east and west. Suddenly the ground became a rocky flat, and the whole caravan was thrown into disorder. We did not at first perceive its cause, till we saw, to our great astonishment, that a steep descent by a regular terrace was here formed, at least a hundred feet high, which conducted to a lower level—the first distinct proof that we had passed the Hammáda. The vegetation here was different, and a new plant made its appearance called "ágwau," a middle-sized bush, consisting of a dense cluster of thick branches of very white wood, at present without leaves, the young shoots just coming out; melons also were plentiful here, but they had no taste. The rocky descent only extends to a short distance toward the west, when it breaks off, while on our left it stretched far to the southeast. When we had kept along this plain for a

little more than two miles, we passed, a short distance on our right, a large pond or "tébki" of water, called "Fárak," spreading out in a hollow. I had here a long conversation with my frolicsome friend, Mohammed A'nnur's cousin, who was also going to Sudán; I told him that his uncle seemed to know his people well, and showed his wisdom in not leaving such a wanton youngster as himself behind him. He was, as usual, full of good-humor, and informed me that A'nnur's troop was almost the first, being preceded only by the caravan of Sálah, the chief of Egéllat. He prided himself again on his exploits in the late ghazzia, when they had overtaken the E'fadaye marauders in Tálak and Búgarén. Farther on we passed the well called Fárak, which was now dry, and encamped two miles beyond it in a district thickly overgrown with karéngias.

Saturday, January 5th. We had scarcely started when I observed an entirely new species of plant, which is rather rare in Central Negroland, and which I afterward met in considerable quantities along the north shore of the so-called Niger, between Timbúktu and Tosáye. It is here, in Háusa, called "kumkúmmia," a euphorbia growing from one and a half to two feet in height, and is very poisonous; indeed, hereabouts, as in other districts of Central Africa, it furnishes the chief material with which arrows are poisoned. The principal vegetation consisted of "árza" (a species of laurel) and dílu; and farther on, parasitical plants were seen, but not in a very vigorous state. Altogether the country announced its fertility by its appearance; and a little before noon, when low ranges of hills encompassed the view on both sides, and gave it a more pleasant character, we passed, close on our left, another pastoral settlement of half mat and half leather tents,* enlivened by numerous cattle and flocks, and leaning against a beautiful cluster of most luxuriant trees. But more cheerful still was the aspect of a little lake or tank of considerable extent, and bordered all around with the thickest grove of luxuriant acacias of the kind called "baggarúwa," which formed overhead a dense and most beautiful can-

* I shall describe this sort of tent in the narrative of my stay among the Western Tawárek.

opy. This little lake is called "Gúmrek," and was full of cattle, which came hither to cool themselves in the shade during the hot hours of the day. In this pleasant scenery we marched along, while a good number of horsemen collected around us, and gave us a little trouble; but I liked them far better, with their rough and warlike appearance, than their more civilized and degraded brethren of the day before. At about half past two we encamped on the border of a dry water-course with a white sandy bed, such as we had not seen for a long time. But here we made the acquaintance of a new plant and a new nuisance; this is the "aidó," a grass with a prickly involucrum of black color, and of larger size and stronger prickles than the karéngia (or *Pennisetum distichum*), and more dangerous for naked feet than for the clothes. A new string of camels joined us here, led on by Mohammed A'nnur.

Sunday, January 6th. We were greatly surprised at the appearance of the weather this morning; the sky was covered with thick clouds, and even a light rain fell while the caravan was loading. We felt some fear on account of the salt; but the rain soon ceased. In the course of my travels, principally during my stay in Timbúktu, I had more opportunities of observing these little incidental rain-falls of the cold season, or "the black nights," during January and February; and farther on, as occasion offers, I shall state the result of my observations.

A little more than a mile from our camping-ground, the aspect of the country became greatly changed, and we ascended a hilly country of a very remarkable character, the tops of the hills looking bare, and partly of a deep, partly of a grayish black, like so many mounds of volcanic *débris*, while the openings or hollows were clothed with underwood. Here our companions began already to collect wood, as a provision for the woodless corn-fields of Damerghú; but we were as yet some distance off. Ascending gradually, we reached the highest point at nine o'clock, while close on our right we had a hill rising to greater elevation; and here we obtained an interesting view—just as the sun burst through the clouds—over the hilly country before us, through which a bushy depression ran in a very winding

course. Along this tortuous thread of underwood lay our path. As we were proceeding, Ibrahím, our Furáwi freeman, who was a very good marksman for a black, brought down a large lizard (Draconina) "demmó," or, as the Arabs call it, "wárel," which was sunning itself on a tree; it is regarded by the people as a great delicacy. A little before noon the country seemed to become more open, but only to be covered with rank reeds ten feet high—quite a new sight for us, and a great inconvenience for the camels, which stumbled along over the little hillocks from which the bunches of reeds shot forth. Farther on, the ground (being evidently very marshy during the rainy season) was so greatly torn and rent by deep fissures that the caravan was obliged to separate into two distinct parties. The very pleasant and truly park-like hilly country continued nearly unchanged till one o'clock in the afternoon, when, at a considerable distance on our left, we got sight of the first corn-fields of Damerghú, belonging to the villages of Kulakérki and Banuwélki.

This was certainly an important stage in our journey; for, although we had before seen a few small patches of garden-fields where corn was produced (as in Selúfiet, A'uderas, and other favored places), yet they were on so small a scale as to be incapable of sustaining even a small fraction of the population; but here we had at length reached those fertile regions of Central Africa, which are not only able to sustain their own population, but even to export to foreign countries. My heart gladdened at this sight, and I felt thankful to Providence that our endeavors had been so far crowned with success; for here a more promising field for our labors was opened, which might become of the utmost importance in the future history of mankind.

We soon after saw another village, which several of our companions named Olalówa, and which may indeed be so called, although I thought at the time they applied to it the name of the more famous place farther on, with which they were acquainted; and I afterward convinced myself that such was really the case. The country became open and level, the whole ground being split and rent by fissures. While I was indulging

in pleasing reveries of new discoveries and successful return, I was suddenly startled by three horsemen riding up to me and saluting me with a "Lá ílah ilá Allah." It was Dan I'bra (or I'bram, the "son of Ibrahím"), the famous and dreaded chief of the Tamizgída,* whom the ruler of Tintéllust himself in former times had not been able to subdue, but had been obliged to pay him a sort of small tribute or transit-money, in order to secure the unmolested passage of his caravans on their way to Sudán. The warlike chief had put on all his finery, wearing a handsome blue bernús, with gold embroidery, over a rich Sudán tobe, and was tolerably well mounted. I answered his salute, swearing by Allah that I knew Allah better than he himself, when he became more friendly, and exchanged with me a few phrases, asking me what we wanted to see in this country. He then went to take his turn with Mr. Richardson. I plainly saw that if we had not been accompanied by A'nnur himself, and almost all our luggage sent on in advance, we should have had here much more serious colloquies.

After having ascended a little from the lower ground, where evidently, during the rains, a large sheet of water collects, and having left on our right a little village surrounded by stubble-fields, we passed along the western foot of the gently sloping ground on whose summit lies the village ("úngwa") Sámmit. It was past four o'clock in the afternoon when we encamped upon an open stubble-field, and we were greatly cheered at observing here the first specimen of industry in a good sense—for of industry in a bad sense the Tagáma had already given us some proof. As soon as we were dismounted, two muscular blacks, girded with leather aprons round their loins, came bounding forward, and in an instant cleared the whole open space around us, while in a few minutes several people, male and female, followed, offering a variety of things for sale, such as millet, beans (of two sorts), and those cakes called dodówa, which were duly

* This name means "the mosque;" and the tribe, apparently, has formerly been settled somewhere in a town. By the Arabs it is regarded as greatly Arabicized, and is even called 'A'raba. We shall meet another tribe of the same name in the West.

appreciated by the late Captain Clapperton for the excellent soup made of them. Of their preparation I shall speak when we meet the first tree of that species, the dorówa—the name of the cake and that of the tree being distinguished by the change of a consonant. The cakes obtained here, however, as I afterward learned, were of a most inferior and spurious character—of that kind called "dodówa-n-bósso" in Háusa, and in some districts "yákwa." We felt here the benefit of civilization in a most palpable way, by getting most excellent chicken-broth for our supper. Our servants, indeed, were cooking the whole night.

Monday, January 7th. There were again a few drops of rain in the morning. Soon after starting we were greeted by the aspect of a few green kitchen-gardens, while we were still gradually ascending. On reaching the highest level, we obtained a sight of the mountains of Damerghú ("dúwatsu n Damerghú" as they are called), a low range stretching parallel with the road toward the east, while ahead of us and westward the country was entirely open, resembling one unbroken stubble-field. Having crossed a hollow with a dry pond and some trees, we had at about eight o'clock a village close on our right, where for the first time I saw that peculiar style of architecture which, with some more or less important varieties, extends through the whole of Central Africa.

These huts, in as far as they are generally erected entirely with the stalks of the Indian corn, almost without any other support except that derived from the feeble branches of the *Asclepias gigantea*, certainly do not possess the solidity of the huts of the villages of A'sben, which are supported by a strong frame-work of branches and young trees; but they greatly surpass them in cleanliness on account of the large available supply of the light material of which they are built. It is, however, to be remarked that the inhabitants of this district depend in a great measure for their fuel too upon the stalks of the Indian corn. The huts in general are lower than those in A'sben, and are distinguished from them entirely by the curved top of the thatched roof, which sustains the whole. In examining

these structures, one can not but feel surprised at the great similarity which they bear to the huts of the aboriginal inhabitants of Latium, such as they are described by Vitruvius and other authors, and represented occasionally on terra cotta utensils, while the name in the Bórnu or Kanúri language, "kósi," bears a remarkable resemblance to the Latin name "casa," however accidental it may be. It is still more remarkable that a similar name, "kúde," is given to a cottage in the Tamil and other Asiatic languages.

More remarkable and peculiar than the huts, and equally new and interesting to us as the most evident symptom of the great productiveness of this country, were the little stacks of corn scattered among the huts, and in reality consisting of nothing but an enormous basket made of reeds and placed upon a scaffold of thick pieces of wood about two feet high, in order to protect the corn against the "kúsu" and the "gará" (the mouse and the ant), and covered over on the top with a thatched roof like that of the huts.* Of these little corn-stacks we shall find some most interesting architectural varieties in the course of our travels. The "gará," or white ant (*Termes fatalis*), is here the greatest nuisance, being most destructive to the corn as well as to all softer kinds of house-furniture, or rather to the houses themselves. Every possible precaution must be taken against it. The "kúsu," or mouse, abounds here in great numbers, and of several species: particularly frequent is the jerbóa (*dipus*), which for the traveler certainly forms a very pleasant object to look at as it jumps about on the fields, but not so to the native who is anxious about his corn.

While reflecting on the feeble resistance which this kind of architecture must necessarily offer in case of conflagration, particularly as water is at so great a distance, I perceived, almost opposite to this little hamlet, a larger one called Mája, on the other side of the road, and shaded by some thorn-trees. From both villages the people came forth to offer cheese and Indian corn for sale. They differed widely from the fanatical people among whom we had been traveling; most of them were pagans

* A representation of such a stack of corn is given a little farther on.

and slaves. Their dress was mean and scanty; this, of course, is an expensive article in a country where no cotton is produced, and where articles of dress can only be obtained in exchange for the produce of the country. On a field near the path the Guinea-corn was still lying unthreshed, though the harvest had been collected two months before. The threshing is done with long poles. The whole of Damerghú produces no durra or sorghum, but only millet or *Pennisetum typhoïdeum*, and all, as far as I know, of the white species.

Further on, the stubble-fields were pleasantly interrupted by a little pasture-ground, where we saw a tolerably large herd of cattle. Then followed a tract of country entirely covered with the monotonous *Asclepias gigantea*, which at present is useful only as affording materials for the framework of the thatched roofs, or for fences. It is worthless for fuel, although the pith is employed as tinder. The milky juice (which at present is used by the pagan natives, as far as I know, only to ferment their gíya, and which greatly annoys the traveler in crossing the fields, as it produces spots on the clothes, and even injures the hair of the horses) might become an important article of trade. The cattle, at least in districts where they have not good pasturage, feed on the leaves of the asclepias.

We were gradually ascending, and reached at about a quarter past ten o'clock the summit of a rising ground, the soil of which consisted of red clay. Altogether it was an undulating country, appearing rather monotonous from its almost total want of trees, but nevertheless of the highest interest to one just arrived from the arid regions of the north.

Having passed several detached farms, which left a very agreeable impression of security and peacefulness, we came upon a group of wells, some dry, but others well filled, where, besides cattle, a good many horses were led to water—a cheerful and to us quite a novel sight; many more were seen grazing around on the small patches of pasture-ground which interrupted the stubble-fields, and some of them were in splendid condition—strong and well-fed, and with fine sleek coats; all of them were of brown color. But there was another object which attracted

our attention: the trough at the well was formed of a tortoise-shell of more than two feet in length; and, on inquiry, we learned that this animal, of a large size, is not at all rare in this district. It was already mentioned, as common in these regions, by the famous Andalusian geographer El Bekri.

Villages, stubble-fields, tracts covered with tunfáfiia (the *Asclepias*), detached farms, herds of cattle and troops of horses tranquilly grazing, succeeded each other, while the country continued undulating, and was now and then intersected by the dry bed of a water-course. Having passed two divisions of the aïr, or aïri, which had preceded us, and had encamped near some villages, we obtained quite a new sight—a large quadrangular place called Dam-mágaji (properly Dan Mágaji, "the son of the lieutenant," after whom it is called), surrounded with a clay wall, spreading out at a short distance on our left, while in the distance before us, in the direction of Zinder, a high cone called Zozáwa became visible. Leaving a village of considerable size on our right, at a quarter to three o'clock we reached a small hamlet, from which numbers of people were hurrying forward, saluting us in a friendly and cheerful manner, and informing us that this was Tágelel, the old chief's property. We now saw that the village consisted of two distinct groups, separated from each other by a cluster of four or five tsámias or tamarind-trees —the first poor specimens of this magnificent tree, which is the greatest ornament of Negroland.

Our camping-ground was at first somewhat uncomfortable and troublesome, it being absolutely necessary to take all possible precautions against the dreadful little foe that infests the ground wherever there is arable land in Sudán—the white ant; but we gradually succeeded in making ourselves at home and comfortable for the next day's halt.

The greatest part of the following day was spent in receiving visits. The first of these was interesting, although its interest was diminished by the length to which it was protracted. The visitor was a gallant freeborn Ikázkezan, of a fine though not tall figure, regular, well-marked features, and fair complexion, which at once bespoke his noble birth; he was clad in a very

good red bernús, of the value of 70,000 kurdí in Kanó, and altogether was extremely neatly and well dressed. He came first on horseback with two companions on camels, but soon sent his horse and companions away, and squatted down in my tent, apparently for a somewhat long talk with me; and he remained with me for full three hours. But he was personally interesting, and a very fine specimen of his tribe; and the interest attaching to his person was greatly enhanced by his having accompanied the expedition against the Welád Slimán, which none of our other friends the Kél-owí had done. On this account I was greatly pleased to find that his statements confirmed and corroborated the general reports which we had heard before. He was all admiration at the large fortification which, as soon as they heard that the Tawárek intended an expedition against them, the Arabs had constructed at Késkáwa, on the shore of Lake Tsád (carrying trees of immense size from a great distance), and where they had remained for two months awaiting the arrival of their enraged foe. He expressed his opinion that nothing but the Great God himself could have induced them to leave at length such a secure retreat and impregnable stronghold, by crazing their wits and confounding their understandings. I also learned that these daring vagabonds had not contented themselves with taking away all the camels of the Kél-owí that came to Bílma for salt, but, crossing that most desolate tract which separates Kawár or Hénderi Tedá (the Tébu country) from Aïr, pursued the former as far as Agwáu.

At the time I conversed with my Ikázkezan friend about this subject I was not yet aware how soon I was to try my fortune with the shattered remains of that Arab horde, although its fate had formed an object of the highest interest to the expedition from the beginning. As for ourselves, my visitor was perfectly well acquainted with the whole history of our proceedings; and he was persuaded that, out of any material, we were able to make what we liked, but especially fine bernúses—an opinion which gave rise to some amusing conversation between us.

This interesting visitor was succeeded by a great many tiresome people, so that I was heartily glad when Overweg, who

had made a little excursion to a great pond of stagnant water at the foot of the hill of Farára, the residence of Mákita, returned, and, lying outside the little shed of tanned skins, which was spread over his luggage, drew the crowd away from my tent. Overweg, as well as Ibrahím, who had accompanied him, had shot several ducks, which afforded us a good supper, and made us support with some degree of patience the trying spectacle of a long procession of men and women, laden with eatables, passing by us in the evening toward the camping-ground of the chief, while not a single dish found its way to us; and though we informed them that they were missing their way, they would not understand the hint, and answered us with a smile. Many severe remarks on the niggardliness of the old chief were that evening made round our fire. While music, dancing, and merriment were going on in the village, a solitary "maimólo" found his way to us, to console the three forsaken travelers from a foreign land by extolling them to the skies, and representing them as special ministers of the Almighty.

Wednesday, January 8th. To-day I began a list of the principal towns and villages of Damerghú, which I shall now give as it was corrected and completed by my subsequent inquiries; but first I shall make a few general observations.

Aïr, or rather A'sben, as we have seen above, was originally inhabited by the Góber race—that is to say, the most noble and original stock of what is now, by the natives themselves, called the Háusa nation; but the boundaries of A'sben appear not to have originally included the district of Damerghú, as not even those of Aïr do at the present day, Damerghú being considered as an outlying province, and the granary of Aïr. On the contrary, the name of Damerghú (which is formed of the same root as the names Dawerghú, Gamerghú, and others, all lying round Bórnu proper) seems to show that the country to which it applied belonged to the Kanúri race, who are, in truth, its chief occupants even at the present day, the Bórnu population being far more numerous than the Hausa; and though a great many of them are at present reduced to a servile condition, they are not imported slaves, as Mr. Richardson thought,

but most of them are serfs or prædial slaves, the original inhabitants of the country. It is true that a great many of the names of the villages in Damerghú belong to the Háusa language, but these I conceive to be of a former date. The district extends for about sixty miles in length and forty in breadth. It is altogether an undulating country of very fertile soil, capable of maintaining the densest population, and was in former times certainly far more thickly inhabited than at present. The bloody wars carried on between the Bórnu king 'Ali 'Omármi on the one side, and the Sultan of A'gades and the Tawárek of Aïr on the other, must have greatly depopulated these border districts.

In giving a list of the principal villages of this region, I shall first mention five places which owe their celebrity and importance, not to their size or the number of their inhabitants, but rather to their political rank, being the temporary residences of the chiefs.

I name first Kúla-n-kérki, not the village mentioned above as being seen in the distance, but another place half a day's journey ("wúëni," as the Háusa people say) east from Tágelel, of considerable size, and the residence of the chief Músa, who may with some truth be called master of the soil of Damerghú, and is entitled serkí-n-Damerghú in the same sense in which Mazáwaji was formerly called serkí-n-A'sben; and to him all the inhabitants of the district, with the sole exception of the people of the three other chiefs, have to do homage and present offerings.

Olalówa, about three miles or three miles and a half S.W. of Tágelel, is rather smaller than Kúla-n-kérki. It is the residence of Mazáwaji, a man of the same family as A'nnur, who, till a short time before our arrival in Aïr, was "amanókal-n-Kél-owí," residing in A'sodi, in the place of Astáfidet. Though he has left Aïr voluntarily, he still retains the title "serkí-n-Kél-owí," and is a friendly and benevolent old man. Olalówa has a market-place provided with rúnfona or rúnfas (sheds), where a market is held every Sunday; but it is not well attended by the inhabitants of the other places, owing to the fear

entertained of Mazáwaji's slaves, who seem (mild as their master is) to be disposed to violence.

Farára, the residence of Mákita, or I'mkiten, the man who played the chief part during the interregnum, or, rather, the reign of anarchy in A'sben, before the installation of 'Abd el Káder. It is situated about two miles from Tágelel, on the west side of the road which we were to take, on the top of a hill, at the foot of which is a very extensive lagoon of water, from which the inhabitants of Tágelel also, and of many surrounding villages, draw their supply.

Tágelel, the residence of A'nnur, although of small size (the two groups together containing scarcely more than a hundred and twenty cottages), is nevertheless of great political importance in all the relations of this distracted country.

Here also I will mention Dankámsa, the residence of an influential man of the name of U'mma, which in a certain respect enjoys the same rank as the four above-named villages.*

I will also add in this place the little which I was able to learn about the mixed settlements of Tawárek and black natives between Damerghú and Múniyo. As these places are the chief

* Besides these I learned the names of the following places of Damerghú: Nimináka, Gómtu, Sabón-garí, Dágabi, Dagábitáng, Bírji-n-bága; Kúfkúf (called Kobkob by Mr. Richardson in the itinerary which, on his first journey to Ghát, he forwarded to government[a]), in the W., with a lake of very great dimensions: Babá-n-bírni, a place which I think in former times has been the chief town of the district; Kuyáwa, Da-n-kúmbu, Da-n-gérki, Markè (a very common name in Central Sudán); Zozáwa, at the foot of the high cone of the same name mentioned above; Lekári, also S.; Dammágaji, the place mentioned above; Ngól-mata, N.; Ngól-ganó, Ngól-kalé, Banwélki, Gagáwa, Karíkau, Keshír-keshír, Dammokochi, Nakéfadáng, Damméle, Guyé-guyé, Kabíwa, Fókeni, Gámakay, Burúru, Gángará, Tágelel-ta-Dágabi (different from A'nnur's residence); Maryámatángh, Kusúmmetángh (both these places are Tawárek settlements); Maizáki, Malemrí. Malenkáderi (prop. M'allem Káderi), Chíririm, Esúwi, Músherí, Músajá, Aikáuri, Addankólle, Jémagu-Gomaigéne, Lamá, Hámedan, Karáza, Alkúre, Dantánka, Agwá, Makáraří, Kasallíya, Fárag, Gámaran, Ungwa Sámmit, Yesíyu-Négdar, Chílim-potúk (N. of Kulankérki), Ginnári, Golmaija, Kúnkuré (the tortoise), Báya-n-Dúchi (a village so called on account of its being situate behind a hillock or rocky eminence, and the birth-place of the chief Músa), Dakári, Majá, Gílmirám, Maihánkuba.

[a] *b*, *p*, and *f* (or rather *ph*, *'p*) are frequently interchanged in all the dialects of the Central African languages.

centres whence proceed the predatory excursions which are carried on continually against the northern districts of Bórnu, information with regard to them is not easily obtained. The chief among them is the principality of Alákkos or Elákwas,* about three (long) days N.E. from Zínder and two from Gúre, the present residence of Muniyóma. The ruling class in this sequestered haunt of robbers and freebooters seems to belong to the tribe of the Tagáma; and the name of the present chief is Abu-Bakr, who can lead into the field perhaps two hundred horsemen. The chief place bears the same name as the whole principality; and besides it there are but a few small places, among which I learned the name of Dáucha. Alákkos is celebrated among the hungry inhabitants of the desert on account of its grain; and in the desert-song, the verse which celebrates the horse of Tawát is followed by another one celebrating the grain of Alákkos, "tádak Elákwas."

Quite apart seems to be a place called Gáyim, which is governed by a chief called Kámmedán; and I know not whether another place called Kárbo be comprised in the same principality or not. These are the great haunts of the freebooters, who infest the border districts from Damerghú to the very heart of Kánem.

Thursday, January 9th. This was the great market-day in Tágelel, on which account our departure was put off till the following day; but the market did not become thronged until a late hour. I went there in the afternoon. The market-place, which was about 800 yards distant from our encampment, toward the west, upon a small hilly eminence, was provided with several sheds or rúnfas. The articles laid out for sale consisted of cotton (which was imported), tobacco, ostrich eggs, cheese, mats, ropes, nets, earthenware pots, gúras (or drinking-vessels made of the *Cucurbita ovifera* and *C. lagenaria*) and kórios (or vessels made of a fine sort of reed, for containing fluids, especially milk); besides these there were a tolerable supply of vegetables, and two oxen, for sale. The buyers numbered about a hundred.

* There can scarcely be any doubt that this place has some connection with the tribe of Ilasgwas, mentioned by Corippus.

In the afternoon two magozáwa, or pagans, in a wild and fanciful attire (the dry leaves of Indian corn or sorghum hanging down from their barbarous head-dress and from the leather apron, which was girt round their loins and richly ornamented with shells and bits of colored cloth), danced in front of our tents the "devil's dance"—a performance of great interest in regard to the ancient pagan customs of these countries, and to which I may have occasion to revert when I speak about Dodó, or the Evil Spirit, and the representation of the souls of the dead.

Tágelel was a very important point for the proceedings of the mission on several accounts. For here we had reached the lands where travelers are able to proceed singly on their way; and here Overweg and I were to part from Mr. Richardson, on account of the low state of our finances, in order to try what each of us might be able to accomplish single-handed and without ostentation till new supplies should arrive from home. Here, therefore, the first section of my narrative will most appropriately terminate.

CHAPTER XXII.

SEPARATION OF THE TRAVELERS.—THE BORDER DISTRICTS OF THE INDEPENDENT PAGAN CONFEDERATION.—TASÁWA.

Friday, January 10th, 1851. The important day had arrived when we were to separate not only from each other, but also from the old chief A'nnur, upon whom our fortunes had been dependent for so long a period. Having concealed his real intentions till the very last moment, he at length, with seeming reluctance, pretended that he was going first to Zínder. He confided me, therefore, to the care of his brother Elaiji, a most amiable old man, only a year younger than himself, but of a very different character, who was to take the lead of the salt-caravan to Kanó; and he promised me that I should arrive there in safety.

I had been so fortunate as to secure for myself, as far as that

place, the services of Gajére, who was settled in Tágelel, where he was regarded as A'nnur's chief slave or overseer ("babá-n-báwa"). This man I hired, together with a mare of his, for myself, and a very fine pack-ox for that part of my luggage which my faithful camel, the Bu-Séfi, was unable to carry. A'nnur, I must say, behaved excellently toward me in this matter; for, having called me and Gajére into his presence, he presented his trusty servant, before all the people, with a red bernús on my account, enjoining him in the strictest terms to see me safe to Kanó.

And so I separated from our worthy old friend with deep and sincere regret. He was a most interesting specimen of an able politician and a peaceful ruler in the midst of wild, lawless hordes; and I must do him the justice of declaring that he behaved, on the whole, exceedingly well toward us. I can not avoid expressing the sorrow I afterward felt on account of the step which Mr. Richardson thought himself justified in taking as soon as he had passed from the hands of A'nnur into those of the authorities of Bórnu, viz., to urge the sheikh of that country to claim restitution from the former, not only for the value of the things taken from us by the bordering tribes of the desert, but even of part of the sum which we had paid to A'nnur himself. Such conduct, it appeared to me, was not only impolitic, but unfair. It was impolitic, because the claim could be of no avail, and would only serve to alienate a man from us whom we had succeeded in making our friend; and it was unfair, for, although the sum which we had given to the chief was rather large in proportion to our limited means, we were not compelled to pay it, but were simply given to understand that, if we wanted the chief himself to accompany us, we must contribute so much. I became fully aware of the unfavorable effect which Mr. Richardson's proceedings in this respect produced on the occasion of a visit which I paid the old chief in the beginning of the year 1853, when passing through Zínder on my way to Timbúktu. He then mentioned the circumstance with much feeling, and asked me if, judging from his whole behavior toward us, he had deserved to be treated as a robber.

But to return to Tágelel. When I shook hands with the "sófo" he was sitting, like a patriarch of old, in the midst of his slaves and free men, male and female, and was dividing among them presents, such as shawls and turkedies, but principally painted arm-rings of clay, imported from Egypt, and of which the women of these districts are passionately fond. Mr. Richardson being ready to start, I took a hearty farewell of him, fixing our next place of meeting in Kúkawa, about the first of April. He was tolerably well at the time, although he had shown evident symptoms of being greatly affected by the change from the fine fresh air of the mountainous district of Aïr to the sultry climate of the fertile lands of Negroland; and he was quite incapable of bearing the heat of the sun, for which reason he always carried an umbrella, instead of accustoming himself to it by degrees. There was some sinister foreboding in the circumstance that I did not feel sufficient confidence to intrust to his care a parcel for Europe. I had sealed it expressly that he might take it with him to Kúkawa, and send it off from that place with his own dispatches immediately after his arrival; but at the moment of parting I preferred taking it myself to Kanó. All my best friends among the Kél-owí were also going to Zínder, in order, as they said, to accompany their master, although only a small part of the salt-caravan followed that route. Overweg and I remained together for two or three days longer.

I felt happy in the extreme when I found myself once more on horseback, however deficient in beauty my little mare might be; for few energetic Europeans, I think, will relish traveling for any length of time on camel's back, as they are far too dependent on the caprice of the animal. We set out at half past seven o'clock, and soon passed on our right a village, and then a second one, which I think was Dákari, where a noble lady of handsome figure, and well mounted upon a bullock, joined the caravan. She was seated in a most comfortable large chair, which was fastened on the bullock's back. We afterward passed on our right the town of Olalówa, situated on a low range of hills. In the lower plain into which we next descended I observed the first regular ant-hill. Small groups of corn-stacks,

or rumbús, farther on, dotted a depression or hollow, which was encompassed on both sides with gently sloping hills. Here I had to leave the path of the caravan with my new companion Gajére, who was riding the bullock, in order to water our two beasts, a duty which now demanded our chief attention every day.

At length we reached the watering-place of Gílmirám, consisting of a group of not less than twenty wells, but all nearly dry. The district of Damerghú must sometimes suffer greatly from drought. The horses and cattle of the village were just coming to be watered; what time and pains it must take to satisfy a whole herd, when we were scarcely able to water our two animals! Passing along through thick underwood, where the "kálbo," with its large dry leaves of olive hue, and its long red pods similar to those of the kharúb-tree, but much larger, predominated almost exclusively, and leaving the village Maihánkuba on our right, we at last overtook the caravan; for the A'sbenáwa pack-oxen are capable of carrying heavy loads at a very expeditious pace, and, in this respect, leave far behind them the pack-oxen of the fertile regions of Negroland. We now kept along through the woody region, where the tree "góshi," with an edible fruit, was most frequent. We encamped in a thickly-wooded hollow, when my sociable companion Gajére, as well by the care he took of our evening fire (which he arranged in the most scientific way) as by the information he gave me with regard to the routes leading from Zínder to Kanó, contributed greatly to the comfort and cheerfulness of our bivouac. I first learned from him that there are four different routes from Zínder to Kanó—one route, the westernmost, passing by Daura; the second, passing by Kazáure; the third, by Garú-n-Gedúnia; the fourth, by Gúmmel (or, as he pronounced it, Gúmiel*), gari-n-serki-n-Da-n-Tanóma, this being the easternmost and longest route. Gajére himself was only acquainted with the third route, the stations of which are as follows:

* This same variation is to be observed in the name Marádi, which many people pronounce Mariyádi.

Starting from Zínder, you sleep the first night in Gógo, the second in Mokókia, the third in Zólunzólun, the fourth in Magáriá, the fifth in Túnfushí, the sixth in Garú-n-Gedúnia, from whence it is three days' journey to Kanó.

Saturday, January 11th. My people, Gajére, and myself started considerably in advance of the caravan, in order to water the animals at our leisure, and fill the water-skins. It was a beautiful morning, and our march a most pleasant one; a tall sort of grass, called "gámba," covered the whole ground. Thus we went on cheerfully, passing by a well at present dry, situated in a small hollow, and surrounded with fine trees which were enlivened by numbers of Guinea-fowl and wild pigeons. Beyond this spot the country became more open, and about five miles from the well we reached the pond, or "tébki-n-rúwa Kúdura," close on the right of our path. It was already partly dried up, and the water had quite a milky color from the nature of the ground, which consists of a whitish clay; but during the rainy season, and for some time afterward, when all the trees which surround it in its dry state stand in the midst of the water, it is of considerable size. There are a great many kálbo-trees here. We also met a small troop of men very characteristic of the country we had entered, being wanton in behavior and light in dress, having nothing on but short skirts, the color of which had once been dark blue, and diminutive straw hats, while all their luggage consisted of a small leathern bag with pounded "géro" or millet, some gourd bottles to contain the fura, besides two or three drinking-vessels. One of them, an exceedingly tall fellow, rode a horse scarcely able to carry him, though the cavalier was almost as lean as his Rosinante. Soon afterward the pond became enlivened by the arrival of a caravan of pack-oxen, every thing indicating that we had reached a region where intercourse was easy and continuous.

We remained here nearly two hours, till the "aïri" came up, when we joined it, and soon discovered the reason of their being so long; for in the thick underwood the long strings of camels could not proceed fast, and the stoppages were frequent. We then met another small caravan. At a quarter past four in the

afternoon we encamped in a locality called Amsúsu, in the midst of the forest. We were busy pitching the tent when a body of about sixteen horsemen came up, all dressed in the Tawárek fashion, but plainly indicating their intermixture with the Háusa people by their less muscular frame, and by the variety of their dress; and, in fact, they all belonged to that curious mulatto tribe called Búzu (*pl.* Búzawe). They were going on a "yáki," but whether against the Awelímmiden or the Féllani I could not learn at the time; the latter, however, proved to be the case.

The earth hereabouts was filled with a peculiar kind of small worms, which greatly annoyed any person lying on the bare ground, so that I was very fortunate in having my "gadó" with me. A bedstead of some kind is a most necessary piece of furniture for an African traveler, as I have already remarked on a previous occasion; but it should be of a lighter description than my heavy boards, which, notwithstanding their thickness, were soon split, and at length smashed to pieces, in the thick forests through which we often had to pass. Our bivouac in the evening round our fire was exceedingly agreeable, the staid and grave demeanor of my burly and energetic companion imposing even upon the frivolous Mohammed, who at this time behaved much better than usual. Gajére informed me that the direct western road from here to Tasáwa passed by the village Gárari, the pond U'rafa, the well Jíga, and by Birni-n-Tázin, while we were to follow an eastern road. Not far from our encampment, eastward, was a swamp named Tágelel.

Sunday, January 12th. Several camels were missing in the morning, as was, indeed, very natural in a country like this, thickly covered with trees and underwood. Soon, however, a tremendously shrill cry, passing from troop to troop, and producing altogether a most startling effect, announced that the animals had been found; and a most interesting and lively scene ensued, each party, scattered as the caravan was through the forest, beginning to load their camels on any narrow, open space at hand. The sky was thickly overcast, and the sun did not break forth till after we had gone some three or four miles.

We passed a beautiful tamarind, or tamarind-tree, which was, I think, the first full-grown tree of this species we had seen, those in Tágelel being mere dwarfs. Having descended a little, we passed at eleven o'clock a small hamlet or farming-village called Kanye-n-Shaki: and I afterward observed the first tulip-tree, splendidly covered with its beautiful flower just open in all the natural finery of its colors, while not a single leaf adorned the tree. I think this was the first tree of the kind we had passed on our road, although Overweg (whose attention I drew to it) asserted that he had seen specimens of it the day before; nevertheless, I doubt their having escaped my observation, as I took the greatest interest in noting down accurately where every new species of plant first appeared. At four o'clock in the afternoon we saw the first cotton-fields, which alternated with the corn-fields most agreeably. The former are certainly the greatest and most permanent ornament of any landscape in these regions, the plant being in leaf at almost every season of the year, and partly even in a state of fructification; but a field of full-grown cotton-plants, in good order, is very rarely met with in these countries, as they are left generally in a wild state, overgrown with all sorts of rank grass. A little beyond these fields we pitched our tent.

Monday, January 13th. We started at rather a late hour, our road being crossed by a number of small paths which led to watering-places; and we were soon surrounded by a great many women from a neighboring village called Baíbay, offering for sale, to the people of the caravan, "godjía," or ground-nuts, and "dákkwa," a sort of dry paste made of pounded Guinea-corn (*Pennisetum*), with dates and an enormous quantity of pepper. This is the meaning of dákkwa in these districts; it is, however, elsewhere used as a general term signifying only paste, and is often employed to denote a very palatable sort of sweetmeat made of pounded rice, butter, and honey. We then passed on our left the fields of the village, those near the road being well and carefully fenced, and lying around the well, where half the inhabitants of the place were assembled to draw water, which required no small pains, the depth of the well exceeding twenty

fathoms. Attempting to water the horse, I found that the water was excessively warm; unfortunately, I had not got my thermometer with me, but resolved to be more careful in future. On passing the village, we were struck by the neatness with which it was fenced on this side; and I afterward learned by experience what a beautiful and comfortable dwelling may be arranged with no other material than reeds and corn-stalks. The population of these villages consists of a mixture of Mohammedans and pagans; but I think the majority of the inhabitants are Mohammedans.

After a short interval of wooded country, we passed a village of the name of Chirák, with another busy scene round the well. In many districts in Central Africa, the labor of drawing water, for a portion of the year, is so heavy that it occupies the greater part of the inhabitants half the day; but, fortunately, at this season, with the exception of weaving a little cotton, they have no other employment, while, during the season when agricultural labors are going on, water is to be found every where, and the wells are not used at all. Búzawe are scattered every where hereabouts, and infuse into the population a good deal of Berber blood. Very pure Háusa is spoken.

It was near Chirák that Overweg, who had determined to go directly to Tasáwa, in order to commence his intended excursion to Góber and Marádi, separated from me. This was, indeed, quite a gallant commencement of his undertaking, as he had none of A'nnur's people with him, and, besides Ibrahím and the useful, snake-like Amánkay (who had recovered from his Guinea-worm), his only companion was a Tébu who had long been settled in A'sben, and whom he had engaged for the length of his intended trip. At that time he had still the firm intention to go to Kúkawa by way of Kanó, and begged me to leave his things there. He was in excellent health, and full of an enthusiastic desire to devote himself to the study of the new world which opened before us; and we parted with a hearty wish for each other's success in our different quarters before we were to meet again in the capital of Bórnu, for we did not then know that we should have an interview in Tasáwa.

I now went on alone, but felt not at all depressed by solitude, as I had been accustomed from my youth to wander about by myself among strange people. I felt disposed, indeed, to enter into a closer connection with my black friend Gajére, who was very communicative, but oftentimes rather rude, and unable to refrain from occasionally mocking the stranger who wanted to know every thing, and would not acknowledge Mohammed in all his prophetic glory. He called my attention to several new kinds of trees while we were passing the two villages Bagángaré and Tangónda. These were the "baushi," the "karámmia," and the "gónda," the last being identical with the *Carica papaya*, and rather rare in the northern parts of Negroland, but very common in the country between Kátsena and Núpe, and scattered in single specimens over all the country from Kanó and Gújeba southward to the River Bénuwé; but at that time I was ignorant that it bore a splendid fruit, with which I first became acquainted in Kátsena. The whole country, indeed, had a most interesting and cheerful appearance, villages and cornfields succeeding each other with only short intervals of thick underwood, which contributed to give richer variety to the whole landscape, while the ground was undulating, and might sometimes even be called hilly. We met a numerous herd of fine cattle, belonging to Gozenákko, returning to their pasture-grounds after having been watered—the bulls all with the beautiful hump, and of fine, strong limbs, but of moderate size, and with small horns. Scarcely had this moving picture passed before our eyes when another interesting and characteristic procession succeeded—a long troop of men, all carrying on their heads large baskets filled with the fruit of the goreba (*Cucifera* or *Hyphaene Thebaïca*), commonly called the gingerbread-tree, which, in many of the northern districts of Negroland, furnishes a most important article of food, and certainly seasons many dishes very pleasantly, as I shall have occasion to mention in the course of my narrative. Farther on, the fields were enlivened with cattle grazing in the stubble, while a new species of tree, the "kírria," attracted my attention.

Thus we reached Gozenákko; and while my servants Mo-

hammed and the Gatróni went with the camel to the camping-ground, I followed my sturdy overseer to the village in order to water the horse; for, though I might have sent one of my men afterward, I preferred taking this opportunity of seeing the interior of the village. It is of considerable size, and consists of a town and its suburbs, the former being surrounded with a "kéffi," or close stockade of thick stems of trees, while the suburbs are ranged around without any inclosure or defense. All the houses consist of conical huts made entirely of stalks and reeds, and great numbers of little granaries were scattered among them. As it was about half past two in the afternoon, the people were sunk in slumber or repose, and the well was left to our disposal; afterward, however, we were obliged to pay for the water. We then joined the caravan, which had encamped at no great distance eastward of the village, in the stubble-fields. These, enlivened as they were by a number of tall fan-palms, besides a variety of other trees, formed a very cheerful open ground for our little trading party, which, preparing for a longer stay of two or three days, had chosen its ground in a more systematic way, each person arranging his "tákrufa," or the straw sacks containing the salt, so as to form a barrier open only on one side, in the shape of an elongated horseshoe, in the recess of which they might stow away their slender stock of less bulky property, and sleep themselves, while, in order to protect the salt from behind, a light stockade of the stalks of Guinea-corn was constructed on that side; for having now exchanged the regions of highway robbers and marauders for those of thieves, we had nothing more to fear from open attacks, but a great deal from furtive attempts by night.

Scarcely had our people made themselves comfortable, when their appetite was excited by a various assortment of the delicacies of the country, clamorously offered for sale by crowds of women from the village. The whole evening a discordant chime was rung upon the words "nóno" (sour milk), "may" (butter), "dodówa" (the vegetable paste above mentioned), "kúka" (the young leaves of the *Adansonia*, which are used for making an infusion with which meat or the "túwo" is eaten), and "yáru

da dária." The last of these names, indeed, is one which characterizes and illustrates the cheerful disposition of the Háuss people; for the literal meaning of it is "the laughing boy," or "the boy to laugh," while it signifies the sweet ground-nut, which, if roasted, is indeed one of the greatest delicacies of the country. Reasoning from subsequent experience, I thought it remarkable that no "túwo" (the common paste or hasty pudding made of millet, called "fufu" on the western coast), which forms the ordinary food of the natives, was offered for sale; but it must be borne in mind that the people of A'sben care very little about a warm supper, and like nothing better than the fura or ghussub-water, and the corn in its crude state, only a little pounded. To this circumstance the Arabs generally attribute the enormous and disgusting quantity of lice with which the Kél-owí, even the very first men of the country, are covered.

I was greatly disappointed in not being able to procure a fowl for my supper. The breeding of fowls seems to be carried on to a very small extent in this village, although they are in such immense numbers in Damerghú that a few years ago travelers could buy "a fowl for a needle."

Tuesday, January 14th. Seeing that we should make some stay here, I had decided upon visiting the town of Tasáwa, which was only a few miles distant to the west, but deferred my visit till the morrow, in order to see the town in the more interesting phase of the "káswa-n-Láraba," or the Wednesday market. However, our encampment, where I quietly spent the day, was itself changed into a lively and bustling market; and even during the heat of the day the discordant cries of the sellers did not cease.

My intelligent and jovial companion meanwhile gave me some valuable information with regard to the revenue of the wealthy governor of Tasáwa, who in certain respects is an independent prince, though he may be called a powerful vassal of the king or chief of Marádi. Every head of a family in his territory pays him three thousand kurdí, as "kurdí-n-kay" (head-money or poll-tax); besides, there is an ample list of penalties ("kurdí-n-laefi"), some of them very heavy: thus, for example,

the fine for having flogged another man, or, most probably, for having given him a sound cudgeling, is as much as ten thousand kurdí; for illicit paternity, one hundred thousand kurdí—an enormous sum, considering the economic condition of the population, and which, I think, plainly proves how rarely such a thing happens in this region; but, of course, where every man may lawfully take as many wives as he is able to feed, there is little excuse for illicit intercourse. In case of willful murder, the whole property of the murderer is forfeited, and is of right seized by the governor.

Each village has its own mayor, who decides petty matters, and is responsible for the tax payable within his jurisdiction. The king, or paramount chief, has the power of life and death, and there is no appeal from his sentence to the ruler of Marádi. However, he can not venture to carry into effect any measure of consequence without asking the opinion of his privy council, or at least that of the ghaladíma or prime minister, some account of whose office I shall have an opportunity of giving in the course of my narrative. The little territory of Tasáwa might constitute a very happy state if the inhabitants were left in quiet; but they are continually harassed by predatory expeditions, and even last evening, while we were encamped here, the Féllani drove away a small herd of ten calves from the neighboring village of Kálbo.

About noon the "salt" of the serkí-n-Kél-owí arrived with the people of Olalówa, as well as that of Sálah Lúsu's head man, who before had always been in advance of us. In the evening I might have fancied myself a prince, for I had a splendid supper, consisting of a fowl or two, while a single maimólo cheered me with a performance on his simple three-stringed instrument, which, however monotonous, was still expressive of much feeling, and accompanied with a song in my praise.

Wednesday, January 15th. At the very dawn of day, to my great astonishment, I was called out of the tent by Mohammed, who told me that Fárraji, Lúsu's man, our companion from Ghát, had suddenly arrived from Zínder with three or four Bórnu horsemen, and had express orders with regard to me. How-

ever, when I went out to salute him, he said nothing of his errand, but simply told me that he wanted first to speak to Elaíji, the chief of the caravan. I therefore went to the latter myself to know what was the matter, and learned from the old man that, though he was not able to make out all the terms of the letters of which Fárraji was the bearer, one of which was written by the sherif and the other by Lúsu, he yet understood that the horsemen had come with no other purpose but to take me and Overweg to Zínder, without consulting our wishes, and that the sherif as well as Lúsu had instructed him to send us off in company with these fellows, but that they had also a letter for A'nnur, who ought to be consulted. As for himself, the old man (well aware of the real state of affairs, and that the averment of a letter having arrived from the consul at Tripoli to the effect that, till further measures were taken with regard to our recent losses, we ought to stay in Bórnu, was a mere sham and fabrication) declared that he would not force us to do any thing against our inclination, but that we ought to decide ourselves what was best to be done.

Having, therefore, a double reason for going to Tasáwa, I set out as early as possible, accompanied by my faithless, wanton Tunisian shushán, and by my faithful, sedate Tageláli overseer. The path leading through the suburbs of Gozenákko was well fenced, in order to prevent any violation of property; but on the western side of the village there was scarcely any cultivated ground, and we soon entered upon a wilderness where the "dúmmia" and the "karása" were the principal plants, when, after a march of a little more than three miles, the wild thicket again gave way to cultivated fields, and the town of Tasáwa appeared in the distance—or rather (as is generally the case in these countries, where the dwellings are so low, and where almost all the trees round the towns are cut down, for strategetical as well economical reasons) the fine shady trees in the interior of the town were seen, which make it a very cheerful place. After two miles more we reached the suburbs, and, crossing them, kept along the outer ditch which runs round the stockade of the town, in order to reach Al Wáli's house, under

whose special protection I knew that Mr. Overweg had placed himself.

My friend's quarters, into which we were shown, were very comfortable, although rather narrow. They consisted of a court-yard, fenced with mats made of reeds, and containing a large shed or "runfá," likewise built of mats and stalks, and a tolerably spacious hut, the walls built of clay ("bángo"), but with a thatched roof ("shíbki"). The inner part of it was guarded by a cross-wall from the prying of indiscreet eyes.

Overweg was not a little surprised on hearing the recent news; and we sent for El Wákhshi, our Ghadámsi friend from Tin-téggana, in order to consult him, as one who had long resided in these countries, and who, we had reason to hope, would be uninfluenced by personal considerations. He firmly pronounced his opinion that we ought not to go, and afterward, when Fárráji called Mánzo and Al Wáli to his aid, entered into a violent dispute with these men, who advised us to go; but he went too far in supposing that the letter had been written with a malicious intention. For my part, I could well imagine that the step was authorized by the Sheikh of Bórnu, or at least by his vizier, who might have heard long ago of our intention to go to Kanó, as it had been even Mr. Richardson's intention to go there, which, indeed, he ought to have done, in conformity with his written obligations to Mohammed e' Sfáksi; they might, therefore, have instructed the sheríf to do what he might think fit to prevent us from carrying out our purpose. However, it seemed not improbable that Lúsu had something to do with the affair. But it was absolutely necessary for Mr. Overweg and myself, or for one of us, at least, to go to Kanó, as we had several debts to pay, and were obliged to sell the little merchandise we had with us in order to settle our affairs.

We were still considering the question, when we were informed that our old protector, the chief A'nnur, had just arrived from Zínder, and I immediately determined to go to see him in his own domain at Náchira, situated at a little more than a mile N.E. from Tasáwa. In passing through the town I crossed the market-place, which at that time, during the hot hours of the

day, was very well frequented, and presented a busy scene of the highest interest to the traveler emerging from the desert, and to which the faint sparks of life still to be observed in A'gades can not be compared. A considerable number of cattle were offered for sale, as well as six camels, and the whole market was surrounded by continuous rows of runfás or sheds; but provisions and ready-dressed food formed the staple commodity, and scarcely any thing of value was to be seen. On leaving the town I entered an open country covered with stubble-fields, and soon reached that group of Náchira where the chief had fixed his quarters. In front of the yard was a most splendid tamarind-tree, such as I had not yet seen. Leaving my horse in its shade, I entered the yard, accompanied by Gajére, and looked about for some time for the great man, when at length we discovered him under a small shed or runfá of a conical form, so low that we had passed it without noticing the people collected in its shade. There he lay, surrounded by his attendants, as was his custom in general when reposing in the daytime, with no clothing but his trowsers, while his shirt, rolled up, formed a pillow to rest his left arm upon. He did not seem to be in the best humor—at least he did not say a single cheerful word to me; and, though it was the very hottest time of the day, he did not offer me as much as a draught of water. I had expected to be treated to a bowl of well-soaked "fura" seasoned with cheese. But what astonished me more than his miserly conduct (which was rather familiar to me) was, that I learned from his own mouth that he had not been to Zínder at all, whither we had been assured he had accompanied Mr. Richardson, but that he had spent all the time in Tágedel, from which place he had now come direct. I was therefore the more certain that Lúsu had some part in the intrigues. A'nnur, who had not yet received the letter addressed to him from Zínder, knew nothing about it, and merely expressed his surprise that such a letter had been written, without adding another word.

Seeing the old chief in a very cheerless humor, I soon left him, and took a ramble with Gajére over the place. The estate is very extensive, and consists of a great many clusters of huts

scattered over the fields, while isolated dúm-palms give to the whole a peculiar feature. The people, all followers and mostly domestic slaves of A'nnur, seemed to live in tolerable ease and comfort, as far as I was able to see, my companion introducing me into several huts. Indeed, every candid person, however opposed to slavery he may be, must acknowledge that the Tawárek in general, and particularly the Kél-owí, treat their slaves not only humanely, but even with the utmost indulgence and affability, and scarcely let them feel their bondage at all. Of course there are exceptions, as the cruelty of yoking slaves to a plow, and driving them on with a whip (which I had witnessed in Aúderas) is scarcely surpassed in any of the Christian slave states; but these exceptions are extremely rare.

When I returned from my ramble Mr. Overweg had also arrived, and the old chief had received the letter; and, though neither he nor any of his people could read it, he was fully aware of its contents, and disapproved of it entirely, saying that we should act freely, and according to the best of our knowledge. I then returned with my countryman into the town, and remained some time with him. In front of his dwelling was encamped the natron-caravan of Al Wáli, which in a few days was to leave for Núpe or (as the Háusa people say) Nýffi. We shall have to notice very frequently this important commerce, which is carried on between the shores of the Tsád and Nýffi.

I left the town at about five o'clock, and feeling rather hungry on reaching the encampment in Gozenákko, to the great amusement of our neighbors, parodying the usual salute of "iná labári" (what is the news)? I asked my people immediately the news of our cooking-pot, "iná labári-n-tokónia" (what news of the pot)? I was greatly pleased with my day's excursion, for Tasáwa was the first large place of Negroland proper which I had seen, and it made the most cheerful impression upon me, as manifesting every where the unmistakable marks of the comfortable, pleasant sort of life led by the natives: the court-yard fenced with a "dérne" of tall reeds, excluding to a certain degree the eyes of the passer-by, without securing to the interior absolute secrecy; then, near the entrance, the cool, shady place

of the "runfá" for ordinary business and for the reception of strangers, and the "gída," partly consisting entirely of reed ("dáki-n-kára") of the best wicker-work, partly built of clay in its lower parts ("bóngo"), while the roof consists of reeds only ("shíbki"); but, of whatever material it may consist, it is warm and well adapted for domestic privacy—the whole dwelling shaded with spreading trees, and enlivened with groups of children, goats, fowls, pigeons, and, where a little wealth had been accumulated, a horse or a pack-ox.

With this character of the dwellings, that of the inhabitants themselves is in entire harmony, its most constant element being a cheerful temperament, bent upon enjoying life, rather given to women, dance, and song, but without any disgusting excess. Every body here finds his greatest happiness in a comely lass; and as soon as he makes a little profit, he adds a young wife to his elder companion in life: yet a man has rarely more than two wives at a time. Drinking fermented liquor can not be strictly reckoned a sin in a place where a great many of the inhabitants are pagans; but a drunken person, nevertheless, is scarcely seen: those who are not Mohammedans only indulge in their "gíya," made of sorghum, just enough to make them merry and enjoy life with more light-heartedness. There was at that time a renegade Jew in the place called Músa, who made spirits of dates and tamarinds for his own use. Their dress is very simple, consisting, for the man, of a wide shirt and trowsers, mostly of a dark color, while the head is generally covered with a light cap of cotton cloth, which is negligently worn, in all sorts of fashions. Others wear a rather closely-fitting cap of green cloth, called báki-n-záki. Only the wealthier among them can afford the "zénne" or shawl, thrown over the shoulder like the plaid of the Highlanders. On their feet the richer class wear very neat sandals, such as we shall describe among the manufactures of Kanó.

As for the women, their dress consists almost entirely of a large cotton cloth, also of dark color—"the túrkedi"—fastened under or above the breast, the only ornament of the latter in general consisting of some strings of glass beads worn round

the neck. The women are tolerably handsome, and have pleasant features; but they are worn out by excessive domestic labor, and their growth never attains full and vigorous proportions. They do not bestow so much care upon their hair as the Féllani, or some of the Bagírmi people.

There are in the town a good many "Búzawe," or Tawárek half-castes, who distinguish themselves in their dress principally by the "ráwani" or tesílgemíst (the lithám) of white or black color, which they wind round their head in the same way as the Kél-owí; but their mode of managing the tuft of hair left on the top of the head is not always the same, some wearing their curled hair all over the crown of their head, while others leave only a long tuft, which was the old fashion of the Zenágha. The pagan inhabitants of this district wear in general only a leather apron ("wuélki"); but, with the exception of young children, none are seen here quite naked. The town was so busy, and seemed so well inhabited, that on the spot I estimated its population at fifteen thousand; but this estimate is probably too high.

Thursday, January 16th. We still remained near Gozenákko, and I was busy studying Temáshight, after which I once more went over the letter of the sherif El Fási, Háj Beshír's agent in Zínder; and having become fully aware of the dictatorial manner in which he had requested Elaíji to forward me and Mr. Overweg to him (just as a piece of merchandise) without asking our consent, I sat down to write him a suitable answer, assuring him that, as I was desirous of paying my respects to the son of Mohammed el Kánemi and his enlightened vizier, I would set out for their residence as soon as I had settled my affairs in Kanó, and that I was sure of attaining my ends without his intervention, as I had not the least desire to visit him.

This letter, as subsequent events proved, grew into importance, for the sherif, being perplexed by its tone, sent it straight on to Kúkawa, where it served to introduce me at once to the sheikh and his vizier. But the difficulty was to send it off with the warlike messengers who had brought the sherif's letters, as they would not go without us, and swore that their orders, from

the sherif as well as from Serk' Ibrám, were so peremptory that they should be utterly disgraced if they returned empty-handed. At length, after a violent dispute with Fárráji and these warlike-looking horsemen, the old chief, who took my part very fairly, finished the matter by plainly stating that if we ourselves, of our own free will, wanted to go, we might do so; but if we did not wish to go, instead of forcing us, he would defend us against any body who should dare to offer us violence. Nevertheless, the messengers would not depart, and it seemed impossible to get rid of them till I made each of them a present of two mithkáls, when they mounted their horses with a very bad grace, and went off with my letter. The energetic and straightforward but penurious old chief left us in the afternoon, and rode to Kálgo, a village at no great distance.

Friday, January 17th. Still another day of halt, in order, as I was told, to allow Háj 'Abdúwa's salt-caravan to come up and join us. Being tired of the camp, I once more went into the town to spend my day usefully and pleasantly; leaving all my people behind, I was accompanied by some of my fellow-travelers of the caravan. Arriving at Overweg's quarters, what was my surprise to find Fárráji not yet gone, but endeavoring to persuade my companion, with all the arts of his barbarous eloquence, that, though I should not go, he at least might, in which case he would be amply rewarded with the many fine things which had been prepared in Zínder for our reception. The poor fellow was greatly cast down when he saw me, and soon made off in very bad humor, while I went with Mr. Overweg to El Wákhshi, who was just occupied in that most tedious of all commercial transactions in these countries, namely, the counting of shells; for in all these inland countries of Central Africa the cowries or kurdí (*Cypræa moneta*) are not, as is customary in some regions near the coast, fastened together in strings of one hundred each, but are separate, and must be counted one by one. Even those "tákrufa" (or sacks made of rushes) containing 20,000 kurdí each, as the governors of the towns are in the habit of packing them up, no private individual will receive without counting them out. The general custom

in so doing is to count them by fives, in which operation some are very expert, and then, according to the amount of the sum, to form heaps of two hundred (or ten háwiyas*) or a thousand each. Having at length succeeded, with the help of some five or six other people, in the really heroic work of counting 500,000 shells, our friend went with us to the sick sultan Mazáwaji: I say sultan, as it is well for a traveler to employ these sounding titles of petty chiefs, which have become naturalized in the country from very ancient times, although it is very likely that foreign governments would be unwilling to acknowledge them. The poor fellow, who was living in a hut built half of mud, half of reeds, was suffering under a dreadful attack of dysentery, and looked like a spectre. Fortunately, my friend succeeded in bringing on perspiration with some hot tea and a good dose of peppermint, in the absence of stronger medicines. We then went to the house of Amánkay, that useful fellow so often mentioned in the journal of the late Mr. Richardson and by myself. He was a "búzu" of this place, and had many relatives here, all living near him. His house was built in the general style; but the interior of the court-yard was screened from profane eyes. Fortunately, I had taken with me some small things, such as mirrors, English darning-needles, and some knives, so that I was able to give a small present to each of his kinsmen and relatives, while he treated us with a calabash of fura.

In the afternoon we strolled a long time about the market, which, not being so crowded as the day before yesterday, was on that account far more favorable for observation. Here I first saw and tasted the bread made of the fruit of the magariá-tree, and called "túwo-n-magariá," which I have mentioned before, and was not a little astonished to see whole calabashes filled with roasted locusts ("fará"), which occasionally form a considerable part of the food of the natives, particularly if their grain has been destroyed by this plague, as they can then enjoy not

* "Háwiya" means twenty, and seems originally to have been the highest sum reached by the indigenous arithmetic. I shall say more about this point in my vocabulary of the Háusa language.

only the agreeable flavor of the dish, but also take a pleasant revenge on the ravagers of their fields. Every open space in the midst of the market-place was occupied by a fireplace ("maidéffa") on a raised platform, on which diminutive morsels of meat, attached to a small stick, were roasting, or rather stewing, in such a way that the fat, trickling down from the richer pieces attached to the top of the stick, basted the lower ones. These dainty bits were sold for a single shell or "uri"* each. I was much pleased at recognizing the red cloth which had been stolen from my bales in the valley of Afís, and which was exposed here for sale. But the most interesting thing in the town was the "máriná" (the dyeing-place) near the wall, consisting of a raised platform of clay with fourteen holes or pits, in which the mixture of indigo is prepared, and the cloths remain for a certain length of time, from one to seven days, according to the color which they are to attain. It is principally this dyeing, I think, which gives to many parts of Negroland a certain tincture of civilization—a civilization which it would be highly interesting to trace, if it were possible, through all the stages of its development.

While rambling about, Overweg and I for a while were greatly annoyed by a tall fellow, very respectably and most picturesquely dressed, who professed himself to be a messenger from the Governor of Kátsena, sent to offer us his compliments and to invite us to go to him. Though the thing was not altogether impossible, it looked rather improbable; and having thanked him profusely for his civility, we at length succeeded in getting rid of him. In the evening I returned to our camping-ground with I'dder, the Emgédesi man mentioned in a preceding part of my narrative, and was very glad to receive reliable information that we were to start the following day.

* "Kurdí" (shells) is the irregular plural of "urí" (a single shell).

CHAPTER XXIII.

GAZÁWA.—RESIDENCE IN KÁTSENA.

Saturday, January 18th. We made a good start with our camels, which, having been treated to a considerable allowance of salt on the first day of our halt, had made the best possible use of these four days' rest to recruit their strength. At the considerable village of Kálgo, which we passed at a little less than five miles beyond our encampment, the country became rather hilly, but only for a short distance. Tamarinds constituted the greatest ornament of the landscape. A solitary traveler attracted our notice on account of his odd attire, mounted as he was on a bullock with three large pitchers on each side. Four miles beyond Kálgo the character of the country became suddenly changed, and dense groups of dúm-palms covered the ground. But what pleased me more than the sight of these slender forked trees was when, half an hour after midday, I recognized my splendid old friend the bóre-tree, of the valley Bóghel,* which had excited my surprise in so high a degree, and the magnificence of which at its first appearance was not at all eclipsed by this second specimen in the fertile regions of Negroland. Soon afterward we reached the fáddama of Gazáwa; and leaving the town on our right hidden in the thick forest, we encamped a little farther on in an open place, which was soon crowded with hucksters and retailers. I was also pestered with a visit from some half-caste Arabs settled in the town; but, fortunately, seeing that they were likely to wait in vain for a present, they went off, and were soon succeeded by a native m'allem from the town, whose visit was most agreeable to me.

* It might seem to some readers that there is some connection between the name of the valley and the tree; but I think it is merely accidental. The Háusa language is not a written language; but if the natives were to write the name "bóre" or "báure," they would certainly write it with an *r*, and not with a *gh*.

About sunset the "serkí-n-turáwa," or consul of the Arabs, came to pay his regards to Elaíji, and introduced the subject of a present, which, as he conceived, I ought to make to the governor of the town as a sort of passage-money; my protector, however, would not listen to the proposal, but merely satisfied his visitor's curiosity by calling me into his presence and introducing him to me. The serkí was very showily and picturesquely dressed—in a green and white striped tobe, wide trowsers of speckled pattern and color, like the plumage of the Guinea-fowl, with an embroidery of green silk in front of the legs. Over this he wore a gaudy red bernús, while round his red cap a red and white turban was wound crosswise in a very neat and careful manner. His sword was slung over his right shoulder by means of thick hangers of red silk ornamented with enormous tassels. He was mounted on a splendid charger, the head and neck of which was most fancifully ornamented with a profusion of tassels, bells, and little leather pockets containing charms, while from under the saddle a shabrack peeped out, consisting of little triangular patches in all the colors of the rainbow.

This little African dandy received me with a profusion of the finest compliments, pronounced with the most refined and sweet accent of which the Háusa language is capable. When he was gone, my old friend Elaíji informed me that he had prevented the "consul of the Arabs" from exacting a present from me, and begged me to acknowledge his service by a cup of coffee, which, of course, I granted him with all my heart. Poor old Elaíji! He died in the year 1854, in the forest between Gazáwa and Kátsena, where, from the weakness of age, he lost his way when left alone. He has left on my memory an image which I shall always recall with pleasure. He was certainly the most honorable and religious man among the Kél-owí.

The market in our encampment, which continued till nightfall, reached its highest pitch at sunset, when the people of the town brought ready-made "túwo," each dish, with rather a small allowance, selling for three kurdí, or not quite the fourth part of a farthing. I, however, was happy in not being thrown upon this three-kurdí supper; and, while I indulged in my own home-

made dish, Gajére entertained me with the narrative of a nine days' siege, which the warlike inhabitants of Gazáwa had sustained, ten years previously, against the whole army of the famous Bello.

Sunday, January 19th. We remained encamped, and my day was most agreeably and usefully spent in gathering information with regard to the regions which I had just entered. There was first Ma'adi, the slave of A'nnur, a native of Bórnu, who, when young, had been made a prisoner by the Búdduma of the lake, and had resided three years among these interesting people, till, having fallen into the hands of the Welád Slimán, then in Kánem, he at length, on the occasion of the great expedition of the preceding year, had fallen into the power of the Kél-owí. Although he owed the loss of his liberty to the freebooting islanders, he was nevertheless a great admirer of theirs, and a sincere vindicator of their character. He represented them as a brave and high-spirited people, who made glorious and successful inroads upon the inhabitants of the shores of the lake with surprising celerity, while at home they were a pious and God-fearing race, and knew neither theft nor fraud among themselves. He concluded his eloquent eulogy of this valorous nation of pirates by expressing his fervent hope that they might forever preserve their independence against the ruler of Bórnu.

I then wrote, from the mouth of Gajére and Yáhia (another of my friends), a list of the places lying round about Gazáwa, as follows: On the east side, Mádobí, Maíjirgí,* Kógena na kaydebú, Kórmasa, Kórgom, Kánche (a little independent principality); Gumdá, half a day east of Gazáwa, with numbers of A'sbenáwa; Démbeda or Dúmbida, at less distance; Shabáli, Bábil, Túrmeni, Gínga, Kandémka, Sabó-n-kefí, Zángoni-n-ákwa, Kúrni, Kurnáwa, Dángudaw. On the west side, where the country is more exposed to the inroads of the Fúlbe or Féllani, there is only one place of importance, called Tindúkku, which namé seems to imply a close relation of the Tawárek. All these towns

* This village I touched at on my journey from Zínder to Kátsena in 1853—a journey which is of great importance for the construction of my routes collectively, as it forms the link between my first route and Zínder.

and villages are said to be in a certain degree dependent on Raffa, the "babá" (*i. e.*, great man or chief) of Gazáwa, who, however, owes himself allegiance to the supreme ruler of Marádi.

There was an exciting stir in the encampment at about ten o'clock in the morning, illustrative of the restless struggle going on in these regions. A troop of about forty horsemen, mostly well mounted, led on by the serkí-n-Gumdá, and followed by a body of tall, slender archers, quite naked but for their leathern aprons, passed through the different rows of the aïri on their way to join the expedition which the prince of Marádi was preparing against the Féllani.

About noon the natron-caravan of Háj Al Wáli, which I had seen in Tasáwa, came marching up in solemn order, led on by two drums, and affording a pleasant specimen of the character of the Háusa people. Afterward I went into the town, which was distant from my tent about half a mile, being much exposed to attacks from the Mohammedans, as the southernmost pagan place belonging to the Marádi-Góber union, Gazáwa, has no open suburbs outside its strong stockade, which is surrounded by a deep ditch. It forms almost a regular quadrangle, having a gate on each side built of clay, which gives to the whole fortification a more regular character, besides the greater strength which the place derives from this precaution. Each gateway is twelve feet deep, and furnished on its top with a rampart sufficiently capacious for about a dozen archers. The interior of the town is almost of the same character as Tasáwa; but Gazáwa is rather more closely built, though I doubt whether its circumference exceeds that of the former place. The market is held every day, but, as might be supposed, is far inferior to that of Tasáwa, which is a sort of little entrepôt for the merchants coming from the north, and affords much more security than Gazáwa, which, though an important place with regard to the struggle carried on between Paganism and Islamism in these quarters, is not so with respect to commerce. The principal things offered for sale were cattle, meat, vegetables of different kinds, and earthenware pots. Gazáwa has also a máriná or

lyeing-place, but of less extent than that of Tasáwa, as most of its inhabitants are pagans, and wear no clothing but the leathern apron. Their character appeared to me to be far more grave than that of the inhabitants of Tasáwa; and this is a natural consequence of the precarious position in which they are placed, as well as of their more warlike disposition. The whole population is certainly not less than ten thousand.

Having visited the market, I went to the house of the m'allem, where I found several A'sbenáwa belonging to our caravan enjoying themselves in a very simple manner, eating the fruits of the kaña, which are a little larger than cherries, but not so soft and succulent. The m'allem, as I had an opportunity of learning on this occasion, is a *protégé* of Elaíji, to whom the house belongs. Returning with my companions to our encampment, I witnessed a very interesting sort of dance, or rather gymnastic play, performed on a large scale by the Kél-owí, who, being arranged in long rows in pairs, and keeping up a regular motion, pushed along several of their number under their arms —not very unlike some of our old dances.

Monday, January 20th. Starting early in the morning, we felt the cold very sensibly, the thermometer standing at 48° Fahr. a little before sunset. Cultivated fields interrupted from time to time the underwood for the first three miles, while the "ngílle," or "kába," formed the most characteristic feature of the landscape; but dúm-palms, at first very rarely seen, soon became prevalent, and continued for the next two miles. Then the country became more open, while in the distance to the left extended a low range of hills. New species of trees appeared, which I had not seen before, as the "kokia," a tree with large leaves of a dark green color, with a green fruit of the size of an apple, but not eatable. The first solitary specimens of the gigiña or deléb-palm, which is one of the most characteristic trees of the more southern regions, were also met with.

Moving silently along, about noon we met a considerable caravan, with a great number of oxen and asses led by two horsemen, and protected in the rear by a strong guard of archers; for this is one of the most dangerous routes in all Central Africa,

where every year a great many parties are plundered by marauders, no one being responsible for the security of this disputed territory. We had here a thick forest on our left, enlivened by numbers of birds; then, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we entered a fine, undulating country covered with a profusion of herbage, while the large gámshi-tree, with its broad, fleshy leaves of the finest green, formed the most remarkable object of the vegetable kingdom. All this country was once a bustling scene of life, with numbers of towns and villages, till, at the very commencement of this century, the "Jihádi," or Reformer, rose among the Fúlbe of Góber, and, inflaming them with fanatic zeal, urged them on to merciless war against pagans as well as Mohammedans.

It was here that my companions drew my attention to the tracks of the elephant, of whose existence in the more northern regions we had not hitherto seen the slightest trace, so that this seems to be the limit of its haunts on this side; and it was shortly afterward that Gajére descried in the distance a living specimen making slowly off to the east, but my sight was not strong enough to distinguish it. Thus we entered the thicker part of the forest, and about half past four in the afternoon reached the site of the large town of Dánkama, whither Mágajin Háddedu, the King of Kátsena, had retired after his residence had been taken by the Fúlbe, and from whence he waged unrelenting but unsuccessful war against the bloody-minded enemies of the religious as well as political independence of his country. Once, indeed, the Fúlbe were driven out of Kátsena, but they soon returned with renewed zeal and with a fresh army, and the Háusa prince was expelled from his ancient capital forever. After several battles, Dánkama, whither all the nobility and wealth of Kátsena had retired, was taken, ransacked, and burned.

A solitary colossal kúka* (baobab), representing in its huge,

* It has been remarked by travelers that this tree is only found near some dwelling-place of man; but I doubt whether we are authorized to regard all those specimens of it which are scattered over the wilds of Central Africa as marking the site of former towns.

leafless, and gloomy frame the sad recollections connected with the spot, shoots out from the prickly underwood which thickly overgrows the locality,* and points out the market-place, once teeming with life. It was a most affecting moment; for, as if afraid of the evil spirits dwelling in this wild and deserted spot, all the people of the caravan, while we were thronging along the narrow paths opening between the thick, prickly underwood, shouted with wild cries, cursing and execrating the Féllani, the authors of so much mischief, all the drums were beating, and every one pushed on in order to get out of this melancholy neighborhood as soon as possible.

Having passed, a little after sunset, a large granitic mass projecting from the ground, called Korremátse, and once a place of worship, we saw in the distance in front the fires of those parties of the aïri which had preceded us; and greeting them with a wild cry, we encamped on the uneven ground in great disorder, as it had become quite dark. After a long march, I felt very glad when the tent was at length pitched. While the fire was lighted and the supper preparing, Gajére informed me that, besides Dánkama, Bello destroyed also the towns of Jankúki and Madáwa in this district, which now presents such a frightful wilderness.†

In the course of the night the roar of a lion was heard close by our encampment.

Tuesday, January 21st. We started, with general enthusiasm, at an early hour; and the people of our troop, seeing the

* The Háusa people call the site of a former town "kufai," in the plural form "kufaife."

† Gajére enumerated to me also the following places as lying toward the northwest of our road in the direction of Marádi, viz., Wála, Golkúka, Harumáwa, Gindáwa, Majéne, Kóre, Dándabu, Kúbdu (a large place belonging to Astáfidet), Sámia maigíjje, Rubákia, Furagírke, Agé, Kukúta, Kafí mayáki (which approaches within a little distance of Tindúkku, the place I mentioned above). Farther southward, on the west side of our route, were mentioned Súruru and Kofí; to the east, Sámia maidánkay. On inquiring after Sámia Enkóra, a place mentioned in an itinerary sent home by Mr. Richardson during his first journey, I learned that it lies on an eastern road leading from Damerghú to Tasáwa by the following stations (the march being slow from Tágelel): Baíbay, Kamé, Sámia E/kóra (this is said to be the right form of the name), Dándu, Gomariyúma, Tasáwa.

fires of the other divisions of the salt-caravan in front of us still burning, jeered at their laziness, till at length, on approaching within a short distance of the fires, we found that the other people had set out long before, leaving their fires burning. A poor woman, carrying a load on her head, and leading a pair of goats, had attached herself to our party in Gazáwa; and though she had lost her goats in the bustle of the previous afternoon, she continued her journey cheerfully and with resignation.

After five hours' march the whole caravan was suddenly brought to a stand for some time, the cause of which was a ditch of considerable magnitude, dug right across the path, and leaving only a narrow passage, the beginning of a small path which wound along through thick thorny underwood. This, together with the ditch, formed a sort of outer defense for the cultivated fields and the pasture-grounds of Kátsena, against any sudden inroad. Having passed another projecting mass of granite rock, we passed two small villages on our left, called Túlla and Takumáku, from whence the inhabitants came out to salute us. We encamped at length in a large stubble-field, beyond some kitchen-gardens, where pumpkins (dúmma) were planted, two miles N.E. from the town of Kátsena. While we were pitching my tent, which was the only one in the whole encampment, the sultan or governor of Kátsena came out with a numerous retinue of horsemen, all well dressed and mounted; and having learned from Elaíji that I was a Christian traveler belonging to a mission (a fact, however, which he knew long before), he sent me soon afterward a ram and two large calabashes or dúmmas filled with honey—an honor which was rather disagreeable to me than otherwise, as it placed me under the necessity of making the governor a considerable present in return. I had no article of value with me, and I began to feel some unpleasant foreboding of future difficulties.

An approximative estimate of the entire number of the salt-caravan, as affording the means of accurately determining the amount of a great national commerce carried on between widely-separated countries, had much occupied my attention, and having in vain tried on the road to arrive at such an estimate,

I did all I could to-day to obtain a list of the different divisions composing it; but, although Yáhia, one of the principal of A'n-nur's people, assured me that there were more than thirty troops, I was not able to obtain particulars of more than the following, viz., encamped on this same ground with us was the salt-caravan of A'nnur, of Elaíji, of Hámma with the Kél-táfidet, of Sálah, of Háj Makhmúd with the Kél-tagrímmat, of A'maki with the Amákita, of the Imasághlar (led by Mohammed dan A'ggeg), of the Kél-azanéres, of the Kél-ínger (the people of Zingína), of the Kél-ágwau, and finally that of the Kél-chémia. No doubt none of these divisions had more than two hundred camels laden with salt, exclusive of the young and the spare camels; the whole of the salt, therefore, collected here at the time was, at the utmost, worth one hundred millions of kurdí, or about eight thousand pounds sterling. Besides the divisions of the aïri which I have just enumerated as encamped on this spot, the Erázar were still behind, while the following divisions had gone on in advance: the Kél-n-Néggaru; the Iseráraran, with the chief Bárka and the támberi (war chieftain) Nasóma; and the Ikázkezan, with the chiefs Mohammed Irólagh and Wuentúsa.

We may therefore not be far from the truth if we estimate the whole number of the salt-caravan of the Kél-owí of this year at two thousand five hundred camels. To this must be added the salt which had gone to Zínder, and which I estimate at about a thousand camel-loads, and that which had been left in Tasáwa for the supply of the markets of the country as far as Góber, which I estimate at from two hundred to three hundred camel-loads. But it must be borne in mind that the country of A'sben had been for some time in a more than ordinarily turbulent state, and that consequently the caravan was at this juncture probably less numerous than it would be in quiet times.

Being rather uneasy with regard to the intention of the governor of the province, I went early the next morning to Elaíji, and assured him that, besides some small things, such as razors, cloves, and frankincense, I possessed only two red caps to give to the governor, and that I could not afford to contract more

debts by buying a bernús. The good old man was himself aware of the governor's intention, who, he told me, had made up his mind to get a large present from me, otherwise he would not allow me to continue my journey. I wanted to visit the town, but was prevented from doing so under these circumstances, and therefore remained in the encampment.

The governor, who spends a great deal of his time in a country-house which he has recently built outside the town, about noon held a sort of review of several hundred horsemen, whose horses, in general, were in excellent condition. They were armed with a straight sword hanging on the left, a long heavy spear for thrusting, and a shield, either of the same description as that of the Tawárek, of oblong shape, made of the hide of the large antelope (*Leucoryx*), or else of bullock's or elephant's hide, and forming an immense circular disk of about five feet in diameter; some of them wore also the dagger at the left arm, while I counted not more than four or five muskets. Their dress was picturesque, and not too flowing for warlike purposes, the large shirt, or shirts (for they generally wear two), being fastened round the breast with an Egyptian shawl with a red border; and even those who were dressed in a bernús had it wound round their breast. Most of them wore black "ráwani," or shawls, round their faces, a custom which the Féllani of Háusa have adopted from the Tawárek merely on account of its looking warlike, for they have no superstitious reason for covering the mouth. The harness of the horses was all of Háusa manufacture, the saddles very different from those of the Tawárek (which seem to be identical with the old Arab saddles). The stirrups formed a very peculiar kind of medium between the large unwieldy stirrups of the modern Arab and the small ones of the Tawárek and Europeans, the sole of the stirrup being long, but turned down at both ends, while it is so narrow that the rider can only thrust the naked foot into it. I could not understand the principle upon which this kind of stirrup is made. It appeared to be a most absurd specimen of workmanship.

The Féllani in Kátsena have good reason to be on their guard

against the Kél-owí, who, in an underhand way, are always assisting the independent Háusa states of Góber and Marádi in their struggle, and might some day easily make common cause with them to drive out these arrogant intruders from the conquered provinces. In fact, they have done all in their power to attain this object; and A'nnur's policy is so well known to the Féllani, that once when he came to Kátsena he received most shameful treatment at their hands. Afterward I was visited by El Wákhshi, and paid him, in return, a visit at that part of the encampment where some of his merchandise was deposited, for he himself was living in the town. Here he introduced to me a person who was very soon to become one of my direst tormentors, the bare remembrance of whom is even now unpleasant; it was the háj Bel-Ghét, a man born in Tawát, but who had long been settled in Kátsena, and though not with the title, yet in reality holding the office of "a serkí-n-turáwa."

A troop of eight mounted royal musicians ("masukídda-n-serkí"), who had been playing the whole day before the several divisions of the "aïri," came likewise to my tent in the course of the afternoon, and gratified my ears with a performance on their various instruments. There was the drum, or "ganga," very much like our own instrument of that kind, and of about the same size as the common regimental drum; the long wind instrument, or "pampámme;" a shorter one, a sort of flute, or "elgaita;"* a sort of double tambourine, or "kalángo;" a simple tympanum, or kóso;" a sort of double Egyptian darabúka, called "jójo," and a small horn, or "kafó." The most common among them is the "jójo," which in Háusa is the chief instrument made use of in an expedition, and, if accompanied by the voice, is not disagreeable. With these various instruments the well-mounted horsemen made a pretty good noise; but it was neither harmonious nor characteristic: to all this pompous imitative music I prefer a few strains with natural feeling by a solitary maimólo. I was obliged to reward my entertainers with

* All sorts of wind instruments, the flute included, are called by the Háusa people "bushé-bushé," from which word the Féllani-n-Háusa have formed "fufefuféji."

a large quantity of cloves, as I had scarcely any thing else left.

I was rather astonished to hear that the A'sbenáwa do not pay passage-money to the governor according to the number of their camels, but that every freeman among them makes him a present of one kántu of salt. For every beast of burden, be it pack-ox or donkey, five hundred kurdí are generally paid.

Thursday, January 23d. Having assorted such a present as I could afford, I protested once more to Elaíji that, my other luggage having gone on in advance to Kanó, I had but very little to offer the governor.

I went about noon with my protector and a great number of A'sbenáwa to offer the governor my compliments and my present. Sitting down under a tree at a considerable distance from the spot where he himself was seated, we waited a little, till we should be called into his presence, when his brother, who held the office of ghaladíma, came to us—a man of immense corpulency, resembling a eunuch. Indeed, nothing but the cut of his face, his aquiline nose, and rather light color, and the little goatlike beard which ornamented his chin, could expose him to the suspicion of being a Púllo or Ba-Féllanchi.* He wanted to treat my business apart from that of Elaíji, who, however, declared that he had come only for my sake. While the fat ghaladíma was returning to inform his brother of what he had heard, a troop of well-mounted Kél-esárar† (who, as I was told, are settled at present in the province of Kátsena) came up at full speed. It was not long before a servant came from the serki, inviting me alone into his presence.

Mohammed Béllo Yeríma, the eldest son of the former well-known Governor M'allem Ghomáro,‡ was seated under a wide-spreading and luxuriant tamarind-tree, dressed simply in a large white shirt, with a black ráwani round his face. The A'sbená-

* This is the only correct Háusa form for the singular of Féllani.

† I afterward heard that these people belonged to the Kéltídik, and possessed large establishments of slaves and farms in Dwán and Shirgingim.

‡ The Fúlbe generally change the 'ain into ghain, and therefore say Ghomáro instead of 'Omáro.

wa, who formed a large semicircle around him, were dressed most gaudily. Stepping into the opening of the semicircle, I saluted the governor, telling him that as I and my companions had lost, on the border of A'sben, almost all the valuable property we had brought with us, and as the few things left to me had gone on to Kanó, he ought to excuse me for being unable, at the present moment, to offer him a present worthy of his high position; that it was my desire to go on without delay to Kanó, in order to settle my affairs, and to proceed to Bórnu, where we expected to receive fresh supplies, after which one of our party certainly would go to Sókoto, in order to pay our respects to the Emír el Múmenín. The governor answered my address with much apparent kindness, telling me that I was now in his "imána," or under his protection, and that he had no other purpose but to do what would be conducive to my advantage. He then asked the news of my companions, though he knew all about them, and did not appear to take the least offense at Mr. Overweg's going to Marádi, although the people and the ruler of that place were his most inveterate enemies. But things must not be looked upon here as they would be in Europe; for here people are accustomed to see strangers from the north pay visits to all sorts of princes, whatever may be their policy. However, while he spoke in rather friendly terms to me, and while my presents were received thankfully by the servants, he declared to the people who were sitting near him that, as the ruler of Bórnu had laid hold of one of my companions, and that of Marádi of the other, he should be a fool if he were to let me pass out of his hands. I therefore took leave of him with no very light heart.

My present consisted of two fine red caps, a piece of printed calico which I had bought in Múrzuk for four Spanish dollars, but which was of a pattern not much liked in Sudán, an English razor and scissors, one pound of cloves, another of frankincense, a piece of fine soap, and a packet of English needles. Though it certainly was not a very brilliant present, yet, considering that I did not want any thing from him, it was quite enough; but the fact was that he wanted something more from me, and therefore it was not sufficient.

Early the following morning, while it was still dark, a servant of the governor came with Elaíji to my tent, requesting me to stay voluntarily behind the caravan. Though this would have been the best plan had I known that the governor had set his heart upon keeping me back, yet I could not well assent to it, as I had nothing at all with me, not even sufficient to keep me and my people for a short time from starving. I therefore told them that it was impossible for me to stay behind, and prepared to go on with the caravan, which was setting out. This, however, Elaíji would not allow me to do; but while all the divisions of the aïri started one after another, he himself remained behind, with several of the principal men of the caravan, till Háj Bel-Ghét came and announced that it was necessary for me to go to the town, there to await the decision of the governor. Seeing that nothing was to be done but to obey, and having in vain shown my letter of recommendation from the Sultan of A'gades, from which, as I had feared from the beginning, nothing was inferred but that I had been directly forwarded by him to the Governor of Kátsena in order to see me safe to Sókoto, I took leave of Elaíji, thanking him and his friends for their trouble, and followed Bel-Ghét and his companion Músa into the town.

The immense mass of the wall, measuring in its lower part not less than thirty feet, and its wide circumference, made a deep impression upon me. The town (if town it may be called) presented a most cheerful rural scene, with its detached light cottages and its stubble-fields, shaded with a variety of fine trees; but I suspect that this ground was not entirely covered with dwellings even during the most glorious period of Kátsena. We traveled a mile and a half before we reached the "zínsere," a small dwelling used by the governor as a place of audience—on account, as it seems, of a splendid, wide-spreading fig-tree growing close to it, and forming a thick, shady canopy sufficient for a large number of people.

I, however, was conducted to the other side of the building, where a quadrangular chamber projects from the half-decayed wall, and had there to wait a long time, till the governor came into town from his new country-seat. Having at last arrived,

he called me, and, thanking me for remaining with him, he promised that I should be well treated as his guest, and that without delay a house should be placed at my disposal. He was a man of middle age, and had much in his manners and features which made him resemble an actor; and such he really is, and was still more so in his younger days.

Taking leave of him for the present, I followed Bel-Ghét to my quarters; but we had still a good march to make, first through detached dwellings of clay, then leaving the immense palace of the governor on our left, and entering what may be strictly called the town, with connected dwellings. Here I was lodged in a small house opposite the spacious dwelling of Bel-Ghét; and though, on first entering, I found it almost insupportable, I soon succeeded in making myself tolerably comfortable in a clean room neatly arranged. It seemed to have once formed the snug seat for a well-furnished harím; at least the dark passages leading to the interior could not be penetrated by a stranger's eye. We had scarcely taken possession of our quarters when the governor sent me a ram and two ox-loads of corn —one of "dáwa," and the other of "géro." But, instead of feeling satisfied with this abundant provision, we were quite horrified at it, as I, with my three people, might have subsisted a whole year on the corn sent us, and we began to have uneasy forebodings of a long detention. Indeed, we suspected, and were confirmed in our suspicion by the statements of several people, that it was the governor's real intention to forward me directly to Sókoto, a circumstance which alienated from me my servants, even the faithful Mohammed el Gatróno, who was much afraid of going there.

However, my new protector, Bel-Ghét, did not leave me much time for reflection, but soon came back to take me again to the governor. Having sat a while in the cool shade of the tree, we were called into his audience-room, which was nothing more than the round hut or dérne ("zaure" in Kanúri) which generally forms the entrance and passage-room in every Púllo establishment. Besides myself, the háj Bel-Ghét, and his constant companion Músa, there was also the wealthy merchant Háj Wáli, whom I

had seen in Tasáwa, when he tried to persuade me to follow the men sent to take me to Zínder, while he now sought to represent the governor of Kátsena as the greatest man in all Negroland, and the best friend I could have. The governor soon began to display his talent as an actor, and had the unfortunate letter from the Sultan of A'gades read, interpreted, and commented upon. According to the sagacious interpretation of these men, the purport of the letter was to recommend me expressly to this governor as a fit person to be detained in his company. All my representations to the effect that my friend 'Abd el Káder had recommended me in exactly the same terms to the governors of Dáura and Kanó, and that I had forwarded a letter from A'gades to the Emír el Múmenín in Sókoto, informing him that, as soon as we had received new supplies from the coast, one of us at least would certainly pay him a visit, which, under present circumstances, robbed and destitute as we were, we could not well do, were all in vain; he had an answer for every objection, and was impudent enough to tell me that a message had been received from Marádi, soliciting me to go thither; that as Bórnu had laid hold of one of my companions, and Marádi of the other, so he would lay hold of me, but of course only to become my benefactor ("se al khére"). Seeing that reply was useless, and that it was much better to let this lively humorist go through his performance, and to wait patiently for the end of the comedy, I took leave of him and returned to my quarters.

Late in the evening the governor sent for Mohammed, who could scarcely be expected, with his fiery and inconsiderate behavior, to improve the state of things; and as the governor's dwelling was a good way off, and the town ill frequented, I was obliged to allow him to go armed with a pair of pistols, which soon attracted the attention of our host, who complained bitterly that while all the petty chiefs had received from us such splendid presents, he, the greatest man in Negroland, had got nothing. Mohammed having told him that the pistols belonged to me, he wanted me to present them to him; but this I obstinately refused, as I was convinced that the whole success of further proceedings depended on our fire-arms.

I was rather glad when El Wákhshi called upon me the following morning, as I trusted he might help me out of the scrape. After conversing with him about my situation, I went out with him to stroll about the town. We had gone, however, but a little way when Bel-Ghét saw us, and reprimanded me severely for going out without asking his permission. Growing rather warm at such humiliating treatment, I told him in very plain terms that, as long as the governor refrained from posting soldiers before my door, I would regard myself as a free man, and at liberty to go where I chose. Seeing that he could not wreak his anger directly upon me, he tried to do it indirectly by reprimanding my companion for going about with this "káfer," and confirming the "káfer" in his refractoriness against the will of the sultan. Not feeling much honored with the title thus bestowed on me, I told him that as yet nobody in the whole town had insulted me with that epithet, but that he alone had the insolence to apply it. When the miserable fellow saw me irritated, he did not hesitate to declare that, though well versed in the Kurán, he had been entirely unaware of the meaning of "káfer," and begged me to give him full information about the relations of the English to the various Mohammedan states. When I came to speak about Morocco, he interrupted me, as, being a native of Gurára, he might be presumed to know the relations of those countries better than I did; and he insisted that the English were not on good terms with the Emperor of Morocco, and were not allowed to visit Fás (Fez). I then declared to him that there could scarcely be a more unmistakable proof of the friendly relations existing between the English and Mul'a 'Abd e' Rahmán than the present of four magnificent horses which the latter had lately sent to the Queen of England. He then confessed that he was more of an antiquarian, and ignorant of the present state of matters, but he was quite sure that during the time of Mul'a Ism'aíl it certainly was as he had stated. To this I replied that, while all the Mohammedan states, including Morocco, had since that time declined in power, the Christians, and the English in particular, had made immense steps in advance. We then shook hands, and I left the poor Moslim to his own reflections.

Proceeding with El Wákhshi on our intended promenade, and laughing at the scrape into which he had almost got by changing (in the dispute with Bel-Ghét) the honorary title of the latter, "Sultán ben e' Sultan" (Sultan son of Sultan), into that of "Shitán ben e' Shitán" (Satan son of Satán), we went to the house of a Ghadámsi, where we found several Arab and native merchants collected together, and among them a Ghadámsi who bore the same name as that which, for more friendly intercourse with the natives, I had adopted on these journeys, namely, that of 'Abd el Kerím. This man had accompanied 'Abd Allah (Clapperton) on his second journey from Kánó to Sókoto, and was well acquainted with all the circumstances attending his death. He was greatly surprised to hear that "Rí-shar" (Richard Lander), whom he had believed to be a younger brother of Clapperton, had not only successfully reached the coast, after his circuitous journey to Danróro, and after having been dragged back by force from his enterprising march upon Fanda, but had twice returned from England to those quarters before he fell a victim to his arduous exertions.

I then returned with my old Ghadámsi friend to my lodgings, when Bel-Ghét came soon after us, and once more begged my pardon for having called me "káfer."

Afterward El Wákhshi brought me a loaf of sugar, that I might make a present of it to Bel-Ghét. On this occasion he cast his eyes on a small telescope which I had bought in Paris for six francs, and begged me to give it to him for the loaf of sugar which he had just lent me. I complied with his wish. Taking the loaf of sugar with me, and the two other letters of the Sultan of A'gades, as well that addressed to the Governor of Dáura, as that to the Governor of Kanó, I went to Bel-Ghét, and, presenting him with the sugar as a small token of my acknowledgment for the trouble he was taking in my behalf, I showed him the letters as a proof that the Sultan of A'gades never intended to forward me to his friend the Governor of Kátsena as a sort of "abenchí," or a *tit-bit* for himself, but that he acknowledged entirely my liberty of action, and really wished to obtain protection for me wherever I might choose to go. Bel-

Ghét, being touched by the compliments I paid him, affected to understand now for the first time the real circumstances of my case, and promised to lend me his assistance if I would bind myself to return to Kátsena from Bórnu, after having received sufficient supplies from the coast. This I did to a certain degree, under the condition that circumstances should not prove unfavorable to such a proceeding; indeed, I doubted at that time very much whether I should be able to return this way again. But when I did revisit Kátsena in the beginning of 1853, with a considerable supply of presents, and met before the gates of the town this same man, who had been sent to compliment me on the part of the same governor, it was a triumph which I could scarcely have expected. The old man was on the latter occasion almost beside himself with joy, and fell upon my neck exclaiming, over and over again, "'Abd el Kerím! 'Abd el Kerím!" while I told him, "Here I am, although both my companions have died; I am come to fulfill my promise. I am on my way to Sókoto, with valuable presents for the Emír el Múmenín."

Leaving Bel-Ghét in better humor, I went with El Wákhshi to his house, where he treated me and two A'sbenáwa with a dish of roasted fowl and dates, after which I proceeded with him through the decayed and deserted quarter where the rich Ghadámsíye merchants once lived, and through some other streets in a rather better state, to the market-place, which forms a large regular quadrangle, with several rows of sheds, or runfá, of the same style as those in Tasáwa, but much better and more regularly built. Of course, there was here a better supply of native cotton cloth, and of small Nuremberg wares, in the market than in the former place; but otherwise there was nothing particular, and altogether it was dull, showing the state of decay into which this once splendid and busy emporium of Negroland has fallen.

The most interesting things I observed in the market were limes, of tolerably large size, and extremely cheap, and the beautiful large fruit of the gonda (*Carica Papaya*), which had just begun to ripen; however, the latter was rather dear, consider-

ing the low price of provisions in general, a fine papaw being sold for from twenty-five to thirty kurdí, a sum which may keep a poor man from starvation for five days. In Kanó I afterward saw this fruit cut into thin slices, which were sold for one "urí" (shell) each. Having sat for a long time with El Wákhshi in a runfá without being exposed to any insult whatever, though I was necessarily an object of curiosity, I returned home and passed the evening quietly with my people, Gajére giving me reason all the time for the utmost satisfaction with his faithful and steadfast behavior. Besides being sincerely attached to me, he was persuaded that he possessed influence enough to get me out of my scrape; and thus he informed me, as a great secret, that he had forwarded a message to A'nnur, giving him full information of my case, and that, in consequence, I might give myself no further trouble, but rely entirely upon that chief's assistance. While he was thus cheering my spirits in the evening, as we lay round the fire in our court-yard, he frequently repeated the words, "Kasó mutúm dondádi uyátaso, kádda kakíshi da kúmmia," contrasting his own faithfulness with the faithless, frivolous behavior of Mohammed el Túnsi, whom he called "mógo mutúm" (a bad sort of fellow). But Gajére also had his own reasons for not being so very angry at our delay, as the lean mare which I had hired of him had a sore back, and was in a rather weak state, so that a little rest and a full measure of corn every day was not so much amiss for her.

El Wákhshi returned the same evening, giving me hope that I might get off the next day. However, this proved to be empty talk, for the following day my business with the pompous Béllo made no progress, he demanding nothing less from me than one hundred thousand kurdí or cowries—a sum certainly small, according to European modes of thinking, barely exceeding £8, but which I was quite unable to raise at the time. Béllo was mean enough to found his claims upon his noble but quite uncalled-for hospitality, having given me, as he said, two rams, two vessels of honey, and two loads of corn, altogether worth from eleven to twelve thousand cowries; and I now felt justified in changing his noble title "Sultán ben Sultán" into that of

"dellál ben dellál" (broker, son of a broker). Even my old friend El Wákhshi took occasion of this new difficulty of mine to give vent to his feelings as a merchant, saying that this was the "d'awa" (the curse) attending our (the English) proceedings against the slave-trade. And it must be confessed that the merchants of Ghadámes have suffered a great deal from the abolition of the slave-trade in Tunis,* without being compensated for this loss by the extension or increased security of legitimate commerce. Seeing that the slave-trade is still carried on in Núpe or Nýffi, where they are persuaded the English could prevent it if they would, and that it is there carried on, not by Mohammedans, but by Christians, they have plausible grounds for being angry with the English nation.

I had a highly interesting discussion with my old fanatical friend Bel-Ghét. It seems that after I had protested against his calling me "káfer" the other day, he had held a consultation on the subject with some people of his own faith, and his zeal being thus revived, he returned to-day to urge the point. He began with questioning me about the different nations that professed Christianity, and which among them were the "kofár;" for some of them, he was quite sure, were and deserved to be so called. I replied that the application of the word depended on the meaning attached to it, and that if he understood by the word káfer any body who doubted of the mission of Mohammed, of course a great many Christians were kofár; but if, with more reason, he called by this name only those who had no idea of the unity of God, and venerated other objects besides the Almighty God, that it could then be applied only to a few Christians, particularly to those of the Greek and to the less enlightened of the Catholic Church, though even these venerated the crucifix and the images rather as symbols than as idols. But I confessed to him that, with regard to the unity of the Divine Being, Islám certainly was somewhat purer than the creeds of most of the Christian sects; and I acknowledged that, just at the time when Mohammed appeared, Christianity

* The recent abolition of the slave-trade in Tripoli and Fezzán will certainly not soothe their wrath.

had sunk considerably below the level of its pristine purity. The old man went away pleased with what I had told him, and swore that he would not again call the English kofár, but that, with my permission, he would still apply that name to the "Mósko" (the Russians).

In the afternoon, his son, a man of about five-and-thirty, came to visit me, accompanied by a sherif from Yeman, who had been to Bombay, and was well acquainted with the English; he was now on his way to Timbúktu, in order to vindicate his right of inheritance to the property of a wealthy merchant who had died there. In this, however, he was unsuccessful; and when I reached Timbúktu in September, 1853, he had left it some time previously with broken spirits and in great distress. He perished on his way home. He was an amiable and intelligent man, and visited me several times. From him and his companion I received intimation of a large "Christian book," bound in leather, with edges and lock made of metal, in the possession of a Púllo or Ba-Féllanchi in the town; but no one could tell me whether it was in manuscript or print; and although I offered to pay for a sight of it, I never succeeded in my object. It might be one of those heavy books which Clapperton, when dying, told Lander rather to leave behind than take with him to England.

Tuesday, January 28th. I at length succeeded in arranging matters with the governor. Early in the morning I sent Mohammed to El Wákhshi in order to try and settle the business, telling him that I was ready to make any possible sacrifice; and he sent me a bernús for fifty-two thousand kurdí. While I was hesitating about contracting a new debt of such magnitude (in my poor circumstances), Bel-Ghét, who evidently feared that if I gave one large present to the governor he himself would get nothing, intimated to me that it would be better to choose several small articles. El Wákhshi therefore procured a caftan of very common velvet, a carpet, a sedríye or close waistcoat, and a shawl, which all together did not exceed the price of thirty-one thousand kurdí, so that I saved more than twenty thousand. In order, however, to give the whole a more unpre-

meditated, honorary, and professional appearance, I added to it a pencil, a little frankincense, and two strong doses of Epsom salts.

While Bel-Ghét was engaged in negotiating peace for me with the eccentric governor, I went with El Wákhshi and Gajére to the market, and thence proceeded with the latter, who, stout and portly, strode before me with his heavy spear like a stately body-guard or "kavás," to the house of Mánzo, an agent of Masáwaji, who always lives here, and paid him our compliments. Passing then by the house of the Sultan of A'gades ("gída-n-serkí-n-A'gades"), who occasionally resides here, we went to the "kófan Gúga" (the northwestern gate of the town), which my companion represented to me as belonging entirely to the A'sbenáwa; for as long as Kátsena formed the great emporium of this part of Africa, the Aïri used to encamp in the plain outside this gate. The wall is here very strong and high, at least from without, where the height is certainly not less than from five-and-thirty to forty feet, while in the interior the rubbish and earth has accumulated against it to such a degree that a man may very easily look over it; the consequence is that during the rains a strong torrent formed here rushes out of the gate. On the outside there is also a deep, broad ditch. We returned to our lodging by the way of the "máriná" and the market, both of which places were already sunk in the repose and silence of night.

I had scarcely re-entered my dark quarters when Bel-Ghét arrived, telling me that the governor did not want my property at all; however, to do honor to my present, he would condescend to keep the kaftan and the carpet, but he sent me back the sedríye and the shawl—of course, to be given as a present to his agent and commissioner, my noble friend from Gurára. The governor, however, was anxious to obtain some more medicines from me. He, at the same time, promised to make me a present of a horse. Although I had but a small store of medicines with me, I chose a few powders of quinine, of tartar-emetic, and of acetate of lead, and gave him a small bottle with a few drops of laudanum, while it was arranged that the following morning

I should explain to the governor himself the proper use of these medicines.

The next morning, therefore, I proceeded with Bel-Ghét, to whose swollen eye I had successfully applied a lotion, and whose greediness I had satisfied with another small present, on the way to the "zinsere." He wished to show me the interior of the immense palace or the "fáda;" but he could not obtain access to it, and I did not see it till on my second visit to Kátsena.

Béllo received me in his private apartment, and detained me for full two hours, while I gave him complete information about the use of the medicines. He wanted, besides, two things from me, which I could not favor him with—things of very different character, and the most desired by all the princes of Negroland. One of these was a "mágani-n-algúwa" (a medicine to increase his conjugal vigor); the other, some rockets, as a "mágani-n-yáki" (a medicine of war), in order to frighten his enemies.

Not being able to comply with these two modest wishes of his, I had great difficulty in convincing him of my good will; and he remained incredulous to my protestations that we had intentionally not taken such things as rockets with us, as we were afraid that, if we gave such a thing to one prince, his neighbor might become fiercely hostile to us. But he remarked that he would keep such a gift a secret. I was very glad he did not say a word more about the pistols; but, in order to give me a proof that he knew how to value fine things, he showed me the scissors and razor which I had given him the other day, for which he had got a sheath made, and wore them constantly at his left side. He then told me he would make me a present of an "abi-n-háwa" (something to mount upon), intimating already by this expression that it would not be a first-rate horse, as I had not complied with his heart's desire, but that it would be furnished with saddle and harness, and that, besides, he would send me a large "hákkori-n-gíwa" (an elephant's tooth) to Kanó. This latter offer I declined, saying that, though my means were very small at present, I did not like to turn merchant. He reminded me then of my promise to return, and we parted the best of friends. Notwithstanding the injustice of every kind which

he daily commits, he has some sentiment of honor; and feeling rather ashamed for having given me so much trouble for nothing, as he was aware that it would become known to his fellow-governors, and probably even to his liege lord, the Emír el Mumenín, he was anxious to vindicate his reputation. It was from the same motive that he begged me most urgently not to tell any body that I had made him the presents here, adding that he would afterward say that he had received them from me from Kanó.

Having returned home, I thankfully received the compliments which were made me from different quarters on account of the fortunate issue of my affair with this "munáfeki," or evil-doer; and although the horse, which was not brought till next morning, after we had been waiting for it a long while, proved rather ill-looking and poor, being scarcely worth more than ten thousand kurdí, or four dollars, and though the saddle was broken and harness wanting altogether, I was quite content, and exulted in my good fortune. But, before leaving this once most important place, I shall try to give a short historical sketch of its past, and an outline of its present state. I only hope that the description of my personal relations in this town may not be thought too diffuse; but, while it affords a glance into the actual state of things, it may also serve to instruct those who may hereafter travel in these regions.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HÁUSA.—HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF KÁTSENA.—ENTRY INTO KANÓ.

In order to render intelligible the anterior history of Kátsena, it will be necessary to enter into some preliminary explanation respecting the whole country of Háusa. The name Háusa was unknown, as it seems, to Leo Africanus; else, instead of saying that the inhabitants of Zária, Kátsena, and Kanó spoke the language of Góber,* he would have said they spoke the Háusa language. But we have no right to conclude from this circumstance that the practice of giving the name Háusa, not only to the widely diffused language, but also to the countries collectively in which it prevails, is later than Leo's time; on the contrary, I must acknowledge the improbability of such an assumption. It is true that, with the faint light available, we are unable to discern quite distinctly how the Háusa nation originated; but we may positively assert that it was not an indigenous nation, or, at least, that it did not occupy its present seat from very ancient times, but that it settled in the country at a comparatively recent date. As to one of the associated states, and the most prominent and noble among them (I mean Góber), we know positively that in ancient times it occupied tracts situated much farther north;† and I have been assured that the name Háusa also proceeded from the same quarter —an opinion which seems to be confirmed by the affinity of that language with the Temáshight.‡ Whether the name was

* Leo, l. i., s. 12. When he says that the inhabitants of Wángara (Guangara) likewise spoke Hausa, he falls into the same sort of error as when he says that the people of Mélle spoke the Sónghay language.

† See above, chap. xv.

‡ There is evidently some relation between the Háusa, the Berber, and the Coptic languages, not in the general vocabularies, but chiefly in the demonstratives, such as "me," "hakka," and the prepositions, such as "na," "dá," "gá,"

originally identical with the word "A'usa," which, as we shall see, is used by the Western Tawárek and the people of Timbúktu to denote the country on this the northern side of the Great River, in opposition to "Gúrma," the country on its southern side, I am unable to say.

Sultan Béllo's statement, that the Háusa people originated from a Bórnu slave, deserves very little credit. It is to be considered as merely expressive of his contempt for the effeminate manners of the Háusa people in his time. But their language, though it has a few words in common with the Kanúri, is evidently quite distinct from it, as well in its vocabulary as in its grammar. What Béllo says may be correct in a certain sense with regard to the population of Kanó, which, indeed, seems to consist, for the greater part, of Bórnu elements, though in course of time the people have adopted the Háusa language; and this may be the case, also, with other provinces, the original population having been more nearly related to the Manga-Bórnu stock. The name "Báwu," which occurs in the mythical genealogy of the Háusa people as that of the ancestor of most of the Háusa states, can hardly be supposed to be a mere personification representing the state of slavery in which the nation formerly existed; the name for slave in the Háusa language is báwa, not báwu. It is, however, remarkable that this personage is said to be the son of Karbágarí, whose name evidently implies "the taking of a town," and might be derived from the capture of the town of Bíram, which is universally represented as the oldest seat of the Háusa people, a tradition which is attested by a peculiar usage even at the present day. This town of Bíram is situated between Kanó and Khadéja, and is often called "Bíram-ta-ghabbes," in order to distinguish it from a more westerly town of the same name. Bíram, the personification of this town, is said to have been, by his grandson, Báwu (the son of Karbágarí), the progenitor of six other Háusa states

"dága," "garé." See the excellent analysis of the Berber language by Newman, in Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. vii., a. 1845, p. 268, 277, 278; (on the feminine forms "ita," "ta"), p. 282, 291, 296. Many more specimens, however, may now be added.

(likewise personified), viz., Kátsena and Zégzeg, who are represented as twins; Kanó and Ranó, another pair of twins; Góber and Dáura. However, it seems almost universally acknowledged that, of all these children, Dáura was the eldest.*

More important in a historical point of view, and confirming what has been said above, appears to be the statement that the mother of these children belonged to the Déggara or Díggera, a Berber tribe at present established to the north of Múniyo, and once very powerful. Bíram, Dáura, Góber, Kanó, Ranó, Kátsena, and Zégzeg, are the well known original seven Háusa states, the "Háusa bókoy" (the seven Háusa), while seven other provinces or countries, in which the Háusa language has spread to a great extent, although it is not the language of the aboriginal inhabitants, are called jocosely "bánza bókoy" (the upstart or illegitimate); these are Zánfara, Kébbi, Núpe or Nýffi, Gwári, Yáuri, Yóruba or Yáriba, and Korórofa.

As for the six children of Báwu, they are said to have had each his share assigned to him by his father in the following way: Góber was appointed the "serkí-n-yáki" (the war-chief), in order to defend his brethren, Kanó and Ranó being made "sáraki-n-bába" (the ministers of the "máriná," that peculiar emblem of the industry of Háusa), and Kátsena and Dáura "sáraki-n-káswa" (the ministers of intercourse and commerce), while Zégzeg is said to have been obliged to provide his brethren with those necessary instruments of social life in these regions, namely, slaves, becoming the "serki-n-bay." Ranó, which at present has been greatly reduced, though it is still a considerable place, situated southwest from Kanó, was originally, like each of the other towns, the capital of an independent territory, though not mentioned hitherto by any traveler who has spoken of Háusa.

* It is also a very remarkable fact that Dáura claims the glory of having had an apostle of its own, Mohammed 'Ali el Baghdadi; and with this fact the circumstance that the holy place which I noticed on my tour from Tin-téllust to A'gades is called by some "msíd Sídi Baghdádi," may probably be connected. Whether Dáura be identical with El Bekri's Daur or Daw is a question of some importance, since, if it really be so, it would appear to have been a considerable place at a very early period; but I prefer not to enter here upon the slippery ground of comparative geography.

If we credit Leo's description, we must conclude that when he visited these regions, toward the end of the fifteenth century of our era, there was no capital in the province of Kátsena, the whole country being inhabited in "piccoli casali fatti a guisa di capanne." For, with respect to later events, which happened after he had left the country, and while he was writing his description, very imperfect information appears to have reached him. Now the list of the kings of Kátsena, from a remote period, is still tolerably well preserved, together with the length of their respective reigns; and there is no reason whatever to doubt their general accuracy, as the history of the state has been in writing at least since the middle of the sixteenth century of our era, and we have something to control this list, and to connect it with facts gleaned from other quarters. This regards the period of the reign of the king Ibrahím Máji, who, as we know, lived in the time of the famous Tawáti Mohammed ben 'Abd el Kerím ben Maghíli, the friend and contemporary, as I have said before,* of the great encyclopædist Abu 'l Fadhl Jelál e' dín 'Abd e' Rahmán el Khodairi e' Soyúti, commonly known under the name of E' Sheikh e' Soyúti; and his connection with the King of Kátsena we are able to fix with tolerable certainty by his relation to the Sónghay king Is-hák, who is said to have excited his severest indignation by refusing to punish the people who had murdered his son in Gógó.† And although we can

* Vol. i., p. 386.

† In Timbúktu I was enabled to peruse a long letter from Maghíli to Is-hák about points of religion. This is the only work of Maghíli which I was able to discover in Negroland. There were two Sónghay kings of the name of Is-hák—the first, who ruled from A.H. 946–956, and the second, who was the last king of the dynasty, when Gógho or Gógó was conquered by the Basha Jodár the 17th Jumad e' tháni, 999; but there is no doubt that the first is meant. What I have said about the grandson of Maghíli's dispute with Is-hák is the common tradition in Negroland, and, I think, deserves more confidence than what M. Cherbonneau has made out in Constantine. See Journal Asiatique, 1855. He says, "Après cet horrible massacre, El M'rili quitta Touat pour s'enfoncer dans le cœur du Soudan. Il parcourut successivement Tekra (? Tirka), Kachène et Kanou. Dans les deux premières villes il enseigna publiquement la science du Koran; dans l'autre il fit un cours de jurisprudence. De là il passa à Karou (ou Tchiarou, suivant la prononciation locale), et fut invité par el Hadj Mohammed, qui en était le gouverneur, à rédiger une note sur différentes questions de droit. Il était de-

scarcely believe that the ruin of the Sónghay empire, and the rise of that of Kátsena, was the consequence of this holy man's curse, nevertheless we are justified in presuming that, after he had received offense from the king Is-hák by being refused satisfaction, he began to cultivate friendly relations with the King of Kátsena, a country then rising into importance.

We are therefore justified in placing Ibrahím Máji (the King of Kátsena, whom the fanatic Moslim converted to Islám) about the middle of the tenth century of the Hejra. Now, if we count backward from this period, adding together the years attributed to each reign, to Komáyo, the man who is universally stated to have founded Kátsena, we obtain at least three hundred and fifty years, which would carry back the political existence of the state of Kátsena to the beginning of the seventh century of the Hejra. In this computation we reduce the reign of the first two kings, or chiefs (of whom Komáyo is said to have reigned a hundred years, and his successor ninety), to about twenty years each. Excepting this little exaggeration, which is such as we find recurring in the early history of almost every nation, I do not see any reason for rejecting the list of the kings of this country, as it is preserved not only in the memory of the people, but even in written documents, though, indeed, it is to be lamented that the books containing a comprehensive history of this nation have been destroyed intentionally by the Fúlbe, or Féllani, since the conquest of the country, in order to annihilate, as far as possible, the national records.

The dynasty founded by Komáyo comprised four kings in succession, besides its founder, namely, Rámba, Téryau, Jerinnáta, and Sanáwu. Sanáwu, after a reign of thirty years, is said to have been killed by Koráwu, who came from a place named Yendútu, and founded a new dynasty (if we count backward from the time of Ibrahím Máji) about the year 722 of the Hejra; but, of course, I do not pretend to any exactness in these dates. Whether Ibrahím Máji belonged to the same dynasty

puis peu dans cette ville, lorsqu'on vint lui apprendre que son fils avait été assassiné par les juifs de Touat. Il repartit et mourut presque au moment de son arrivée."

which Koráwu had founded, I am not able to say. About thirty years before the time of Ibrahím Máji, in the year 919 A.H., or 1513 A.D., occurred that eventful expedition of the great Sónghay king Háj Mohammed A'skiá which threw all these countries into the greatest confusion. According to Leo, at that time Kátsena acknowledged the supremacy of Kanó, having been subjected for only a short time to the sway of the King of Sónghay, and afterward most probably to that of the energetic and successful king of Kébbi, who repulsed the great A'skiá. Kátsena must have fallen very soon under the supremacy of the empire of Bórnu. About fifty years after the beginning of the reign of the first Moslim king, a new dynasty commenced, that of the Hábe,* which, as it is unanimously stated to have ruled for a hundred and sixty-nine years, and as it was driven out by the Fúlbe in the year of the Hejra 1222, must have commenced about the year 1053 (A.D. 1643). In this latter dynasty, however, there seem to have been two factions (or families), which are noticed already in the preceding dynasty, one of which was called Chagarána, and the other Káryaghíwá.† But, before speaking of the struggle between the Fúlbe and the Hábe, I shall speak a few words about the town of Kátsena.

The town probably did not receive the name of the province till it had become large and predominant, which event, if Leo be correct, we must conclude did not happen much before the middle of the 16th century of our era, while in early times some separate villages probably occupied the site where, at a later period, the immense town spread out. The oldest of these villages is said to have been Ambutéy or Mbutéy, where we must presume Komáyo and his successors to have resided. After Gógó had been conquered by Muláy Hámed, the Emperor of Morocco, and, from a large and industrious capital, had become a provincial town, great part of the commerce which formerly

* "Hábe," plural of the singular "Kádo," is a general term now applied by the Fúlbe to the conquered race; but in this instance the application is different. It is not improbable that the conquerors extended the meaning of this term, which originally applied only to one dynasty, to the whole conquered nation.

† This name, in the corrupted form "Kilinghiwa," Mr. Cooley has connected with the Berbers, in his excellent little work on the Negroland of the Arabs.

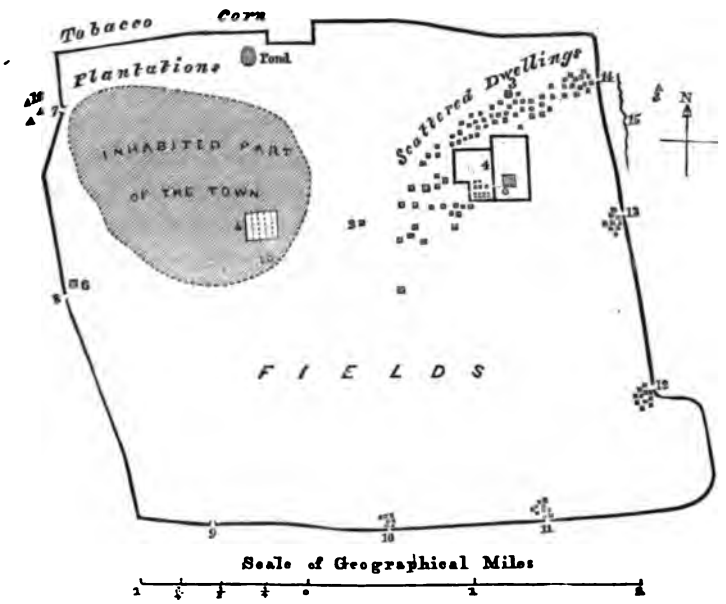
centred there must have been transferred to Kátsena, although this latter place seems never to have had any considerable trade in gold, which formed the staple of the market of Gógó. Thus the town went on increasing to that enormous size, the vestiges of which still exist at the present time, although the quarter actually inhabited comprises but a small part of its extent.*

The town, if only half of its immense area were ever tolerably well inhabited, must certainly have had a population of at least a hundred thousand souls, for its circuit is between thirteen and fourteen English miles. At present, when the inhabited quarter is reduced to the northwestern part, and when even this is mostly deserted, there are scarcely seven or eight thousand people living in it. In former times it was the residence of a prince, who, though he seems never to have attained to any remarkable degree of power, and was, indeed, almost always in some degree dependent on, or a vassal of the King of Bórnu, nevertheless was one of the most wealthy and conspicuous rulers of Negroland.† Every prince, at his accession to the throne, had to forward a sort of tribute or present to Birni Ghasréggomo, the capital of the Bórnu empire, consisting of one hundred slaves, as a token of his obedience; but this being done, it does not appear that his sovereign rights were in any way interfered with. In fact, Kátsena, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of our era, seems to have been the chief city of this part of Negroland, as well in commercial and political importance as in other respects; for here that state of civilization which had been called forth by contact with the Arabs seems to have reached its highest degree, and as the Háusa language here attained the greatest richness of form and

* For the names of the quarters of the town, which are not destitute of interest, see Appendix VII.

† It was most probably a king of Kátsena, whom Makrízi entitled King of A'funú (Hamaker, Spec. Cat., p. 206), remarking the great jealousy with which he watched his wives, although the name Mastúd which he gives to him does not occur in the lists of the kings of Kátsena which have come to my knowledge, and does not even seem to be a true native name. The power of the Prince of Kátsena toward the end of the last century (Lucas, Horneman) seems to have been rather transient, being based on the then weakness of Bornu.

the most refined pronunciation, so also the manners of Kátsena were distinguished by superior politeness from those of the other towns of Háusa.



1. House where I was lodged during my first stay in Kátsena in 1851.
2. House belonging to the quarter Dóka, where I was lodged in 1853.
3. The Zénsere.
4. Palace of the governor.
5. Market-place.
6. Old mosque.
7. Kofa-n-Gúga.
8. Kofa-n-Yendúkki.
9. Kofa-n-Koya.
10. Kofa-n-Gazúbi.
11. Kofa-n-Káura.
12. Kofa-n-Marúsa.
13. Kofa-n-Dúrdu.
14. Kofa-n-Samri.
15. A brook formed by a spring.
16. Former place of encampment of salt-caravan.

But this state of things was wholly changed when, in the very beginning of the present century, in the year 1222 of the Hejra, or 1807 of our era, the Fúlbe, called Féllani by the Háusa, and Felláta by the Bórnu people, raised to the highest pitch of fanaticism by the preaching of the Reformer or Jihádi 'Othmán dan Fódiye, and formed into the religious and political

association of the Jemmá'a, or, as they pronounce it, Jemmára, succeeded in possessing themselves of this town. However, while Kanó fell ingloriously, and almost without resistance, into the hands of Slimán (the Háusa king El Wáli having escaped to Zária), the struggle for Kátsena was protracted and sanguinary. Indeed, M'allem Ghomáro had carried on unrelenting war against the town for seven years before he at length reduced it by famine; and the distress in the town is said to have been so great that a dead "ángulú" or vulture (impure food which nobody would touch in time of peace) sold for five hundred kurdí, and a kadángeré or lizard for fifty. But the struggle did not cease here; for the "Hábe" succeeded once more in expelling the conquerors from the town, without, however, being able to maintain their position, when M'allem Ghomáro returned with a fresh army. Five princes of Kátsena, one after the other, fell in this struggle for religious and national independence; and the Púllo general was not quite secure of his conquest till after the total destruction of the town of Dánkama, when Mágajin Háddedu was slain only four months after his predecessor Mahamúdu had succumbed in Sabóngarí. Even then the new Háusa prince Benóni, who still bore the title of "serkí-n-Kátsena," did not lay down his arms, but maintained the contest till he likewise was conquered and slain in Túntuma.

From this time the town declined rapidly, and all the principal foreign merchants migrated to Kanó, where they were beyond the reach of this constant struggle; and even the Asbenáwa transferred their salt-market to the latter place, which now became the emporium of this part of Negroland, while Kátsena retained but secondary importance as the seat of a governor. This is indeed to be lamented, as the situation of the town is excellent, and, both on account of its position to the various routes and of its greater salubrity, is far preferable to Kanó. However, as matters stand, unless either the Fúlbe succeed in crushing entirely the independent provinces to the north and northwest (which, in the present weak state of the empire of Sókoto, is far from probable), or till the Goberáwa and Mariadáwa, whose king still bears the title of serkí-n-Kátsena, recon-

quer this town, it will continue to decline and become more desolate every year. In fact, Mohammed Béllo, the present governor, had conceived the design of giving up this immense town altogether, and of founding a new residence of smaller compass in its neighborhood; but his liege-lord, Alíyu, the Emír el Múmenín, would not allow him to do so.

I shall say nothing here about the empire of the Fúlbe, or about their character, of which I received a very bad impression during my first dealings with them, but shall treat of both these subjects hereafter. The only inhabited part of the town at present is the northwest quarter, although any one who should omit to take into account the population scattered over the other parts, principally round about the residence of the governor, and the people settled in the hamlets near the gates, would make a great mistake. Here it may be added that most of the importance which Kátsena has still preserved, in a commercial aspect, is due to its position with respect to Núpe, with which it keeps up a tolerably lively intercourse, the route from it to that industrious but most unfortunate country being practicable even for camels, while the road from Kanó can only be traveled with horses and asses. Almost all the more considerable native merchants in Kátsena are Wangaráwa (Eastern Mandingoes).

The province of Kátsena was formerly far more extensive than it is at present; but it has been curtailed, in order not to leave its governor too much inducement to make himself independent. Besides, many parts of it, being much exposed to the continual incursions of the independent Háusáwa, have greatly suffered, so that probably the population of the whole province does not now exceed three hundred thousand souls,* of whom only about one half seem to pay tribute. Every head of a family has to pay here two thousand five hundred kurdí-n-kassa, or ground-rent, and the whole of the kurdí-n-kassa of the province is estimated by those best acquainted with the affairs of the country at from twenty to thirty millions; a tax of five hundred kurdí is levied

* Among the places of which a list is subjoined, certainly not less than fifty have about 4000 inhabitants, while about 100,000 people are distributed among the rest and those smaller hamlets which have not been named.

also on every slave. The military force of the province consists of two thousand horsemen, and about eight thousand men on foot, most of them archers.* Altogether the province of Kátsena is one of the finest parts of Negroland, and, being situated just at the water-parting between the basin of the Tsád and that of the Kwára, at a general elevation of from 1200 to 1500 feet, it enjoys the advantage of being at once well watered and well drained, the chains of hills which diversify its surface sending down numerous rapid streams, so that it is less insalubrious than other regions of this continent. Its productions are varied and rich, though its elevated situation seems unfavorable to the growth of cotton. But, on the other side, useful trees seem to be more numerous in this district than in any other under the same latitude; and the áyaba or banana, and the gónda or papaya, are found in many favored spots, while the dorówa or *Parkia*, the tsámia or tamarind, and the kadeña, or the Shea butter-tree (*Bassia Parkii*), are the most common trees every where, and very often form thick clusters. As I shall have to describe the western districts in the narrative of my journey to Sókoto, in 1853, I now proceed with my route to Kanó.

Thursday, January 30th. I was extremely glad when, after a long delay—for we had been obliged to wait more than an hour for the poor nag presented to me by the governor—we reached the southeastern gate of the town, the "kófa-n-Káura." It was as if I had just escaped from a prison, and I drew my breath deeply as I inhaled the fresh air outside the wall. I should have carried with me a very unfavorable impression of Kátsena if it had not been my destiny to visit this place again under more favorable circumstances; and I should have obtained a very false idea of the character of the Fúlbe if, from the little experience which I had acquired in this place, I had formed a definitive judgment of them.

On the southern side of the town there is at present no cultivated ground, but the whole country is in a wild state, covered with brushwood. What we saw also of the traffic on the path seemed to be not of a very peaceable kind; for we met nothing

* For the names of the chief places in the province, see Appendix VIII.

but armed foot and horsemen, hastening to Kátsena on the news of the expedition in course of preparation by the people of Marádi: But farther on, the aspect of the country became a little more peaceful; and after a march of three miles we passed a well, where the women from a neighboring village were offering for sale the common vegetables of the country, such as gowáza or yams, dánkali or sweet potatoes, kúka, the leaves of the monkey bread-tree, dodówa or the vegetable cakes mentioned above, ground-nuts, beans, and sour milk. Nevertheless, the whole country, with its few fortified villages, its little cultivation, and the thick forests which separated the villages one from another, left the impression of a very unsettled and precarious existence. I observed that brushwood, where it is not interrupted by larger trees, is always a proof of cultivation having been carried on at no distant period. In the midst of a wild thicket, which deranged all my things, we met a long, warlike train of several hundred horsemen, who perhaps might have incommoded us on the narrow path if the strange appearance of my luggage had not so frightened the horses that they rather chose to carry their riders through the very thickest of the covert than to fall in with us. Dúm-palms now began to appear, and beyond the considerable village Bay, cultivation became more extensive. Besides the fan-palm, the dumma and kaña, and the immense monkey bread-tree, with its colossal (now leafless) branches, from which the long heavy "kauchi" were hanging down on slender mouse-tail stalks, were the prevalent trees.

By degrees the country became more beautiful and cheerful, exhibiting a character of repose and ease which is entirely wanting in the northern parts of the province; separate comfortable dwellings of cattle-breeding Féllani were spread about, and the corn-fields were carefully fenced and well kept. I was greatly astonished when Gajére, with a certain feeling of national pride, pointed out to me here the extensive property of Sídi Ghálli el Háj A'nnur, the man whom I had occasion, in my description of A'gades, to mention among the most respectable people of that town. It is astonishing how much property is held in these fertile regions by the Tawárek of A'sben, and to what con-

sequences this may eventually lead every body will easily conjecture.

A little before four o'clock in the afternoon we encamped close to a village called Shibdáwa, the celebrated town of Dáura being distant two days' march.

Friday, January 31*st.* It was a most beautiful morning, and I indulged in the feeling of unbounded liberty, and in the tranquil enjoyment of the beautiful aspect of God's creation. The country through which we passed on leaving Shibdáwa formed one of the finest landscapes I ever saw in my life. The ground was pleasantly undulating, covered with a profusion of herbage not yet entirely dried up by the sun's power; the trees, belonging to a great variety of species, were not thrown together into an impenetrable thicket of the forest, but formed into beautiful groups, exhibiting all the advantage of light and shade. There was the kaña, with its rich, dark-tinged foliage, the kadeña or butter-tree, which I here saw for the first time, exhibiting the freshest and most beautiful green; then the markê, more airy, and sending out its branches in more irregular shape, with light groups of foliage; young tamarind-trees rounding off their thick crown of foliage till it resembled an artificial canopy spread out for the traveler to repose in its shade, besides the gámji, the shéria, the sokútso, the turáwa, and many other species of trees unknown to me, while, above them all, tall and slender górebas unfolded their fan-crowns, just as if to protect the eye of the delighted wanderer from the rays of the morning sun, and to allow him to gaze undisturbed on the enchanting scenery around. Near the village Káshi even the gónda-tree, or *Carica Papaya*, which is so rarely seen in these quarters, enlivened the scenery. The densely-luxuriant groves seemed to be the abode only of the feathered tribe, birds of numberless variety playing and warbling about in the full enjoyment of their liberty, while the "serdi," a large bird with beautiful plumage of a light blue color, especially attracted my attention. Now and then a herd of cattle was seen dispersed over the rich pasturage-grounds, all of white color, and the bulls provided with a large fat hump, or "tózo," hanging down on one side. But in this delightful

spectacle objects of destruction also were not wanting, the poisonous plant "túmnia" starting forth every where.

Cotton and karásia fields interrupted the park-like scenery, and near Kámri, a small place surrounded with a low clay wall, we were delighted with the view of a green patch of low ground laid out into beds, and, with the help of a number of draw-beams, "khattatír" or "lámbuna," producing wheat and onions. This ground is only worked with the gélma and the fertáña or small hoe.

Granite rock was protruding in several places; and a little after midday we had a detached range of hills on our right, stretching E. and W. Soon afterward, near the village Temma, we passed a small market-place, consisting of about eight sheds, and shaded by a number of wide-spreading tamarind-trees, where I was astonished at the number of cattle and horses assembled, but heard, on inquiry, that they were not intended for sale. Farther on, after we had passed the fields of Gógó, plenty of cattle and goats were seen browsing every where about. All the cattle were of a white, and all the goats of a coffee-brown color. Having passed the encampment of the Tinnéggaru or Kél-néggaru, and crossed a dale fringed with small fresh patches of wheat, which were watered by way of the said "lámbuna" from wells in the hollow, we encamped a quarter before four o'clock close to the fence of the village Bógo; for the whole country swarms with thieves, and great caution is necessary at night: the Tin-néggaru last night killed a thief who was attempting to carry off a loaf of salt.

Saturday, February 1st. After a march of about two miles and a half, over clayey ground greatly broken up by the rains, we reached the N.W. corner of the considerable town Kusáda, and continued along its western wall, where a group of very tall and majestic rimis (*Bombax* or *Eriodendron Guineense*), though at present leafless, formed a most conspicuous object. It is very singular and highly characteristic that this tree (the bentang-tree of Mungo Park) generally grows near the principal gate of the large towns in Háusa, while otherwise it is not frequent, at least not the large, full-grown specimens; and it is not

improbable that the natives purposely planted them in those places as a kind of waymark; or perhaps it may be a remnant of their pagan customs, this tree being deemed holy by several pagan tribes. It is almost incredible at what an immense distance these stupendous trees, the tallest of the vegetable kingdom, may be seen.

Kusáda is a town of importance, and is very little less than Gazáwa, though not so thickly inhabited. The wall of the town is in tolerably good repair, and the interior is rich in trees, making it look very cheerful and comfortable. Most of the huts consist of clay walls, with a thatched roof, which is certainly the mode of architecture best adapted to the climate and the whole nature of the country.

When leaving the south side of this town we were joined by a troop of women very heavily laden, each carrying on the head from six to ten enormous calabashes filled with various articles; but they did not prove to be agreeable company; for, not being able to walk steadily for any length of time with their loads, they stopped every few minutes, and then went on at a running pace till they were obliged again to halt, so that they came frequently into collision either with my camel or with the bullock. It is really incredible what loads the native women of Negroland can carry on their heads, but I think no other tribe is equal in this respect to the Tápua or Nyffáwa. The country through which we had to pass along for the first two miles was overgrown with underwood, and much broken up by the rains, till we reached the stubble-fields of Kaférda, where my attention was attracted again by a few scattered specimens of the gigiña, or deléb-palm, which, in these districts, seems to be extremely rare. Descending then a little, the country assumed once more that delightful park-like appearance which had so charmed me the previous day; and the variety of the vegetation was extraordinary, górcba, jéja, gámji, rími, and dóka being the principal trees.

The industry of the natives was also well represented: for soon after we had met a troop of men carrying home loads of indigo-plants, in order to prepare them in their simple way, we

passed over extensive tobacco-fields, which had very nearly reached maturity. Rich aromatic bushes were growing every where in the fields, affording the most nourishing food for bees, for which purpose hives, formed of thick hollow logs, were fastened to the branches of the colossal kúka-trees. We here passed a most curious specimen of vegetable intercourse in the thorough intermixture of a gigiña with another tree. In the course of my travels my attention was drawn to the interesting attraction which exists between the tamarind-tree and the kúka, both of which trees I very often found linked together in the closest embraces. This district was greatly enlivened also by a rich variety of the feathered tribe; but the beautiful serdi was not seen, the káló and the tsírna taking its place.

A quarter of an hour after noon we passed the considerable place Dan-Sábua, defended only by a stockade, and, with the exception of a small market-place, giving very little proof of any kind of industry among its inhabitants. When I passed the place three years later it even seemed almost deserted. About two miles farther on we passed a small round hill covered with underwood up to its very summit, and remarkable enough for being taken as a boundary-mark between the provinces of Kátsena and Kanó; in 1854, however, the frontier was carried farther N.W., near Kaférda. We encamped early in the afternoon near the village Gúrzo, separated from it only by a dell laid out in small garden-fields with wheat and onions, and obtained a good supply of the latter, but nothing else. In the night a thief almost succeeded in carrying off some of our luggage, but had to run very hard for his life.

Early the next morning we started with an enthusiastic impulse, in order to reach before night the celebrated emporium of Central Negroland. Kanó, indeed, is a name which excites enthusiasm in every traveler in these regions, from whatever quarter he may come, but principally if he arrives from the north. We thus started in the twilight, passing in the bush some herds of cattle remaining out in the pasture-grounds, and meeting several troops of travelers, which made us fancy the capital to be nearer than it really was. We listened to the tales of our

comely and cheerful companion, the "babá-n-báwa" of Tágelel, who detailed to us the wonders of this African London, Birmingham, and Manchester—the vastness of the town, the palace and retinue of the governor, the immense multitudes assembled every day in its market-place, the splendor and richness of the merchandise exposed there for sale, the various delicacies of the table, the beauty and gracefulness of its ladies. At times my fiery Tunisian mulatto shouted out from mere anticipation of the pleasures which awaited him.

Keeping steadily along, we reached, after about five miles, the very considerable town of Béchi, the well-kept clay walls of which started forth suddenly from a most luxuriant mass of vegetation, where we saw again the beautifully-feathered serdi fluttering about from branch to branch.

The town is very remarkable, as exhibiting the peculiar circumstances of the social state in this country; for it belongs partly to the Tawárek tribe of the Itísan, whose búgaje or serfs —properly half-castes, born of free mothers, but slaves from the father's side—live here, cultivating for their lords the fields around the town. Thus we see Tawárek every where, not only as occasional merchants, but even as settlers and proprietors. The town has but one gate; and a great many of the houses are of the kind described above. Beyond the town the country becomes less cultivated, and is mostly covered with the wild gónda-bush, which bears a most delicious fruit, richly deserving to be called the cream-apple. I suspected it for some time to be identical with the custard-apple; but I afterward assured myself that it is not. I call the attention of every African traveler to this fruit, which affords the greatest relief after a long day's journey; but it does not grow on the flat, clayey plains of Bórnu Proper.

Beyond the little market-place of Budúmme we met the first strings of empty camels belonging to the aïri with which we had been traveling. They were returning from Kanó, where they had carried the salt, in order to retrace their steps to good pasture-grounds, while their masters remained in the capital to sell their merchandise. The drivers confirmed the information

we had already received, that our protector Elaíji had not as yet arrived in the town. For he likewise possesses a large property near Kazáure, whither he had gone after parting from me at Kátsena. The country again assumed a more cheerful character; we passed several villages, and even a máriná, or dyeing-place, and the path was well frequented. Almost all the people who met us saluted us most kindly and cheerfully; and I was particularly amused by the following form of salutation: "Bárka, sanú sanú: hm! hm!" "God bless you, gently, gently; how strange!" Only a few proud Féllani, very unlike their brethren in the west, passed us without a salute. The villages are here scattered about in the most agreeable and convenient way, as farming villages ought always to be, but which is practicable only in a country in a state of considerable security and tranquillity. All their names, therefore, are in the plural form, as Tarauráwa, Jimbedáwa, Bagadáwa. The idea of a great degree of industry was inspired by the sight of a máriná near Jimbedáwa, comprising as many as twenty dyeing-pots; and here also a little market was held by the women of the district. About half past one in the afternoon we entered the rich district of Dáwano, which almost exclusively belongs to the wealthy Dan Mália, and is chiefly inhabited by Féllani. There was here a large market-place, consisting of several rows of well-built sheds, and frequented by numbers of people. A few market-women attached themselves to our little troop, giving us assurance that we should be able to reach the "bírni" to-day, but then added that we ought to arrive at the outer gate before sunset, as it is shut at that time.

We accordingly pressed on with our varied little caravan, consisting of a very lean black horse, covered with coarse wool-like hair, worth four dollars, or perhaps less; a mare, scarcely worth more in its present condition; a camel, my faithful Bú-Séfi, evidently the most respectable four-footed member of the troop, carrying a very awkward load, representing my whole traveling household, with writing-table and bedding-boards; a sumpter-ox, heavily laden; then the four human bipeds to match, viz., one half-barbarized European, one half-civilized

Góberáwi Tunisian mulatto, a young lean Tébu lad, and my stout, sturdy, and grave overseer from Tágelel. As we then entered some fields of sesamum, or "nóme" (quite a new sight for me in this country, but which was soon to become of very common occurrence), Gajére descried in the distance between the trees the top of the hill Dalá, and we all strained our eyes to get a first glimpse of this hill, which is the real landmark of Kanó.

The country hereabouts exhibited a new feature, some of the fields being inclosed with a bush which I had not seen before, and which was called by my intelligent guide "fidde serewukka." In Múniyo, where I afterward saw it used for the same purpose, it is called "mágara." It is a kind of broom, growing to the height of ten or twelve feet, and has a milky juice, which is slightly poisonous, but by some people is employed as a cure for wounds caused by thorns. A little while afterward we saw the first single date-palm, a tree also most characteristic of Kanó; and now, the country becoming clear, we obtained a full sight of both the hills, Dalá and Kógo-n-dútsi, which rise from the flat level of the plain; but nothing was as yet visible of the town, and we had but faint hopes of reaching it before sunset. However, we went on, though a little disheartened, as we had some foreboding that we should incur the displeasure of the governor; and passing through the gate, in front of which part of the aïri were encamped, without stopping, as if we were natives of the country, went on across open fields. It took us forty minutes to reach the house of Báwu from the gate, though this lies near the very outskirts of Dalá, the northernmost quarter of the town.

It was quite dark, and we had some trouble in taking possession of the quarters assigned to us by our host.

Kanó had been sounding in my ears now for more than a year; it had been one of the great objects of our journey as the central point of commerce, as a great store-house of information, and as the point whence more distant regions might be most successfully attempted. At length, after nearly a year's exertions, I had reached it.

CHAPTER XXV.

RESIDENCE IN KANÓ.—VIEW OF ITS INTERIOR.—ITS HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE.—COMMERCE.

KANÓ for us was a station of importance, not only from a scientific, but also from an economical point of view. Instead of being provided with ready cash, we had received in Múrzuk, on account of the British government, merchandise which, we had been assured, would not only be safer than money, but would also prove more advantageous for us. In consequence of the heavy extortions to which we were subjected on the road to Aïr, and of our long delay in that country, we had been deprived of the small articles which we carried for barter, so that we were entirely thrown upon the merchandise which we had forwarded in advance from Tintéggana; and I, for my part, on my arrival in Kanó, had to liquidate a debt of not less than 112,300 kurdí, viz., 55,000 for the carriage of this very merchandise from Tintéggana to Kanó; 8300 as my share of the presents or passage-money given on the road; 18,000 to Gajére, as hire for the mare and bullock; and 31,000 to a man of the name of Háj el Dáwaki, on account of Abú-Bakr el Wákhshi, for the articles bought from him in Kátsena, in order to satisfy the governor of that place. Besides, I was aware that I had to make a considerable present to the Governor of Kanó; and I was most desirous to discharge Mohammed e' Túnsi, whom I had discovered to be utterly useless in these countries, and who, besides his insupportable insolence, might bring me into trouble by his inconsiderate and frivolous conduct.

These were material calls upon my incumbered property. On my mind, too, there were claims of a not less serious character; for, from my very outset from Europe, I had steadily fixed my eyes upon that eastern branch of the Kwára, or so-called Niger, which Laird, Allen, and Oldfield had navigated for

the distance of some eighty miles, and which the former (although he himself did not penetrate farther than Fánda) had, with reasons decisive in my eyes, and which could not be overthrown, in my opinion, by Captain William Allen's ingenious but fanciful hypothesis, concluded to have no communication whatever with Lake Tsád, but to proceed from another and very different quarter.*

I had therefore cherished the hope that I should be capable of penetrating from Kanó in the direction of 'Adamáwa, a country wherein I was sure that the question respecting the course of the river would be decided; but obviously such an undertaking could not be engaged in without pecuniary means, and all therefore depended on my success in selling advantageously the merchandise with which I was provided.

For all these reasons, nothing could be more disagreeable and disheartening to me, though I was not quite unprepared for it, than the information which I received the very evening of my arrival in Kanó, that the price of merchandise such as I had was very low. In the next place, I soon found that Báwu, Mr. Gagliuffi's agent, whom, in compliance with his recommendation, we had made also our commissioner, was not to be implicitly relied on. He was the second son of Háj Hát Sáleh, the man so well known from the narrative of Captain Clapperton, toward whom he seems to have behaved with honesty and fairness, and by this means perhaps he had recommended himself to Mr. Gagliuffi; but Báwu was not the right man to be intrusted with discretionary power over the property of a foreign merchant residing at a great distance, and belonging even to another religion, or to be the commissioner for European travelers. Young and ambitious as he was, he had no other object but to insinuate himself into the good graces of the governor at the expense of those who had been foolish enough to trust them-

* Laird's and Oldfield's Narrative, vol. i., p. 233. As this clear and rational conviction, which the meritorious man who has labored so long for that part of Africa entertained, has been entirely confirmed by my succeeding discovery, I think it well to give to it all the publicity which it deserves. The two learned geographers of Africa, Mr. Cooley and MacQueen, concurred entirely in this opinion.

selves into his hands. Besides, he had upon his hand a host of younger brothers, who all wanted to "eat." Though Háj Hát Sáleh seems to have been a respectable man, he must have paid very little attention to the education of his children.

It will scarcely be believed that this man, although he had two camel-loads of goods of mine in his hands, yet left me without a single shell, "ko urí gudá," for a whole fortnight, so that I was glad to borrow two thousand kurdí, less than an Austrian dollar, from Mohammed e' Sfáksi, in order to defray the most necessary expenses of my household.

Besides, this agent urged the absolute necessity of making a considerable present not only to the governor, which I was quite prepared to do, but another of nearly the same value to the ghaladíma or first minister, who happened to be the governor's brother, and enjoyed quite as much authority and influence. The consequence was, that I was obliged to give away the few articles of value in my possession merely for being tolerated and protected. The second day after my arrival the governor received a message from Mr. Richardson, forwarded from Zínder, intimating that, after he should have received new supplies from the coast, he would not fail to come to Kanó; whereupon he sent me word that I had done very wrong to enter his town without giving him previous information, whereas my countryman had already forwarded a notice that at some future period he was likely to pay him a visit. Besides concluding from the fact that I was not mentioned at all in that letter that I was traveling on my own account, he made also greater pretensions with regard to a present.

Being lodged in dark, uncomfortable, and cheerless quarters, which I was forbidden to leave before the governor had seen me, destitute of a single farthing in cash, while I was daily called upon and pestered by my numerous creditors, and laughed at on account of my poverty by an insolent servant, my readers may fancy that my situation in the great, far-famed entrepôt of Central Africa, the name of which had excited my imagination for so long a time, was far from agreeable. Partly from anxiety, partly from want of exercise, in the course of a few days I

had a very severe attack of fever, which reduced me to a state of great weakness. Fortunately, however, I mustered sufficient strength to avail myself of a summons which called me at length into the presence of the governor, on the 18th of February; and, by sacrificing what few things remained to me, I paved the road for my further proceedings, while the degree of exertion which was necessary to undergo the fatigue of the visit carried me over my weakness, and restored me gradually to health. The distances in Kanó, though less than those of London, are very great; and the ceremonies to be gone through are scarcely less tedious than those at any European court.

Clothing myself as warmly as possible in my Tunisian dress, and wearing over it a white tobe and a white bernús, I mounted my poor black nag, and followed my three mediators and advocates. These were Báwu, Elaíji, and Sídi 'Ali. Elaíji had arrived three days after me from his estate, and had continued to show me the same disinterested friendship which I had experienced from him before. Sídi 'Ali was the son of Mohammed, the former Sultan of Fezzán, and the last of the Welád Mohammed, who was killed by Mukni, the father of Yusuf, Mr. Richardson's interpreter.

This man, whom it would have been far better for us to have employed as our agent from the beginning, had testified his interest in my welfare by sending me a fat ram as a present, and now accompanied me most kindly, in order to exert his influence in my behalf with the governor. On my second visit to Kanó, on my return from Timbúktu in the latter part of 1854, when I was still more destitute than in 1851, I placed myself directly under his protection, and made him my agent at the moment when the state of my affairs rendered considerable credit desirable.

It was a very fine morning, and the whole scenery of the town in its great variety of clay houses, huts, sheds, green open places affording pasture for oxen, horses, camels, donkeys, and goats, in motley confusion, deep hollows containing ponds overgrown with the water-plant, the *Pistia stratiotes*, or pits freshly dug up in order to form the material for some new buildings,

various and most beautiful specimens of the vegetable kingdom, particularly the fine symmetric gónda or papaya, the slender date-palm, the spreading alléluba, and the majestic rími or silk cotton-tree (*Bombax*)—the people in all varieties of costume, from the naked slave up to the most gaudily dressed Arab—all formed a most animated and exciting scene. As far as the market-place I had already proceeded on foot; but Báwu, as soon as he saw me, had hurried me back to my lodgings, as having not yet been formally received by the governor. But no one on foot can get a correct idea of an African town, confined as he often is on every side by the fences and walls, while on horseback he obtains an insight into all the court-yards, becomes an eye-witness of scenes of private life, and often with one glance surveys a whole town.

Passing through the market-place, which had only begun to collect its crowds, and crossing the narrow neck of land which divides the characteristic pool "Jákara," we entered the quarters of the ruling race, the Fúlbe or Féllani, where conical huts of thatch-work and the gónda-tree are prevalent, and where most beautiful and lively pictures of nature meet the eye on all sides. Thus we proceeded, first to the house of the gadó (the lord of the treasury), who had already called several times at my house, and acted as the mediator between me and the governor.

His house was a most interesting specimen of the domestic arrangements of the Fúlbe, who, however civilized they may have become, do not disown their original character as "beroróji," or nomadic cattle-breeders. His court-yard, though in the middle of the town, looked like a farm-yard, and could not be conscientiously commended for its cleanliness. Having with difficulty found a small spot to sit down upon without much danger of soiling our clothes, we had to wait patiently till his excellency had examined and approved of the presents. Having manifested his satisfaction with them by appropriating to himself a very handsome large gilt cup, which with great risk I had carried safely through the desert, he accompanied us to the "fáda," "lamórde," or palace, which forms a real labyrinth of court-yards, provided with spacious round huts of audience,

built of clay, with a door on each side, and connected together by narrow intricate passages. Hundreds of lazy, arrogant courtiers, freemen and slaves, were lounging and idling here, killing time with trivial and saucy jokes.

We were first conducted to the audience-hall of the ghaladíma, who, while living in a separate palace, visits the "fáda" almost every day, in order to act in his important and influential office as vizier; for he is far more intelligent, and also somewhat more energetic, than his lazy and indolent brother 'Othmán,* who allows this excessively wealthy and most beautiful province, "the garden of Central Africa," to be ransacked with impunity by the predatory incursions of the serkí Ibrám of Zínder, and other petty chiefs. Both are sons of Dábo and Shékara, the latter one of the celebrated ladies of Háusa, a native of Dáura, who is still living, and has three other children, viz., a son (Makhmúd) and two daughters, one of them named Fátima Záhar, and the other Sáretu. The governor was then eight-and-thirty, the ghaladíma seven-and-thirty years of age. They were both stout and handsome men, the governor rather too stout and clumsy. Their apartments were so excessively dark that, coming from a sunny place, it was some time before I could distinguish any body. The governor's hall was very handsome, and even stately for this country, and was the more imposing as the rafters supporting the very elevated ceiling were concealed, two lofty arches of clay, very neatly polished and ornamented, appearing to support the whole. At the bottom of the apartment were two spacious and highly decorated niches, in one of which the governor was reposing on a "gado," spread with a carpet. His dress was not that of a simple Púllo, but consisted of all the mixed finery of Háusa and Barbary; he allowed his face to be seen, the white shawl hanging down far below his mouth over his breast.

In both audiences (as well that with the "ghaladíma" as with the governor) old Elaíji was the speaker, beginning his

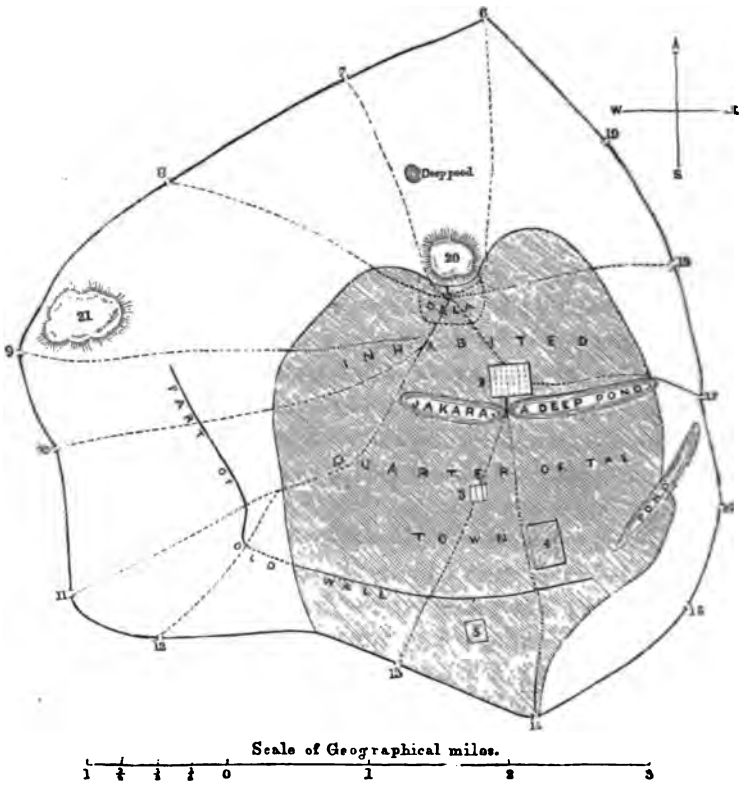
* 'Othman has since died of cholera, which made its appearance in Kanó in 1855. I do not know the name of his successor. For the sake of the country, I entertain the hope that he may be more energetic than his predecessor.

speech with a *captatio benevolentiæ*, founded on the heavy and numerous losses sustained on the road by me and my companions. Altogether, he performed his office very well, with the exception that he dwelt longer than was necessary on Overweg's journey to Marádi, which certainly could not be a very agreeable topic to Ba-Féllaṇchi. Sídi 'Ali also displayed his eloquence in a very fair way. The ghaladíma made some intelligent observations, while the governor only observed that, though I had suffered so severely from extortion, yet I seemed to have still ample presents for him. Nor was he far wrong; for the black "kabá" (a sort of bernús, with silk and gold lace, which I gave him) was a very handsome garment, and here worth sixty thousand kurdí; besides, he got a red cap, a white shawl with red border, a piece of white muslin, rose oil, one pound of cloves, and another of jáwi or benzoin, razor, scissors, an English clasp-knife, and a large mirror of German silver. The ghaladíma got the same presents, except that, instead of the kabá, I gave him a piece of French striped silk worth fifty thousand kurdí.

However, our audience did not go off so fast as I relate it; for, after being dismissed by the ghaladíma, we were obliged to wait full two hours before we could see the governor; yet, although we returned to our quarters during the very hottest hour of the day, I felt much better, and in the evening was able to finish a whole chicken, and to enjoy a cup of Cyprian wine, for which I felt very grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Crowe, who had supplied me with this cheering luxury.

Having now at length made my peace with the governor, and seeing that exercise of body and recreation of mind were the best medicines I could resort to, I mounted on horseback the next day again, and, guided by a lad well acquainted with the topography of the town, rode for several hours round all the inhabited quarters, enjoying at my leisure, from the saddle, the manifold scenes of public and private life, of comfort and happiness, of luxury and misery, of activity and laziness, of industry and indolence, which were exhibited in the streets, the market-places, and in the interior of the court-yards. It was the

most animated picture of a little world in itself, so different in external form from all that is seen in European towns, yet so similar in its internal principles.



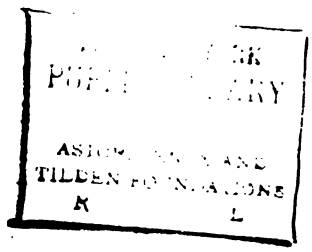
1. My own quarters in Dalá. During my second stay in Kanó I also resided in Dalá, at a short distance from my old quarters.
2. Great market-place.
3. Small market-place.
4. Palace of Governor.
5. Palace of Ghaladíma.
6. Kofa Mazúger.
7. Kofa-n-'Adama.
8. Kofa-n-Gúdan.
9. Kofa-n-Kansákkali.
10. Kofa-n-Limún, or Káboga.
11. Kofa-n-Dakanye, or Dukánie.
12. Kofa-n-Dakaina.
13. Kofa-n-Naïsa.
14. Kofa-n-Kúra.
15. Kofa-n-Nasaráwa.
16. Kofa-n-Máta.
17. Kofa-n-Wambay.
18. Kofa-n-Magardi.
19. Kofa-n-Rúa (at present shut).
20. Mount Dalá.
21. Mount Kógo-n-dútsi.

Here a row of shops, filled with articles of native and foreign produce, with buyers and sellers in every variety of figure, complexion, and dress, yet all intent upon their little gain, endeavoring to cheat each other; there a large shed, like a hurdle, full of half-naked, half-starved slaves torn from their native homes, from their wives or husbands, from their children or parents, arranged in rows like cattle, and staring desperately upon the buyers, anxiously watching into whose hands it should be their destiny to fall. In another part were to be seen all the necessaries of life; the wealthy buying the most palatable things for his table; the poor stopping and looking greedily upon a handful of grain: here a rich governor, dressed in silk and gaudy clothes, mounted upon a spirited and richly caparisoned horse, and followed by a host of idle, insolent slaves; there a poor blind man groping his way through the multitude, and fearing at every step to be trodden down; here a yard neatly fenced with mats of reed, and provided with all the comforts which the country affords—a clean, snug-looking cottage, the clay walls nicely polished, a shutter of reeds placed against the low, well-rounded door, and forbidding intrusion on the privacy of life, a cool shed for the daily household work—a fine spreading allé-luba-tree, affording a pleasant shade during the hottest hours of the day, or a beautiful gónda or papaya unfolding its large, feather-like leaves above a slender, smooth, and undivided stem, or the tall date-tree, waving over the whole scene; the matron, in a clean black cotton gown wound round her waist, her hair neatly dressed in "chókoli" or bejáji, busy preparing the meal for her absent husband, or spinning cotton, and, at the same time, urging the female slaves to pound the corn; the children, naked and merry, playing about in the sand at the "urgi-n-dá-waki" or the "da-n-chácha," or chasing a straggling, stubborn goat; earthenware pots and wooden bowls, all cleanly washed, standing in order. Farther on, a dashing Cyprian, homeless, comfortless, and childless, but affecting merriment or forcing a wanton laugh, gaudily ornamented with numerous strings of beads round her neck, her hair fancifully dressed, and bound with a diadem, her gown of various colors loosely fastened un-

der her luxuriant breast, and trailing behind in the sand; near her a diseased wretch covered with ulcers or with elephantiasis.

Now a busy "máriná," an open terrace of clay, with a number of dyeing-pots, and people busily employed in various processes of their handicraft: here a man stirring the juice, and mixing with the indigo some coloring wood in order to give it the desired tint; there another, drawing a shirt from the dye-pot, or hanging it up on a rope fastened to the trees; there two men beating a well-dyed shirt, singing the while, and keeping good time; farther on, a blacksmith busy with his rude tools in making a dagger which will surprise, by the sharpness of its blade, those who feel disposed to laugh at the workman's instruments; a formidable barbed spear, or the more estimable and useful instruments of husbandry; in another place, men and women making use of an ill-frequented thoroughfare as a "kaudi tseggenábe" to hang up, along the fences, their cotton thread for weaving; close by, a group of indolent loiterers lying in the sun and idling away their hours.

Here a caravan from Gónja arriving with the desired kola-nut, chewed by all who have "ten kurdí" to spare from their necessary wants, or a caravan laden with natron, starting for Núpe, or a troop of A'sbenáwa going off with their salt for the neighboring towns, or some Arabs leading their camels, heavily laden with the luxuries of the north and east (the "káya-nghábbes"), to the quarter of the Ghadamsíye; there, a troop of gaudy, warlike-looking horsemen galloping toward the palace of the governor to bring him the news of a new inroad of Serkí Ibrám. Every where human life in its varied forms, the most cheerful and the most gloomy, seemed closely mixed together; every variety of national form and complexion—the olive-colored Arab, the dark Kanúri with his wide nostrils, the small-featured, light, and slender Ba-Féllanchi, the broad-faced Ba-Wángara (Mandingo), the stout, large-boned, and masculine-looking Núpe female, the well-proportioned and comely Ba-Háushe woman.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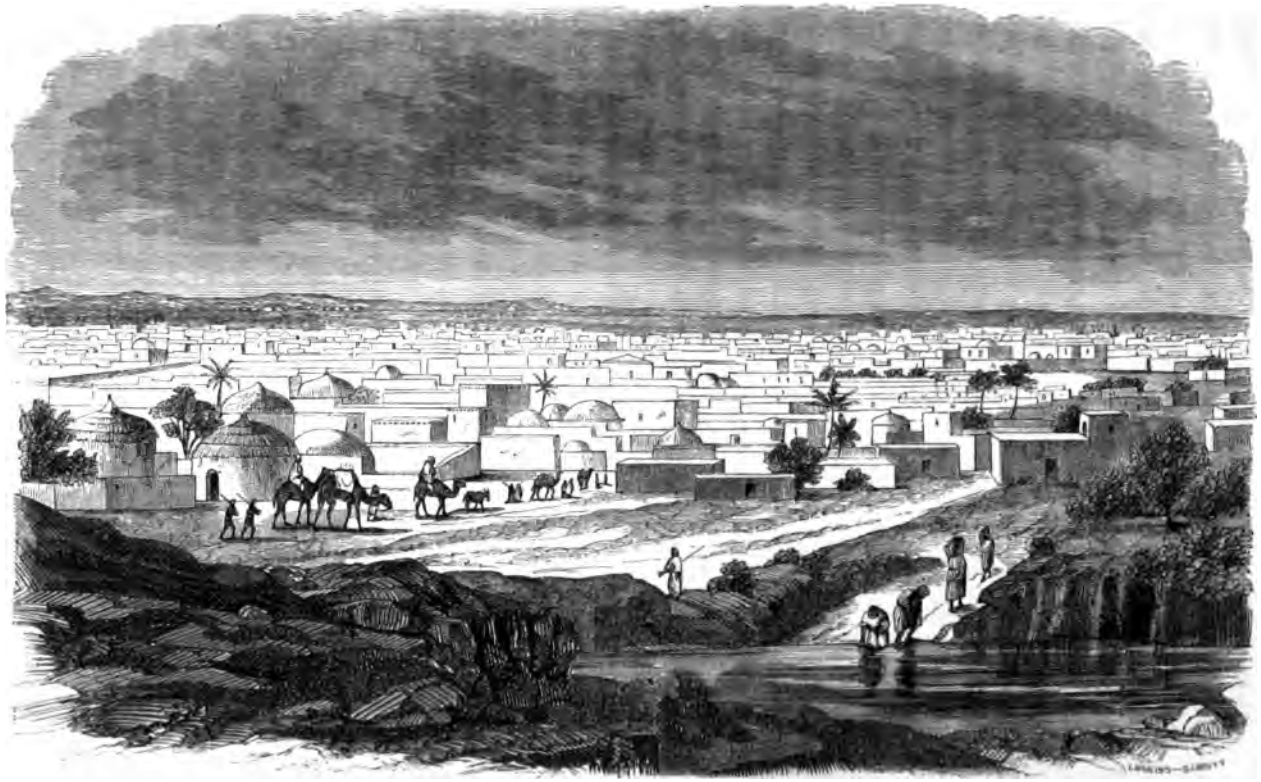


KANÓ FROM MOUNT DALÁ.

Delighted with my trip, and deeply impressed by the many curious and interesting scenes which had presented themselves to my eyes, I returned by way of the "úngwa-n-makáfi," or "belád el amiyán" (the village of the blind), to my quarters, the gloominess and cheerlessness of which made the more painful impression upon me from its contrast with the brightly animated picture which I had just before enjoyed.

The next day I made another long ride through the town, and, being tolerably well acquainted with the topography of the place and its different quarters, I enjoyed still more the charming view obtained from the top of the Dalá, and of which the accompanying sketch is but a feeble representation.*

I had just descended from the eminence beneath which spread this glorious panorama, when I heard a well-known voice calling me by my name; it was 'Abdalla the Tawáti, my friend and teacher in A'gades, who, after residing some time in Tasáwa, had come to try his fortune in this larger sphere of action. I had, besides him, some other acquaintances, who gave me much interesting information, particularly a young Ba-Háushe lad of the name of Ibrahíma, who gave me the first tolerably correct idea of the road to Yóla, the capital of Adamáwa, although he was puzzled about the direction of the Great River, which he had crossed, supposing that it flowed eastward instead of westward. I derived also a great deal of information from a less agreeable man named Mohammed, with the surname "el Merábet" (reclaimed), rather antithetically, as "lucus a non lucendo," for he was the most profligate drunkard imaginable, and eventually remained indebted to me for several thousand cowries.

I was much worried during my stay in Kanó by a son of the governor of Zária, who, suffering dreadfully from stricture or some other obstruction, had come expressly to Kanó in the hope

* The very strong wind, which I had always the misfortune to encounter when ascending Mount Dalá, did not allow me to enter into all the details of the sketch, which would be requisite to give a true picture of the variety of the scene; and the glowing, lively tone spread over the whole has been inadequately caught by the artist. I must also observe that the southern quarter of the town, which is at too great a distance from this hill to be discernible, is far more picturesque than the northern one.

of being relieved by me; and it was impossible for me to convince him that I had neither the knowledge nor the instruments necessary for effecting the cure of his disease. It would, no doubt, have been of great service if I had been able to cure him, as he was the son of one of the most powerful princes of Negroland; but as it was, I could only afford him a little temporary relief. My intercourse with this man was indeed most painful to me, as I felt conscious of entire inability to help him, while he conjured me by all that was dear to me not to give him up or abandon him. He died shortly afterward. More agreeable to me was a visit from the eldest son of the Governor of Kanó, who, accompanied by two horsemen, came to call upon me one day, and, not finding me at home, traced me whither I had gone, and having met me, followed silently till I had re-entered my quarters. He was a handsome, modest, and intelligent youth of about eighteen years of age, and was delighted with the performance of my musical-box. I gave him an English clasp-knife, and we parted the best of friends, greatly pleased with each other.

I had considerable difficulty in arranging my pecuniary affairs, and felt really ashamed at being unable to pay my debt to the Háj el Dáwaki till after Wákhshi himself had arrived from Kátsena. After having sold, with difficulty, all that I possessed, having suffered a very heavy loss by Báwu's dishonesty, paid my debts, and arranged my business with Mohammed el Túnsi, who, suffering under a very severe attack of fever, wanted most eagerly to return home, I should scarcely have been able to make the necessary preparations for my journey to Bórnu if the governor had not assisted me a little. He had hitherto behaved very shabbily toward me, not a single dish, not a sheep or other token of his hospitality, having been sent me during my stay in the town. I was therefore most agreeably surprised when, on the morning of the 2d of March, old Elaíji came and announced to me that, in consequence of his urgent remonstrances, the governor had sent me a present of sixty thousand kurdí. He told me, with a sort of pride, that he had severely reprimanded him, assuring him that he was the only prince who had not honored

me. I should have been better pleased if the governor had sent me a pair of camels or a horse; but I was thankful for this unexpected supply; and, giving six thousand to the officer who had brought the money, and as much to Elaíji, and dividing eight thousand between Báwu and Sídi 'Ali, I kept forty thousand for myself.

With this present I was fortunately enabled to buy two camels instead of sumpter oxen, which give great trouble on the road during the dry season, especially if not properly attended to, and prepared every thing for my journey; but the people in these countries are all cowards, and as I was to go alone without a caravan, I was unable to find a good servant. Thus I had only my faithful Tébu lad Mohammed whom I could rely upon, having beside him none but a debauched young Fezzáni, Makhmúd, who had long lived in this town, and a youth named 'Abd-Alla. Nevertheless, I felt not a moment's hesitation, but, on the contrary, impatiently awaited the moment when I should leave my dingy and melancholy quarters, full of mice and vermin.

I had hoped to get off on the 6th; but nothing was heard from the governor, and it would have been imprudent to start without his permission. With envious feelings, I witnessed the departure of the natron-caravan for Núpe or Nýffi, consisting of from two to three hundred asses. With it went Mohammed A'nnur, a very intelligent man, whom I had endeavored by all possible means to hire as a servant, but could not muster shells enough. However, the exploration of all those more distant regions I was obliged in my present circumstances to give up, and to concentrate my whole energies on the effort to reach Kúkawa, where I had concerted with Mr. Richardson to arrive in the beginning of April. I had had the satisfaction of sending off a long report and several letters to Europe on the 1st of March (when the Ghadámsíye merchants dispatched a courier to their native town), and felt therefore much easier with regard to my communication with Europe. My delay, also, had given me the great advantage of making the acquaintance of a man named Mohammed el 'Anáya, from the D'ara el Takhtaníye, to the south

of Morocco, who first gave me some general information about the route from Timbúktu to Sókoto, which in the sequel was to become a new field for my researches and adventures.

I became so seriously ill on the 8th that I looked forward with apprehension to my departure, which was fixed for the following day. But, before leaving this important place, I will make a few general observations with regard to its history and its present state.

The town of Kanó, considered as the capital of a province, must be of somewhat older date than Kátsena, if we are to rely on Leo's accuracy, though from other more reliable sources (which I shall bring to light in the chapter on the history of Bórnu) it is evident that even in the second half of the sixteenth century there could have been here only the fortress of Dalá, which, at that period, withstood the attacks of the Bórnu king. I think we are justified in supposing that, in this respect, Leo (when, after an interval of many years, he wrote the account of the countries of Negroland which he had visited) confounded Kanó with Kátsena. The strength of the Kanáwa, that is to say, the inhabitants of the province of Kanó, at the time of the Bórnu king Edris Alawóma, is quite apparent from the report of his imám; but from that time forth the country seems to have been tributary to Bórnu; and the population of the town of Kanó is said, with good reason, to have consisted, from the beginning, mostly of Kanúri or Bórnu elements. However, the established allegiance or subjection of this province to Bórnu was evidently rather precarious, and could be maintained only with a strong hand; for there was a powerful neighbor, the King of Korórofa or Júku, ready to avail himself of every opportunity of extending his own power and dominion over that territory. We know also that one king of that country, whose name, however, I could not obtain, on the entry of a new governor into office in Kanó, made an expedition into that country, and installed his own representative in the place of that of Bórnu, and though the eastern provinces of Korórofa itself (I mean the district inhabited by the Koána or Kwána) became afterward tributary to Bórnu, yet the main province (or Júku Prop-

er) with the capital Wukári, seems to have always remained strong and independent, till now, at length, it seems destined to be gradually swallowed up by the Fúlbe, if the English do not interfere. But to return to our subject. As long as Kátsena continued independent and flourishing, the town of Kanó appears never to have been an important commercial place; and it was not till after Kátsena had been occupied by the Fúlbe, and, owing to its exposed position on the northern frontier of Háusa, had become a very unsafe central point for commercial transactions, that Kanó became the great commercial entrepôt of Central Negroland. Before this time, that is to say, before the year 1807, I have strong reason to suppose that scarcely any great Arab merchant ever visited Kanó, a place which nevertheless continues to this very day to be identified with Ghána or Ghánata, a state or town expressly stated by Arab writers of the eleventh century to have been the rendezvous for Arab merchants from the very first rise of commercial connections with Negroland. And all regard to historical or geographical facts is put aside merely from an absurd identification of two entirely distinct names such as Kanó and Ghána or Ghánata.

As to the period when the Kanáwa in general became Mohammedans, we may fairly assume it to have been several years later than the time when Máji, the Prince of Kátsena, embraced Islám, or about the 17th century, though it is evident that the larger portion of the population all over Háusa, especially that of the country towns and villages, remained addicted to paganism till the fanatic zeal of their conquerors the Fúlbe forced them to profess Islám, at least publicly. Nevertheless, even at the present day there is a great deal of paganism cherished, and rites really pagan performed, in the province of Kanó as well as in that of Kátsena—a subject on which I shall say something more on another occasion.

With regard to the growth of the town, we have express testimony that Dalá was the most ancient quarter. The steep rocky hill, about 120 feet high, naturally afforded a secure retreat to the ancient inhabitants in case of sudden attack; but it is most probable that there was another or several separate vil-

lages within the wide expanse now encompassed by the wall, which rather exceeds than falls short of fifteen English miles, and it seems inconceivable why the other hill, "Kógo-n-dútsi" (which is inclosed within the circumference of the walls), though it is not quite so well fortified by nature, should not have afforded a strong site for another hamlet. We have, indeed, no means of describing the way in which the town gradually increased to its present size; this much, however, is evident, that the inhabited quarters never filled up the immense space comprised within the walls, though it is curious to observe that there are evident traces of a more ancient wall on the south side, which, as will be seen from the plan, did not describe so wide a circumference, particularly toward the southwest, where the great projecting angle seems to have been added in later times for merely strategical purposes. The reason why the fortifications were carried to so much greater extent than the population of the town rendered necessary was evidently to make the place capable of sustaining a long siege (sufficient ground being inclosed within the walls to produce the necessary supply of corn for the inhabitants), and also to receive the population of the open and unprotected villages in the neighborhood. The inhabited quarter occupies at present only the southeastern part of the town between Mount Dalá and the wall, which on this side is closely approached by the dwellings.

On the northern margin of the Jákara is the market-place, forming a large quadrangle, mostly consisting of sheds built in regular rows like streets; but the westernmost part of it forms the slaughtering-place, where numbers of cattle are daily butchered, causing an immense quantity of offal and filth to accumulate, for which there is no other outlet than the all-swallowing Jákara. It is the accumulation of this filth in the most frequented quarters of the town which makes it so unhealthy. On the northeast side of the sheds is the camel-market, where also pack-oxen are sold. The shed where the slaves are sold is at the northwest corner; and thence along the principal street, which traverses the market, is the station of the people who sell

firewood. The market is generally immensely crowded during the heat of the day, and offers a most interesting scene.

The wall, just as it has been described by Captain Clapperton,* is still kept in the best repair, and is an imposing piece of workmanship in this quarter of the world. This wall, with its gates, I have not been able to lay down with much exactness; but, from my observations on my later visit in 1854, being aware of the great inaccuracy of the little sketch of the town given by Clapperton, who himself pretends only to give an eye-sketch, I thought it worth while, with regard to a place like Kanó (which certainly will at some future period become important even for the commercial world of Europe), to survey and sketch it more minutely; and I hope my plan, together with the view taken from Mount Dalá of the southern and really inhabited quarter of the town, will give a tolerably correct idea of its character.

The market-place is necessarily much less frequented during the rainy season, when most of the people are busy with the labors of the field. A great part of the market-place during that time is even inundated by the waters of the pond Jákara.

I now proceed to enumerate the quarters, the names of which are not without their interest. I must first observe that the quarters to the north of the great and characteristic pond Jákara, which intersects the town from east to west, are chiefly inhabited by Háusa people, or, as they are called by their conquerors, "Hábe," from the singular "Kádo," while the southern quarters are chiefly, but not at all exclusively, inhabited by the Fúlbe (*sing.* Púllo), called Féllani (*sing.* Baféllanchi) by the conquered race.

Beginning with Dalá, the oldest quarter of the town, and which, in commercial respects, is the most important one, as it is the residence of almost all the wealthy Arab and Berber (principally Ghadásíye) merchants, I shall proceed eastward, then return by south to west, and so on. East-southeast, the quarter called Déndalin (the esplanade) borders on Dalá, then Kutumbáwa, Gérke, Mádabó, Ya-n-tándu, Adakáwa, Zóki, Zéta,

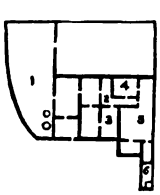
* Clapperton and Denham's Travels, vol. ii., p. 50.

Límanchí (or the quarter of the people of Tóto, a considerable town not far from Fánda); south from the latter, Yandówea, and thence, returning westward, Jibdji-n-Yél-labu, another Límanchí (with a large mosque), Masu-kiyáni (the quarter near the "kaswa," or market-place), Túddu-n-mákera (the quarter of the blacksmiths) on the west side of the market, Yámroché, "Marárraba bokoy" (the seven crossways), "Báki-n-rúa" (the waterside—that is, the quay along the Jákara), not very neat nor fragrant, and in this respect deserving to be compared with the quays of the Thames, which may be called, just with the same reason, the great sink of London, as the Jákara is that of Kanó, the difference being only that the Thames is a running stream, while the Jákara is stagnant; "Runfáwa" (the quarter of the sheds), Yéllwá. Here, turning again eastward, we come first to the quarter Ríma-n-jirájiré, then enter Mággoga, then Maggógi, Ungwa-n-kári, Déndali-n-Wáre, Límanchí (a third quarter of this name), Dukkuráwa, Rúffogí, Dérma. All these are quarters of the Hábe, where no Púllo, as far as I am aware, would deign to live. Beyond the Jákara we now come to the quarters of the ruling race, proceeding from west to east.

Yaálewa, Mármara, A'gadesáwa (a quarter belonging originally to the natives of A'gades), Yóla—the princely quarter of the town, and called, on this account, mádaki-n-Kanó. It is interesting also as having given its name to the new capital of Adamáwa (the natives of Negroland being not less anxious than Europeans to familiarize the new regions which they colonize by names taken from their ancient homes); El Kántara (so called from a rough kind of bridge, or kadárko, thrown over one of those numerous pools which intersect the town), Wuaitákka, Go-shérifédodó (a quarter, the name of which is taken from the ancient pagan worship of the "dodó"), Tókobá, Dukkáwa, Zaghidámse, Sháfushí. Returning from east to west, we have the quarters Shérbalé, Mádaté, Kúrna, Sheshé, "Dirmí (or dírremi)-kay okú" (called from a tree of the dírremi species, with three separate crowns), Lelóki-n-lemú, Kóllwá al héndeki, Sora-n-dínki, Rími-n-koró, Tojí, Yárkasá, Mándáwari, Mármara (different from the quarter mentioned above), Dantúrku, Sabansára,

Kudedefáwa, Jingo, Doséyi, Warúre, G'ao (an interesting name, identical with that of the capital of the Sónghay empire), Kurmáwa, Háusáwa, Ungwa Mákama, Ghaladánchi (the quarter wherein resides the ghaladíma), Shúramchí (the quarter where lives the eldest son of the governor, whose title chiróma—a Kanúri name—in the corrupted form of "shúromo," has furnished the name of the quarter), Ye-serkí, Kurmáwa (not identical with the above), "Kusseráwa" (the corner), Udeláwa. South from the palace of the governor, Rímin-kerá, Káraká, Dugeráwa, Yákase, Naseráwa (most probably destined to be hereafter the quarter of the Nasára or Christians), and 'Abdeláwa.

All over the town, clay houses and huts, with thatched conical roofs, are mixed together, but generally in the southern quarter the latter prevail. The clay houses, as far as I have seen them in Dalá, where, of course, Arab influence predominates, are built in a most uncomfortable style, with no other purpose than that of obtaining the greatest possible privacy for domestic life, without any attempt to provide for the influx of fresh air and light, although I must admit that a few houses are built in somewhat better taste; but invariably the courtyard is extremely small, and in this respect the houses of Kanó are very inferior to those of A'gades and Timbúktu, which are built almost on the same principle as the dwellings of the ancient Greeks and Romans. I here give the ground-plan of the house in which I lodged in 1851.



1. Large public yard common to the two houses, with two huts.
2. Irregular apartment where I was to reside, as it was least wanting in light and air.
3. Dark room without any current of air, but to which I was obliged to withdraw when suffering from fever.
4. Store-room.
5. Inner private yard.
6. Closet.

Almost all these houses have also a very irregular upper story on a different level, and very badly aired. Many of the Arabs sleep on their terraces.

In estimating the population of the town at 30,000, I am certainly not above the truth. Captain Clapperton estimated it at

from 30,000 to 40,000. The population, as might be expected in a place of great commercial resort, is of a rather mixed nature; but the chief elements in it are Kanúri or Bórnu people, Háusáwa, Fúlbe or Féllani, and Nyffáwa or Núpe; a good many Arabs also reside there, who, by their commerce and their handicraft, contribute a great deal to the importance of the place. The influx of foreigners and temporary residents is occasionally very great, so that the whole number of residents during the most busy time of the year (that is to say, from January to April) may often amount to 60,000. The number of domestic slaves, of course, is very considerable; but I think it hardly equals, certainly does not exceed, that of the free men, for, while the wealthy have many slaves, the poorer class, which is far more numerous, have few or none. It would be very interesting to arrive at an exact estimate of the numbers of the conquering nation, in order to see the proportion in which they stand to the conquered. As for the town itself, their whole number, of every sex and age, does not, in my opinion, exceed 4000; but with regard to the whole country I can give no opinion.

The principal commerce of Kanó consists in native produce, namely, the cotton cloth woven and dyed here or in the neighboring towns, in the form of tobes or rígona (*sing.* ríga); túrkedí, or the oblong piece of dress of dark-blue color worn by the women; the zénne* or plaid, of various colors; and the ráwani bakí, or black lithám.

* There is a great variety of this article, of which I shall enumerate a few kinds: "Farí-n-zénne," the white, undyed one; "zenne déffowa," of light-blue color; "fessagída," with a broad line of silk; "hammakúku," with less silk, sold generally for 3000 kurdí; "mailémú," sold for 2500; "zelluwámi," a peculiar zénne with a silk border; "jumáda," another similar kind; "da-n-katánga," once a very favorite article of female dress, and therefore called "the child of the market" (of the word katánga I have spoken on a former occasion), with red and black silk in small quantity, and a little white; "albássa-n-Kwára," a very peculiar name, chosen to denote a kind of zénne of three stripes of mixed colors; "gódo," white and black and of thick thread; "alkílla," white and black checkered; "sáki," silk and cotton interwoven, and forming small squares black and white; "kéki," half túrkédi (that is to say, indigo-colored), half "sáki," or silk and cotton interwoven; "kéki serkí bokoy," four kinds. Besides, there are ten kinds of zénnwa entirely of silk, but these are made better in Núpe than in Kanó.

The great advantage of Kanó is, that commerce and manufactures go hand in hand, and that almost every family has its share in them. There is really something grand in this kind of industry, which spreads to the north as far as Múrzuk, Ghát, and even Tripoli; to the west, not only to Timbúktu, but in some degree even as far as the shores of the Atlantic, the very inhabitants of Arguin dressing in the cloth woven and dyed in Kanó; to the east, all over Bórnu, although there it comes in contact with the native industry of the country; and to the south it maintains a rivalry with the native industry of the I'gbira and I'gbo, while toward the southeast it invades the whole of 'Adamáwa, and is only limited by the nakedness of the pagan *sans-culottes*, who do not wear clothing.

As for the supply sent to Timbúktu, this is a fact entirely overlooked in Europe, where people speak continually of the fine cotton cloth produced in that town, while, in truth, all the apparel of a decent character in Timbúktu is brought either from Kanó or from Sansándi; and how urgently this article is there demanded is amply shown by the immense circuit which the merchandise makes to avoid the great dangers of the direct road from Kanó to Timbúktu traveled by me, the merchandise of Kanó being first carried up to Ghát, and even Ghadámes, and thence taking its way to Timbúktu by Tawát.

I make the lowest estimate in rating this export to Timbúktu alone at three hundred camel-loads annually, worth 60,000,000 kurdí in Kanó—an amount which entirely remains in the country, and redounds to the benefit of the whole population, both cotton and indigo being produced and prepared in the country. In taking a general view of the subject, I think myself justified in estimating the whole produce of this manufacture, as far as it is sold abroad, at the very least at about 300,000,000; and how great this national wealth is will be understood by my readers when they know that, with from fifty to sixty thousand

One of these, called "biní da gáni" (follow me and look), a name which is also given to a conspicuous kind of beads, is distinguished by three colors—yellow, red, and blue. Then there is a zénne made of atlas, called "massarchí;" another of colored Manchester; and the simple one of Manchester, which is called "béfta."

kurdí, or from four to five pounds sterling a year, a whole family may live in that country with ease, including every expense, even that of their clothing; and we must remember that the province is one of the most fertile spots on earth, and is able to produce not only the supply of corn necessary for its population, but can also export, and that it possesses, besides, the finest pasture-grounds. In fact, if we consider that this industry is not carried on here, as in Europe, in immense establishments, degrading man to the meanest condition of life, but that it gives employment and support to families without compelling them to sacrifice their domestic habits, we must presume that Kanó ought to be one of the happiest countries in the world; and so it is as long as its governor, too often lazy and indolent, is able to defend its inhabitants from the cupidity of their neighbors, which, of course, is constantly stimulated by the very wealth of this country.

Besides the cloth produced and dyed in Kanó and in the neighboring villages, there is a considerable commerce carried on here with the cloth manufactured in Nýffi or Núpe, which, however, extends only to the first and the third of the articles above mentioned, viz., the "ríga," or shirt worn by men, and the "zénne" or plaid; for the Nyffáwa are unable to produce either túrkedí or ráwaní—at least for export—while they seem, with the exception of the wealthier classes, to supply their own wants themselves. The tobes brought from Nýffi are either large black ones, or of mixed silk and cotton.

With regard to the former, which are called "gíwa" (the elephant's shirt), I am unable to say why the Kanáwa are not capable of manufacturing them themselves; but it seems that, while they thoroughly understand how to impart the most beautiful dye to the túrkedí, they are unable to apply the same to the ríga—I do not know why.

Of the latter kind there are several varieties: the ríga sáki, with small squares blue and white, as if speckled, and therefore called by the Arabs "fílfil" (pepper), and by the Tawárek, who, as I have mentioned, esteem it more than any other kind, the "Guinea-fowl shirt" (tekátkat taílelt), as shown in the accom-

panying wood-cut, is very becoming, and was my ordinary dress from the moment I was rich enough to purchase it, as a good one fetches as much as from eighteen to twenty thousand kurdí; then the tob-harír, with stripes of speckled cast like the taílelt, but intermixed with red; the jellába, red and white, with embroidery of green silk, and several others. Specimens of all these I have brought home and delivered to the Foreign Office.*

The chief articles of native industry, besides cloth, which have a wide market, are principally sandals. The sandals are made with great neatness, and, like the cloth, are exported to an immense distance; but, being a cheap article (the very best, which are called "táka-sárakí," fetching only 200 kurdí), they bear, of course, no comparison in importance with the former. I estimate this branch at ten millions. It is very curious that the shoes made here by Arab shoemakers, of Sudán leather, and

* Among these specimens is also an undyed and a dyed specimen of the "ríga tsámia," which seems to deserve a good deal of interest, as it consists half of home-made silk, obtained from a peculiar kind of silk-worm, which lives on the tamarind-tree. I also sent home from Kúkawa, at a former period, a piece of native cloth of the Kwána, a tribe of the Kórorofa.

called "bélgh'a," are exported in great quantities to North Africa. The "nesísa," or twisted leather strap, is a celebrated article of Kanó manufacture, and "jebíras," richly ornamented, as the accompanying wood-cut shows, are made by Arab workmen.

The other leather-work I will not mention here, as it does not form a great article of commerce; but tanned hides ("kulábu") and red sheep-skins, dyed with a juice extracted from the stalks of the holcus, are not unimportant, being sent in great quantities even as far as Tripoli. I value the amount of export at about five millions.*

Besides these manufactures, the chief article of African produce in the Kanó market is the "gúro," or kola-nut; but while, on the one hand, it forms an important article of transit, and brings considerable profit, on the other, large sums are expended by the natives upon this luxury, which has become to them as necessary as coffee or tea to us. On another occasion I shall enumerate the different kinds of this nut, and the seasons when it is collected. The import of this nut into Kanó, comprising certainly more than five hundred ass-loads every year, the load of each, if safely brought to the market—for it is a very delicate article, and very liable to spoil—being sold for about 200,000 kurdí, will amount to an average of from eighty to one hundred millions. Of this sum, I think we shall be correct in asserting about half to be paid for by the natives of the province, while the other half will be profit.

* There are many other branches of manufacture in Kanó which are too minute to be enumerated here. I will only mention the framing of the little looking-glasses, called lemm'a, imported from Tripoli, and the immense variety of bótta or múrta, small leathern boxes. There is also a kind of small box made with great neatness from the kernel of the dúm-fruit.

But we must bear in mind that the greater part of the persons employed in this trade are Kanáwa, and that therefore they and their families subsist upon this branch of trade.

A very important branch of the native commerce in Kanó is certainly the slave-trade; but it is extremely difficult to say how many of these unfortunate creatures are exported, as a greater number are carried away by small caravans to Bórnu and Núpe than on the direct road to Ghát and Fezzán. Altogether, I do not think that the number of slaves annually exported from Kanó exceeds* 5000; but, of course, a considerable number are sold into domestic slavery, either to the inhabitants of the province itself or to those of the adjoining districts. The value of this trade, of which only a small percentage falls to the profit of the Kanáwa, besides the tax which is levied in the market, may altogether amount to from a hundred and fifty to two hundred millions of kurdí per annum.

Another important branch of the commerce of Kanó is the transit of natron from Bórnu to Núpe or Nýffi, which here always passes into other hands, and in so doing leaves a considerable profit in the place. The merchandise is very cheap, but the quantity is great, and it employs a great many persons, as I shall have ample occasion to illustrate in the course of my proceedings. Twenty thousand loads, at the very least, between pack-oxen, sumpter-horses, and asses, of natron must annually pass through the market of Kanó, which, at 500 kurdí per load, merely for passage-money, would give 10,000,000 kurdí.

I here also mention the salt-trade, which is entirely an import one, the salt being almost all consumed in the province. Of the three thousand camel-loads of salt, which I have above computed as comprising the aïri with which I reached Kátsena, we may suppose one third to be sold in the province of Kanó, and therefore that hereby a value of from fifty to eighty millions annually is drained from the country. But we must not forget that the money which is paid for this requisite (and not only for that consumed in Kanó, but also in other provinces) is entirely laid

* This trade will now be greatly affected by the abolition of the slave-trade in Tripoli.

out by the sellers in buying the produce of Kanó, viz., cloth and corn. Here, therefore, is an absolute balance—a real exchange of necessaries and wants.

As for ivory, at present it does not form a very important branch of the commerce of Kanó; and I scarcely believe that more than one hundred kantárs pass through this place. The lowest price of the kantár is in general thirty dollars, or 75,000 kurdí; but it often rises to forty dollars, or 100,000 kurdí, and even more, though I have seen it bought with ready money for twenty-five dollars.

Of European goods the greatest proportion is still imported by the northern road, while the natural road, by way of the great eastern branch of the so-called Niger, will and must, in the course of events, be soon opened.

But I must here speak about a point of very great importance for the English, both as regards their honor and their commercial activity. The final opening of the lower course of the Kwára has been one of the most glorious achievements of English discovery, bought with the lives of so many enterprising men. But it seems that the English are more apt to perform a great deed than to follow up its consequences. After they have opened this noble river to the knowledge of Europe, frightened by the sacrifice of a few lives, instead of using it themselves for the benefit of the nations of the interior, they have allowed it to fall into the hands of the American slave-dealers, who have opened a regular annual slave-trade with those very regions, while the English seem not to have even the slightest idea of such a traffic going on. Thus American produce, brought in large quantities to the market of Núpe, has begun to inundate Central Africa, to the great damage of the commerce and the most unqualified scandal of the Arabs, who think that the English, if they would, could easily prevent it. For this is not a legitimate commerce; it is nothing but slave-traffic on a large scale, the Americans taking nothing in return for their merchandise and their dollars but slaves, besides a small quantity of natron. On this painful subject I have written repeatedly to H. M.'s consul in Tripoli, and to H. M.'s government, and I

have spoken energetically about it to Lord Palmerston since my return. I principally regret in this respect the death of Mr. Richardson, who, in his eloquent language, would have dealt worthily with this question. But even from his unfinished journals as they have been published, it is clear that, during his short stay in the country before he was doomed to succumb, he became well aware of what was going on.*

The principal European goods brought to the market of Kanó are bleached and unbleached calicoes, and cotton prints from Manchester; French silks and sugar; red cloth from Saxony and other parts of Europe; beads from Venice and Trieste; a very coarse kind of silk from Trieste; common paper with the sign of three moons, looking-glasses, needles, and small ware, from Nuremberg; sword-blades from Solingen; razors from Styria. It is very remarkable that so little English merchandise is seen in this great emporium of Negroland, which lies so near to the two branches of "the Great River" of Western Africa, calico and muslins (or tanjips, as they are called by the merchants) being almost the only English articles. Calico certainly is not the thing most wanted in a country where home-made cloth is produced at so cheap a rate, and of so excellent a quality; indeed, the unbleached calico has a very poor chance in Kanó, while the bleached calico and the cambric attract the wealthier people on account of their nobler appearance. In Timbúktu, on the contrary, where the native cloth is dearer, unbleached calico is in request; and it would be so in an extraordinary degree if it were dyed dark blue. It is very interesting to observe that a small proportion of the calico imported into Kanó is again exported, after having been dyed, returning even

* I need only refer to the memorable passage in his Journal, vol. ii., p. 203. "The best of the slaves now go to Niffee, to be there shipped for America. They are mostly males, and are minutely examined before departure." (This latter circumstance agrees exactly with my own observations.) "From all reports, there is *an immense traffic of slaves that way exchanged against American goods*, which are driving out of the markets all the merchandise of the North." But another passage is not less clear, p. 228, f.: "Slaves are sent from Zinder to Niffee. Indeed, it now appears that all this part of Africa is put under contribution to *supply the South American market with slaves*."

the long way to Ghadámes. I estimate the whole amount of Manchester goods imported into Kanó at about forty millions, but it may be somewhat more. The sale of tanjips is very considerable; and the import of this article into Kanó certainly equals in value that of the former.

The very coarse silk, or rather refuse, which is dyed in Tripoli, is imported to a very considerable amount, this forming the principal merchandise of most of the caravans of the Ghadámsíye merchants, and about one third of their whole commerce, amounting certainly to not less than from three to four hundred camel-loads annually, worth in Kanó each about 200,000 kurdí; this would give a value of about seventy millions imported. But, according to some well-informed people, even as many as one thousand loads of this article pass annually through Ghadámes; so that, if we take into consideration that the supply of the northerly markets (as Tasáwa, Zínder) may well be compensated by what is brought by way of Múrzuk, the value of the import of this article into Kanó may be much more. A great deal of this silk, I have no doubt by far the greatest part, remains in the country, being used for ornamenting the tobes, sandals, shoes, and other things.

Woolen cloth of the most ordinary quality, chiefly red, but about one third of the whole amount of green color, was formerly imported to a great extent; but it has gone out of fashion, and I think a better quality, like that with which the market of Timbúktu is supplied by way of Mogador or Swaira, would succeed. I estimate this branch at present at only fifteen millions.

Beads, in very great variety,* form an important article of import; but the price has become so low of late years that there has been very little profit, and the supply has been kept back to raise the prices. The import of this article certainly amounts to more than fifty millions of kurdí, of which sum the value of twenty may remain in the country.

Of sugar, I think about one hundred camel-loads are imported

* The names of the different kinds of beads, of which I have collected thirty-five, bear evident testimony to the imaginative powers and lively character of the Háusáwa.

every year, each containing eighty small loaves of two and a half pounds each, which are sold in general at 1500 kurdí, so that the import of this article would amount to about twelve millions. It is very remarkable that in all Central Negroland the large English sugarloaf is scarcely ever seen, while it is the only one seen in Timbúktu. However, I was greatly surprised when, on my return from that place in 1854, 'Alíyu, the Emír el Mumenín of Sókoto, presented to me an English loaf of sugar; and I heard that he had received several of them as presents from a merchant of Tawát. The small loaf has certainly a great advantage in such a country, where money is scarce; and I found in 1854 that its weight had even been reduced to two pounds.

Common paper, called on the coast "tre lune," from the mark of three moons which it bears, is imported in great quantity, being used for wrapping up the country cloth; but it is a bulky, heavy article, and in larger quantities is sold at a very cheap rate. The whole amount of this import may be about five millions of kurdí.

Needles, with the emblem of the pig,* and small looking-glasses called "lemm'a," in boxes, form important but very cheap articles, and I think their amount together will not much exceed the value of eight millions. Generally, the needles in large quantities are sold for one "urí" or shell each, but often even cheaper; and I was obliged to sell a thousand for six hundred kurdí. Also, fine needles for silk-work are in request, but only in small quantity, while large darning-needles are not at all wanted here, where the cotton cloth is fine, but are the most profitable thing in Eastern Negroland, from Bagírmi inclusive to Abyssinia.

Sword-blades, which are set here, are imported in considerable quantity, as not only the Kél-owí and the neighboring Tárki tribes, but also the Háusáwa, Fúlbe, Nyffáwa, and Kanúri or Bórnu people, are supplied from this market. Fifty thousand may be the general annual amount of this article, which produces (the blade being reckoned at one thousand kurdí) fifty millions.

* Originally these came from Nuremberg, but of late they have been also produced in Leghorn.

Almost all of them that I saw, not only here, but even among the Tawárek near Timbúktu, were from Solingen. Only a small proportion of the import remains in the country; but the setting of the blades, which are again exported, secures a great profit to the natives.

Very few fire-arms, as far as I became aware, are imported into this market, although common muskets have begun to be imported by way of Nýffi at extraordinary cheap prices by the Americans. Pistols and blunderbusses are privately sold by the merchants to princes or great men.

The common razors, made in Styria, with black wooden handles, bad as they are, are very much liked by the inhabitants, who know how to sharpen them most beautifully, and strengthen the wretched handle with a guard of copper. I had a tolerable supply of English razors, and found that those bought at sixpence at home would sell profitably, but that nobody would give for a good razor, though ever so excellent, more than one thousand kurdi; however, the better sort are very fit for presents to men of importance, who know well their value. In any case, the handles ought to be strong, and not likely to break. This commodity does certainly not much exceed two or three millions.

French silks, called "hattáya," were formerly in great request, but at present seem to be a little out of vogue; and most of what is imported here is exported again by second-hand buyers to Yóruba and Gónja. The amount of this import into the Kanó market, I think, does not exceed twenty millions.

An important branch of import is formed by articles of Arab dress, chiefly bernúses, caftans, sedríyas, trowsers, red caps, red sashes, shawls. It is difficult to state, even approximately, the value of these articles; but it can not certainly be much less than fifty millions altogether. The sort of dress most in request comes from Tunis, but a good deal also from Egypt; and from the latter country come all the white shawls with red borders, called "subéta" in Arabic, "aliyáfu" in Háusa, and very much liked by the negroes as well as by the Tawárek. The import of this article alone exceeds the value of ten millions. The

common articles of dress, of coarser workmanship, are made in Tripoli. Red caps of very coarse description are now imported from Leghorn, and find a sale, but are not liked by the free people.

Frankincense and spices—principally jáwi, benzoin, the resin obtained from a species of styrax, "símbil" or *Valeriana Celtica*, and cloves—form a not inconsiderable article of import, perhaps amounting to fifteen millions. However, I exclude from this sum the value of rose-oil which is annually imported in considerable quantity, and, being a dear article, forms also an important one; but very little of it comes into the general trade, almost all of it being disposed of privately to the princes and great men, or given to them in presents. I am inclined to estimate the value of this article imported at about forty millions. Tin and many other smaller articles may together be estimated at ten millions.

In the trade of Kanó there is another very interesting article, which tends to unite very distant regions of Africa; this is copper—"já-n-kárfi." A good deal of old copper—say fifty loads, together with about twenty loads of zinc—is imported from Tripoli; but a considerable supply of this useful and handsome metal is also imported every year by the Jellába of Nímro in Wadáy, who bring it from the celebrated copper-mine, "el hófra," situate to the south of Dar-Fúr, of which I shall have occasion to speak in the following volume.* I estimate the whole import of this metal at about from fifteen to twenty millions; but it is to be remarked that, so far from being to the disadvantage of the Kanáwa, it proves a new material of industry, while only the smaller part remains in the country.

With regard to the precious metals, a small supply of silver is imported by the merchants, but rather exceptionally, most of the latter being but agents or commissioners engaged to effect

* I will here only mention that the profit on the copper for the Jellába, if they do not go themselves to the hófra, but buy it in Dar-Fúr, is as follows: In Fúr they buy the kantár of copper for one sedáshi (slave), equal to the value of a kantár of ivory, and sell it in Kúkawa for 4000 rottls, equal to two kantárs of ivory. In Kanó the price is about the same.

the sale of the merchandise forwarded from Tripoli and Fezzán. The silver likewise supplies a branch of industry, the silversmiths, who are generally identical with the blacksmiths, being very clever in making rings and anklets. In Kanó scarcely any tradesman will object to receive a dollar in payment. With regard to iron, which forms a very considerable branch of industry in the place, I will only say that it is far inferior to that of Wándala or Mándara and Bubanjídda, which I shall mention in the course of my proceedings. Spears, daggers, hoes, and stirrups are the articles most extensively produced in iron.

As for gold, though a general standard, of the mithkál at four thousand kurdí, is usually maintained, in Timbúktu its price greatly varies, from three thousand five hundred up to four thousand five hundred kurdí; but this unreasonable fluctuation is but nominal, gold being scarcely ever bought in Timbúktu for ready money, but for túrkedís, when a túrkedí bought in Kanó for eighteen hundred, or, at the utmost, two thousand, fetches there a mithkál. One hundred mithkáls of gold may easily be bought in Kanó at any time. Even the common currency of the Kanó market, the "urí" (*pl.* kurdí or shell (*Cypræa moneta*), 2500 of which are equal to the Spanish or Austrian dollar,* forms an important article of import and commerce, though I have not been able to ascertain that a large quantity is ever introduced at a time. Nevertheless, that must sometimes happen, as a great amount of shells has been exported to Bórnu, where they have been recently introduced as currency; and this obviously explains why, since the year 1848, the demand for these shells has so greatly increased on the coast.

These merely approximative figures can not be reduced to the form of a balance-sheet, but they will give a general idea of the commercial activity of the place. I will conclude these few remarks by observing that the market of Kanó is better supplied with articles of food than any other market in Negro-

* There is no difference made between these two coins, women in general even preferring Maria Theresa to the two columns on the Spanish dollar, which they fancy to represent cannon.

land; but meat as well as corn is dearer here than in Kúkawa, particularly the latter. Besides the great market-place, there are several smaller ones dispersed through the town, the most noted of which are the káswa-n-kurmí, Mandáweli, Hanga, káswa-n-máta, káswa-n-áyagi, káswa-n-Jírba, káswa-n-Yákase, káswa-n-kófan Wámbay, and the káswa-n-kófan Náyisa.

The province of Kanó,* which comprises a very fertile district of considerable extent, contains, according to my computation, more than two hundred thousand free people, besides at least an equal number of slaves, so that the whole population of the province amounts to more than half a million, though it may greatly exceed this number. The governor is able to raise an army of seven thousand horse, and more than twenty thousand men on foot. In the most flourishing state of the country, the Governor of Kanó is said to have been able to bring into the field as many as ten thousand horse.

The tribute which he levies is very large considering the state of the country, amounting altogether to about one hundred millions of kurdí, besides the presents received from merchants. The most considerable item of his revenue consists in the "kurdí-n-kása" (what is called in Kanúri "lárderám"), or the ground-rent. It is said to amount to ninety millions, and is levied, both here and in the province of Kátsena, not from the ground under cultivation, but every head of a family has to pay two thousand five hundred kurdí, or just a Spanish dollar; in the province of Zégzeg, on the contrary, the kurdí-n-kása is a tax of five hundred kurdí levied on every fertáña or hoe, and a single hoe will cultivate a piece of ground capable of producing from one hundred to two hundred "démmi" or sheaves of grain (sorghum and pennisetum), each of which contains two kél, while fifty kél are reckoned sufficient for a man's sustenance during a whole year. Besides the kurdí-n-kása, the governor levies an annual tax called "kurdí-n-korófi," of seven hundred kurdí† on every dyeing-pot or korófi, of which there are more than two

* For a list of the principal places of the province, see Appendix No. VIII.

† Other people have stated to me that the kurdí-n-korófi did not exceed 500 kurdí.

thousand in the town alone; a "fítto" of five hundred kurdí on every slave sold in the market; an annual tax, "kurdí-n-debíno," of six hundred kurdí on every palm-tree, and a small tax called "kurdí-n-ráfi" on the vegetables sold in the market, such as dánkali or sweet potatoes, gwáza or yams, rísga, rógo, &c. This latter tax is very singular, as the meat, or the cattle brought into the town, as far as I know, does not pay any tax at all. Clapperton was mistaken in stating that all the date-trees in the town belong to the governor, which is not more true than that all the sheds in the market belong to him.

The authority of the governor is not absolute, even without considering the appeal which lies to his liege lord in Sókoto or Wúrno, if the subjects' complaints can be made to reach so far: a sort of ministerial council is formed, to act in conjunction with the governor, which in important cases he can not well avoid consulting. At the head of this council stands the ghaladíma, whose office originated, as we shall see, in the empire of Bórnu, and who very often exercises, as is the case in Kano, the highest influence, surpassing that of the governor himself; then follows the "serkí-n-dáwakay" (the master of the horse), an important charge in barbarous countries, where victory depends almost always on the cavalry; then the "bánda-n-Kánó" (a sort of commander-in-chief); then the "alkáli," or chief justice, the "chiróma-n-Kanó" (the eldest son of the governor, or some one assuming this title), who exercises the chief power in the southern part of the province; the "serkí-n-báy" (properly the chief of the slaves), who has the inspection of the northern districts of the province as far as Kazáure; then the "gadó," or lord of the treasury; and, finally, the "serkí-n-sháno" (the master of the oxen, or rather the quartermaster-general), who has all the military stores under his care; for the ox, or rather the bull, is the ordinary beast of burden in Negroland. It is characteristic that, when the governor is absent paying his homage to his liege lord, it is not the ghaladíma, but the gadó and the serkí-n-shá-no, who are his lieutenants or substitutes.

With regard to the government in general, I think, in this province, where there is so much lively intercourse, and where

publicity is given very soon to every incident, it is not oppressive, though the behavior of the ruling class is certainly haughty, and there is, no doubt, a great deal of injustice inflicted in small matters. The etiquette of the court, which is far more strict than in Sókoto, must prevent any poor man from entering the presence of the governor. The Fúlbe marry the handsome daughters of the subjugated tribe, but would not condescend to give their own daughters to the men of that tribe as wives. As far as I saw, their original type has been well preserved as yet, though, by obtaining possession of wealth and comfort, their warlike character has been greatly impaired, and the Féllani-n-Kanó have become notorious for their cowardice throughout the whole of Negroland.*

CHAPTER XXVI.

STARTING FOR KÚKAWA.—THE FRONTIER DISTRICT.

Sunday, March 9th. The traveler who would leave a place where he has made a long residence often finds that his departure involves him in a great deal of trouble, and is by no means an easy affair. Moreover, my situation when, after much delay, I was about to leave Kanó, was peculiarly embarrassing. There was no caravan; the road was infested by robbers; and I had only one servant upon whom I could rely, or who was really attached to me, while I had been so unwell the preceding day as to be unable to rise from my couch. However, I was full of confidence; and with the same delight with which a bird springs forth from its cage, I hastened to escape from these narrow, dirty mud-walls into the boundless creation.

There being scarcely any one to assist my faithful Gatróni, the loading of my three camels took an immense time, and the horseman destined to accompany me to the frontier of the Kanó

* For some of the chief routes connecting Kanó with the principal places around, and for an account of Korórofa and Wukári, see Appendix No. IX.

territory grew rather impatient. At length, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, I mounted my unsightly black four-dollar nag, and following my companion, who (in a showy dress, representing very nearly the German costume about the time of the Thirty Years' war, and well mounted) gave himself all possible airs of dignity, started forth from the narrow streets of Dalá into the open fields.

I felt my heart lightened, and, forgetting what had passed, began to think only of the wide field now opening before me, if fresh means should reach us in Kúkawa. We had taken a very circuitous road in order to pass through the widest of the fourteen gates of the town; but the long passage through the wall was too narrow for my unwieldy luggage; and my impatient, self-conceited companion fell into despair, seeing that we should be unable to reach the night's quarters destined for us. At length all was again placed upon the patient animals, and my noble Bu-Séfi taking the lead of the short string of my caravan, we proceeded onward, keeping at a short distance from the wall, till we reached the high road from the Kófa-n-Wámbay. Here, too, is a considerable estate belonging to a ba-A'sbenchí (a man from A'sben), who has a company of slaves always residing here. Going slowly on through the well-cultivated country, we reached a small water-course. Being anxious to know in what direction the torrent had its discharge, and unable to make it out from my own observation, I took the liberty of asking my companion; but the self-conceited courtier, though born a slave, thought himself insulted by such a question, and by the presumption that he ever paid attention to such trivial things as the direction of a water-course or the name of a village!

Having watered our horses here, I and my friend went on in advance to secure quarters for the night, and chose them in a small hamlet, where, after some resistance, a m'allem gave us up part of his court-yard, surrounded with a fence of the stalks of Guinea-corn. When the camels came up we pitched our tent. The boy 'Abd-Alla, however, seeing that my party was so small, and fearing that we should have some misadventure, had run away and returned to Kanó.

Though there was much talk of thieves, who, indeed, infest the whole neighborhood of this great market-town, and, excited by the hope of remaining unpunished under an indolent government, very often carry off camels during the night, even from the middle of the town, we passed a tranquil night, and got off at a tolerably early hour the next morning. The character of the country is almost the same as that during our last day's march in coming from Kátsena, small clusters of huts and detached farms being spread about over the cultivated country, where we observed also some tobacco-fields just in flower: my attention was more attracted by a small range of hills in the distance on our left. I was also astonished at the little traffic which I observed on this route, though we met a considerable natron-caravan coming from Zínder, the ass and the bullock going on peaceably side by side, as is always the case in Negroland. The country continued to improve; and the fields of Charo, shaded as they were by luxuriant trees, looked fertile and well cared for, while the clusters of neat huts scattered all about had an air of comfort. Here we ought to have passed the previous night; and my companion had gone in advance to deliver his order, and probably to get a good luncheon instead of his missed supper. Beyond this village, or rather district, cultivation seemed to be less careful; but perhaps the reason was only that the villages were farther from the road.

The quiet course of domestic slavery has very little to offend the mind of the traveler; the slave is generally well treated, is not over-worked, and is very often considered as a member of the family. Scenes caused by the running away of a slave in consequence of bad and severe treatment occur every day with the Arabs, who generally sell their slaves, even those whom they have had some time, as soon as occasion offers, but with the natives they are very rare. However, I was surprised at observing so few home-born slaves in Negroland—with the exception of the Tawárek, who seem to take great pains to rear slaves—and I have come to the conclusion that marriage among domestic slaves is very little encouraged by the natives; indeed, I think myself justified in supposing that a slave is very

rarely allowed to marry. This is an important circumstance in considering domestic slavery in Central Africa; for, if these domestic slaves do not of themselves maintain their numbers, then the deficiency arising from ordinary mortality must constantly be kept up by a new supply, which can only be obtained by kidnapping, or, more generally, by predatory incursions, and it is this necessity which makes even domestic slavery appear so baneful and pernicious. The motive for making these observations in this place was the sight of a band of slaves whom we met this morning, led on in two files, and fastened one to the other by a strong rope round the neck.

Our march was to be but a short one, as we were to pass the remainder of the day and the following night in Gezáwa; and, as it was still long before noon, and we had the hottest time of the day before us, I was anxious to encamp outside the town in the shade of some fine tree, but my escort would not allow me to do so. We therefore entered the town, which is surrounded with a clay wall in tolerable repair, and, moreover, by a small ditch on the outside; but the interior presents a desolate aspect, only about a third part of the space being occupied by detached cottages. Here I was lodged in a small, hot shíbki (reed hut), and passed the "éni" most uncomfortably, cursing my companion and all the escorts in the world, and resolved never again to take up my quarters inside a town, except where I was to make a stay of some length. I was therefore delighted, in the course of the afternoon, to hear from the man who had taken the camels outside the town upon the pasture-ground that the sheríf Konché had arrived and sent me his compliments.

I had once seen this man in Kanó, and had been advised to wait for him, as he was likewise on his way to Kúkawa; but knowing how slow Arabs are, and little suspecting what a sociable and amiable man he was, I thought it better to go on; whereupon he, thinking that my company was preferable to a longer stay, hastened to follow me. To-day, however, I did not see him, as he had encamped outside the town; still, I had already much reason to thank him, as he had brought back my fickle runaway servant 'Abd-Alla, whom, after some reprimand,

and a promise on his side to remain with me in future, I took back, as I was very much in want of a servant. He was a native of the country, a Baháushe with a little Arab blood in him, and had been reduced to slavery. Afterward, in Bórnu, a man claimed him as his property. His mother, who was living not far from Gérki, was also about this time carried into slavery, having gone to some village where she was kidnapped. Such things are of daily occurrence in these countries on the borders of two territories. The lad's sister had a similar fate.

The inhabitants of Gezáwa seemed to be devoted almost entirely to cattle-breeding; and in the market, which was held today (as it is every Monday) outside the town, nothing else was offered for sale but cattle and sheep, scarcely a piece of cotton cloth being laid out, and very little corn. Also round the town there are scarcely any traces of cultivation. The mayor seemed not to be in very enviable circumstances, and bore evident traces of sorrow and anxiety; indeed, the laziness and indolence of the Governor of Kanó in neglecting the defense of the wealth and the national riches of his province are incredible, and can only be tolerated by a liege lord just as lazy and indifferent as himself. But at that period the country still enjoyed some tranquillity and happiness, while from the day on which the rebel Bokhári took possession of Khadéja, as I shall soon have occasion to relate, the inhabitants of all the eastern part of this beautiful province underwent daily vexations, so that the towns on this road were quite deserted when I passed a second time through this country, in December, 1854.

Early next morning we loaded our camels and left town, in order to join our new traveling companion, who by this time had also got ready his little troop. It consisted of himself on horseback, his "sirríya," likewise on horseback, three female attendants, six natives, and as many sumpter oxen. He himself was a portly Arab, with fine, sedate manners, such as usually distinguish wealthy people of the Gharb (Morocco); for he was a native of Fás, and though in reality not a sherif (though the title of a sherif in Negroland means scarcely any thing but an impudent, arrogant beggar), yet, by his education and fine, no-

ble character, he deserved certainly to be called a gentleman. The name "Konché" (Mr. Sleep) had been given to him by the natives from his very reasonable custom of sleeping, or pretending to sleep, the whole day during the Rhamadán, which enabled him to bear the fasting more easily. His real name was 'Abd el Khafíf.

Our first salutation was rather cold, but we soon became friends, and I must say of him that he was the most noble Arab merchant I have seen in Negroland. Though at present he had not much merchandise of value with him, he was a wealthy man, and had enormous demands upon several governors and princes in Negroland, especially upon Múniyóma, or the Governor of Múniyo, who was indebted to him for about thirty millions—shells, of course, but nevertheless a very large sum in this country. Of his "sirríya," who always rode at a respectful distance behind him, I can not speak, as she was was veiled from top to toe; but if a conclusion might be drawn from her attendants, who were very sprightly, well-formed young girls, she must have been handsome. The male servants of my new friend were all characteristically dressed, and armed in the native fashion with bows and arrows—knapsacks, water-bottles, and drinking-vessels all hanging around them in picturesque confusion; but among them was a remarkable fellow, who had already given me great surprise in Kanó. When lying one day in a feverish state on my hard couch, I heard myself saluted in Romaic or modern Greek. The man who thus addressed me had long whiskers, and was as black as any negro. But I had some difficulty in believing him to be a native of Negroland. Yet such he was, though by a stay in Stambúl of some twenty years, from his boyhood, he had not only learned the language perfectly, but also adopted the manners, and I might almost say the features, of the modern Greeks.

In such company we continued pleasantly on, sometimes through a cultivated country, at others through underwood, meeting now and then a motley caravan of horses, oxen, and asses, all laden with natron, and coming from Múniyo. Once there was also a mule with the other beasts of burden; and on

inquiry, on this occasion, I learned that this animal, which I had supposed to be frequent in Negroland, is very rare, at least in these parts, and in Kanó always fetches the high price of from sixty to eighty thousand kurdí, which is just double the rate of a camel. In Wángara and Gónja the mule seems to be more frequent. But there is only one in Kúkawa and in Timbúktu, the latter belonging to one of the richest Morocco merchants.

Animated scenes succeeded each other: now a well, where the whole population of a village or zángo were busy in supplying their wants for the day; then another, where a herd of cattle was just being watered; a beautiful tamarind-tree spreading a shady canopy over a busy group of talkative women selling victuals, ghussub-water, and sour milk or "cotton." About ten o'clock detached dúm-palms began to impart to the landscape a peculiar character, as we approached the considerable but open place Gabezáwa, which at present exhibited the busy and animated scene of a well-frequented market. In this country the market-days of the towns succeed each other by turns, so that all the inhabitants of a considerable district can take advantage every day of the traffic in the peculiar article in which each of these places excels.

While pushing our way through the rows of well-stocked sheds, I became aware that we were approaching the limits of the Kanúri language; for, being thirsty, I wished to buy ghussub-water ("furá" in Háusa), but in asking for it received from the women fresh butter ("fulá" in Kanúri), and had some difficulty in making them understand that I did not want the latter. Continuing our march without stopping, we reached at noon the well-known (that is to say, among the traveling natives) camping-ground of Kúka mairuá, an open place surrounded by several colossal specimens of the monkey-bread-tree, kúka or *Adansonia digitata*, which all over this region of Central Africa are not of that low, stunted growth which seems to be peculiar to them near the coast, but in general attain to a height of from sixty to eighty feet. Several troops of native traders were already encamped here, while a string of some thirty cam-

els, most of them unloaded, and destined to be sold in Kanó, had just arrived. A wide-spreading tamarind-tree formed a natural roof over a busy market-scene, where numbers of women were selling all the eatables and delicacies of the country. The village lay to the southeast. Here we pitched our tents close together, as robbers and thieves are very numerous in the neighborhood; and I fired repeatedly during the night, a precaution which the event proved to be not at all useless. The name of the place signifies "the Adansonia with the water." However, the latter part of the name seemed rather ironical, as I had to pay forty kurdí for filling a water-skin and for watering my horse and my camels; and I would therefore not advise a future traveler to go to a neighboring village, which bears the name of "Kuka maífurá," in the belief that he may find there plenty of cheap furá or ghussub-water.

Wednesday, March 12th. Our encampment was busy from the very first dawn of day, and exhibited strong proof of industry on the part of the natives, for even at this hour women were offering ready-cooked pudding as a luncheon to the travelers. Some of our fellow-sleepers on this camping-ground started early; and the two Welád Slimán also, who led the string of camels, started off most imprudently in the twilight. As for us, we waited till every thing was clearly discernible, and then took the opposite direction through underwood; and we had advanced but a short distance when a man came running after us, bringing us the exciting news that a party of Tawárek had fallen upon the two Arabs, and after wounding the elder of them, who had made some resistance, had carried of all their camels but three. I expressed my surprise to my horseman that such a thing could happen on the territory of the Governor of Kanó, and urged him to collect some people of the neighboring villages in order to rescue the property, which might have been easily done; but he was quite indifferent, and smiling in his self-conceit, and pulling his little straw hat on one side of his head, he went on before us.

Small villages belonging to the district of Zákara were on each side, the inhabitants indulging still in security and happi-

ness; the following year they were plunged into an abyss of misery, Bokhári making a sudden inroad on a market-day, and carrying off as many as a thousand persons. I here had a proof of the great inconvenience which many parts of Negroland suffer with regard to water, for the well at which we watered our horses this morning measured no less than three-and-thirty fathoms; but I afterward found that this is a very common thing as well in Bórnu as in Bagírmi, while in other regions I shall have to mention wells as much as sixty fathoms deep. Beyond this spot we met a very numerous caravan with natron, coming from Kúkawa, and I therefore eagerly inquired the news of that place from the horsemen who accompanied it. All was well, but they had not heard either of the arrival or of the approach of a Christian. This natron, which is obtained in the neighborhood of the Tsád, was all in large pieces like stone, and is carried in nets, while that coming from Múniyo consists entirely of rubble, and is conveyed in bags, or a sort of basket. The former is called "kílbu tsaráfu," while the name of the latter is "kílbu bóktor." We soon saw other troops laden with this latter article, and there were even several mules among the beasts of burden. The commerce of this article is very important, and I counted to-day more than five hundred loads of natron that we met on our road.

I then went on in advance with "Mr. Sleep," and soon reached the village Dóka, which by the Arabs traveling in Negroland is called, in semi-barbarous Arabic, "Súk el karága," karága being a Bórnu word meaning wilderness. The village belongs to the Ghaladíma. Here we sat tranquilly down near the market-place, in the shade of some beautiful tamarind-trees, and indulged in the luxuries which my gentleman-like companion could afford. I was astonished as well as ashamed at the comfort which my African friend displayed, ordering one of the female attendants of his sirríya to bring into his presence a basket which seemed to be under the special protection of the latter, and drawing forth from it a variety of well-baked pastry, which he spread on a napkin before us, while another of the attendants was boiling the coffee. The barbarian and the civil-

ized European seemed to have changed places; and in order to contribute something to our repast, I went to the market and bought a couple of young onions. Really it is incredible what a European traveler in these countries has to endure; for while he must bear infinitely more fatigue, anxiety, and mental exertion than any native traveler, he is deprived of even the little comfort which the country affords, has no one to cook his supper and to take care of him when he falls sick, or to shampoo him;

"And ah! no wife or mother's care
For him the milk or corn prepare."

Leaving my companion to indulge in the "kief" of the Osmánli, of which he possessed a great deal, I preferred roving about. I observed that during the rainy season a great deal of water must collect here, which probably explains the luxuriant vegetation and splendid foliage of the trees hereabouts; and I was confirmed in my observation by my companion, who had traveled through this district during the rainy season, and was strongly impressed with the difficulties arising from the water, which covers a great part of the surface.

Having allowed our people, who by this time had come up, to have a considerable start in advance of us, we started at length, entering underwood, from which we did not emerge till we arrived near Gérki. According to instructions received from us, our people had already chosen the camping-ground on the northwest side of the town; but my horseman, who had gone in advance with them, thought it first necessary to conduct me into the presence of the governor, or, rather, of one of the five governors who rule over this place, each of them thinking himself more important than his colleague. The one to whom he presented me was, however, a very unprepossessing man, and not the same who, on my return from the west in 1854, treated me with extraordinary respect. Yet he did not behave inhospitably to me, for he sent me a sheep (not very fat, indeed), with some corn and fresh milk. Milk, during the whole of my journey, formed my greatest luxury; but I would advise any African traveler to be particularly careful with this article, which is

capable of destroying a weak stomach entirely; and he would do better to make it a rule always to mix it with a little water, or to have it boiled.

The town of Gérki is a considerable place, and under a strong government would form a most important frontier town. As it is, it may probably contain about fifteen thousand inhabitants, but they are notorious for their thievish propensities, and the wild state of the country around bears ample testimony to their want of industry. The market, which is held before the S.W. gate, is of the most indifferent description. The wall, with its pinnacles, is in very good repair. In order to keep the thievish disposition of the natives in check, I fired some shots late in the evening, and we slept undisturbed. On my return-journey, however, in 1854, when I was quite alone with my party, I was less fortunate, a most enterprising thief returning thrice to his task, and carrying away, one after another, first the tobe, then the trowsers, and finally the cap from one of my people.

Thursday, March 13th. Not waiting for the new horseman whom I was to receive here early in the morning, I went on in advance with my companion, in order to reach Gúmmel before the heat of the day; and we soon met in the forest a string of twelve camels, all laden with kurdí or shells, and belonging to the rich Arab merchant Bú-héma, who resides in Múniyo, and carries on a considerable business between Kanó and Kúkawa. I will here mention that, in general, 100,000 kurdí are regarded as a camel-load; fine animals, however, like these, will carry as much as a hundred and fifty thousand, that is, just sixty dollars or twelve pounds' worth. It is easy to be understood that, where the standard coin is of so unwieldy a nature, the commerce of the country can not be of great value.

About two miles before we reached the frontier town of the Bórnu empire in this direction, we were joined by the horseman of the Governor of Gérki; and here we took leave of Háusa, with its fine and beautiful country, and its cheerful and industrious population. It is remarkable what a difference there is between the character of the ba-Háushe and the Kanúri—the former lively, spirited, and cheerful, the latter melancholic, de-

jected, and brutal; and the same difference is visible in their physiognomies—the former having in general very pleasant and regular features and more graceful forms, while the Kanúri, with his broad face, his wide nostrils, and his large bones, makes a far less agreeable impression, especially the women, who are very plain, and certainly among the ugliest in all Negroland, notwithstanding their coquetry, in which they do not yield at all to the Háusa women.

Birmenáwa is a very small town, but strongly fortified with an earthen wall and two deep ditches, one inside and the other outside, and only one gate on the west side. Around it there is a good deal of cultivation, while the interior is tolerably well inhabited. Konché, who was in a great hurry to reach Gúmmel, would have preferred going on directly without entering the town; but as I was obliged to visit it in order to change my horseman, it being of some importance to me to arrive in Gúmmel with an escort, he accompanied me. The population consists of mixed Háusa and Kanúri elements.

Having obtained another man, we continued our march through a country partly under cultivation, partly covered with underwood, and were pleased, near the village of Tókun, to find the Háusa custom of a little market held by the women on the road side still prevailing; but this was the last scene of the kind I was to see for a long time. We reached the considerable town of Gúmmel just when the sun began to shine with great power; and at the gate we separated, the sherif taking his way directly toward his quarters in the southern part of the town, while I was obliged to go first to the house of the governor, the famous Dan-Tanóma (the son of Tanóma, his own name being entirely unknown to the people); but, on account of his great age, neither on this nor on a later occasion did I get a sight of him. Indeed, he was soon to leave this world, and by his death to plunge not only the town wherein he resided, but the whole neighboring country, into a destructive civil war between his two sons.

However, on my first visit Gúmmel was still a flourishing place, and well inhabited, and I had to pass through an intricate

labyrinth of narrow streets, inclosed between fences of mats and reeds surrounding huts and court-yards, before I reached the dwellings of the few Arabs who live here; and, after looking about for some time, I obtained quarters near the house of Sálem Maidúkia (the Rothschild of Gúmmel), where my Morocco friend was lodged. But my lodgings required building in the first instance, as they consisted of nothing but a court-yard, the fence of which was in a state of utter decay, and a hut entirely fallen in, so that there was not the least shelter from the sun, whereas I had to wait two days at least for my new friend, whose company I was not inclined to forego, without very strong reasons, on my journey to Kúkawa.

However, building is not so difficult in Negroland as in Europe, and a most comfortable dwelling, though rather light, and liable to catch fire, may be erected in a few hours; even a roof is very sufficiently made, at least such as is here wanted during the dry season, with those thick mats, made of reed, called "síggedi" in Bórnu. But, most fortunately, Sálem had a conical roof just ready, which would have afforded satisfactory shelter even from the heaviest rain. I therefore sent immediately my whole remaining supply of kurdí to the market to buy those mats and sticks; and getting four men practiced in this sort of workmanship, I immediately set to work, and, long before my camels arrived, had a well-fenced private court-yard, and a splendid cool shade, while my tent served as a store for my luggage and as a bedroom for myself.

Having, therefore, made myself comfortable, I was quite prepared to indulge in the luxurious luncheon sent me by the maidúkia, consisting of a well-cooked paste of Negro millet with sour milk, after which I received visits from the few Arabs residing here, and was pleased to find one among them who had been Clapperton's servant, and was well acquainted with the whole proceedings of the first expedition. He had been traveling about a good deal, and was able, with the assistance of a companion of his, to give me a tolerably complete itinerary of the route from Sókoto to Gónja, the gúro-country and the northern province of Asianti. These Arabs necessarily lead here a

very miserable sort of existence; Sálem, however, a native of Sókna, has succeeded in amassing a considerable fortune for these regions, and is therefore called by the natives maidúkia. He had a freed slave of the name of Mohammed Abbeakúta, who, though not at all an amiable man, and rather self-conceited, nevertheless gave me some interesting information. Among other things, he gave me a very curious list of native names of the months,* which are not, however, those used by the Háusáwa, nor, I think, by the Yórubáwa, he having been evidently a native of Yóruba. He also gave me the following receipt for an antidote in the case of a person being wounded by poisoned arrows: a very young chicken is boiled with the fruits of the chamsínda, the áddwa (*Balanites*), and the tamarind-tree; and the bitter decoction so obtained, which is carried in a small leathern bag ready for use, is drunk immediately after receiving the poisonous wound, when, as he affirmed, the effect of the poison is counteracted by the medicine. The chicken would seem to have very little effect in the composition, but may be added as a charm.

The next morning I went with 'Abd el Khafíf to pay our compliments to old Dan-Tanóma. His residence, surrounded by high clay walls, and including, besides numbers of huts for his household and numerous wives, some spacious halls of clay, was of considerable extent; and the court-yard, shaded by a wide-spreading, luxuriant tamarind-tree, was a very noble area. While we sat there awaiting the governor's pleasure, I had a fair insight into the concerns of this little court, all the well-fed, idle parasites coming in one after the other, and rivaling each other in trivial jokes. The Háusa language is the language of the court, and the offices are similar to those which I mentioned above with regard to Kanó. Having waited a long time in vain, the weak old man sending an excuse, as he could not grant us an interview, we returned to our quarters.

* The names he gave me are as follow: Dubberáno, Buténi, Hákka, Han'aa, Syr-há, Néshyrá, Tárfa, Sábená, Harzána, Surfa, Iwák, Shemák, Ikelíllu, Fáram makadám, Fáram makhéro. Of these fifteen names, which I was unable to identify with the months of the Arab calendar, as the man scarcely understood a word of Arabic, three may rather denote the seasons.

To day, being Friday, was market-day; and, in order to see the market in its greatest activity, I mounted at noon on horseback and went out. In all these parts of Negroland, the customs of which are in every respect so different from those of Yóruba and the neighboring countries, the market (in Kúkawa and Maseña as well as in Kanó, Sókoto, and even Timbúktu) is always most frequented and most busy in the hottest hours of the day, notwithstanding the great fatigue which all people, and particularly the strangers, have to undergo.

The market of Gúmmel is held outside the town, between the two gates on the west side, but nearer to the "chínna-n-yalá"* (the northern gate), which is remarkable on account of its well-fortified condition.

Though I had heard a good deal about Gúmmel, I was nevertheless surprised at the size and the activity of the market, although that held on Saturday is said to be still more important. Gúmmel is the chief market for the very extensive trade in natron, which, as I have mentioned above, is carried on between Kúkawa and Múniyo on one side, and Núpe or Nýffi on the other; for this trade passes from one hand into another, and the Bórnu people very rarely carry this merchandise further than Gúmmel. Large masses of natron, certainly amounting to at least one thousand loads of both qualities mentioned above, were offered here for sale—the full bullock's load of the better quality for five thousand, an ass's load of the inferior sort for five hundred kurdí. There were also about three hundred stalls or sheds, but not arranged in regular rows, where a great variety of objects were offered for sale—all sorts of clothing, tools, earthenware pots, all kinds of victuals, cattle, sheep, donkeys, horses —in short, every thing of home or foreign produce which is in request among the natives.

The Arabs have their place under a wide-spreading fig-tree, where I was greatly pleased to make the acquaintance of a very

* "Chínna-n-yalá" is an interesting specimen of the corruption of a language in the border-districts; for while the words are Kanúri, they are joined according to the grammar of the Háusa language, for in Kanúri the expression ought to be "chínna yalabe."

intelligent man called 'Azi Mohammed Moníya, who gave me some valuable information, particularly with regard to the route from Kanó to Tóto, and that from Sókoto to Gónja. He also gave me the first accurate description of the immense town Alóri or Ilóri, the great centre of the conquering Fúlbe in Yóruba, which I shall have frequent opportunity of mentioning in the course of my proceedings. This man, who was really very intelligent, had traveled a great deal, and had made a long stay in Stambúl, assured me that Alóri was, without the least doubt, larger than the latter city. Yet this immense town, of which the first accounts are due, I think, to Captain Clapperton, is sought for in vain in many of our most recent maps.

Greatly delighted with my visit to the market, though not a little affected by the exposure to the sun during the hot hours, I returned to my quarters; for, though a practiced traveler will bear very well the most scorching power of the sun if he sets out in the morning, and by degrees becomes inured to greater and greater heat, he may suffer fatally from exposing himself for a long time to the midday sun after having spent the morning in the shade. Later in the afternoon, the governor sent, as a gift to me and 'Abd el Khafíf, through his principal courtiers (such as the ghaladíma, the chiróma, and others, who were accompanied by a long train of followers), a young bullock, they being instructed at the same time to receive in return the present, or "salám," as it is generally called, which we had prepared for him. I gave them a subéta and a small flask with rose oil, which is an article in great request with the fashionable world in Háusa and Bórnu. In the evening we received also corn for our horses.

Saturday, March 15th. This was a most fortunate and lucky day for me; for suddenly, when I least expected it, I was visited by an Arab from Sókna of the name of Mohammed el Mughárbi, who had just arrived with a little caravan of Swákena from Múrzuk, and brought me a considerable number of letters from friends in Tripoli, England, and Germany, after my having been deprived of news from them for ten months. The letters gave me great delight; but, besides the letters, there was

something with them which touched me more sensibly, by the providential way in which it supplied my most urgent wants.

I was extremely short of cash, and having spent almost my whole supply of shells in fitting up my quarters, paying my guides, and discharging Makhmúd, who had proved quite unfit for service, I had very little left wherewith to provide for our wants on our long journey to Kúkawa. How surprised and delighted was I, then, on opening Mr. Gagliuffi's letter, at the unexpected appearance of two Spanish dollars, which he forwarded to me in order to make good an error in my account with him. Two Spanish dollars! it was the only current money I had at that time; and they were certainly more valuable to me than so many hundreds of pounds at other times. However, the rascal who brought me the letters had also merchandise, on the account of the mission, to the value of one hundred pounds; but, either because he wished to deliver it to the director himself, or in order to obtain also the hire stipulated for him if he should be obliged to carry the merchandise on to Kúkawa, he declared that the things had gone on in advance to Kanó—an evident falsehood, which eventually caused us much unnecessary expense, and brought Mr. Overweg and myself into the greatest distress; for I did not, in fact, receive this merchandise till after my return from Adamáwa, having subsisted all the time upon "air and debts."

This and the following day I was busy answering my letters, and I will only mention here that from this place I intimated to one of my friends—Mr. Richard Lepsius, of Berlin—my foreboding that it might be my destiny, after trying in vain to penetrate to any great distance in a southeastern direction, to turn my steps westward, and to fill up my researches into the regions about Timbúktu by my personal experience. Having finished my parcel of letters, I gave it to the Mughárbi to take with him to Kanó, and intrust it to the care of one of my Tinýlkum friends, who would soon forward it to Múrzuk.

Having been thus freshly imbued with the restless impulse of European civilization, and strengthened with the assurance that highly respected persons at such a distance took a deep in-

terest in the results of our proceedings, I resolved not to linger a moment longer in this place, but rather to forego the company of my amiable friend, particularly as I knew that he was going to Múniyo, and therefore, after a few days' march, would at all events separate from me. And I did well; for my friend did not reach Kúkawa before the middle of May, that is, six weeks after me. Such are the Arabs, and woe to him who relies upon them! The same thing happened to me on my successful return from Bórnu to the coast in 1855. Every body assured me that the caravan was to leave immediately; but I went on alone in May, and reached Tripoli in August, while the caravan did not reach Múrzuk before March, 1856.

I therefore sent to Dan-Tanóma, begging him to furnish me with a horseman who would escort me to Máshena, and he assented. It was a hazardous and troublesome undertaking: I had only one servant, faithful, but young, and who had never before traveled this road, besides a little boy, delicate in body and unsteady in mind, and I was sure that I myself should have to do half the work, as well in loading and unloading the camels as in pitching the tent and looking after every thing.

Monday, March 17th. Having taken a hearty leave of 'Abd el Khafíf, I followed my camels and—my good luck. This was the first time on my journey that I traveled quite alone, and I felt very happy, though, of course, I should have been glad to have had one or two good servants.

The country on the east side of Gúmmel, at least at this time of the year, presented a very dull and melancholy appearance, and the most decided contrast to that cheerful and splendid scenery which is peculiar to the landscape round Kanó. Nevertheless, it seemed to be well inhabited, and we passed several places, some of them of tolerable size, and surrounded with earthen walls of very inconsiderable elevation, and ditches; the court-yards, especially in the first town which we passed, the name of which is Kadángaré, "the lizard" in Háusa, were wide and spacious. A little later in the season the drought must be terribly felt in these quarters, for even at present we had great difficulty in watering our horses and filling a water-skin. Trees

of good size became continually more scarce, but the country was still well inhabited, and after ten o'clock, near the little town Gósuwa, surrounded likewise by a low earthen wall, we reached a small market-place, consisting of about thirty stalls, where a market is held every Sunday; the town, however, was not thickly inhabited, and near its northeast corner especially there were large empty spaces.

Beyond this place the country became a little richer in trees, and we here passed a large village called Gáreji, where a path branches off leading to Maimágariá, a road generally taken by caravans. The population of all these places is composed of Bórnu and Háusa people, and many particular customs might be observed hereabouts, which are rather peculiar to the latter race. Dull as the country appeared, a feeling of tranquillity and security was communicated by the sight of little granaries, such as I have before described, scattered about without any protection in the neighborhood of some villages. After we had passed the empty market-place of the little walled town Kábbori, the surface of the ground had a very peculiar look, being covered entirely with colocynths, which were just in maturity. About a mile and a half further on we took up our quarters in Benzári, a town belonging to the province of Máshena or Másena, and were well received and hospitably treated by the Ghaladíma. The town is separated into two parts by a spacious opening, wherein is the principal well which supplies almost the whole population, but its depth is considerable, being more than twenty fathoms. Here we filled our water-skin the next morning before we set out.

March 18th. Scarcely had we left Benzári behind us when my ears were struck by the distant sound of drums and singing, and I learned on inquiry that it was Bokhári, or, as the Bórnu people call him, Bowári, the deposed governor of Khadéja,* and the brother of A'hmedu, the present ruler of that town. Bokhári's name was then new, not only to me, but even to the natives of the neighboring provinces. He had been governor of Khadéja,

* Further on I shall give the itinerary from Kanó to this important place, joining it with my own route.

but, being a clever and restless man, he, or rather his jealous brother, had excited the suspicion of his liege lord 'Alíyu, the ruler of Sókoto, who had deposed him and given the government to his brother A'hmedu, whereupon Bokhári had nothing else to do but to throw himself upon the hospitality and protection of the Bórnu people, who received him with open arms, the Governor of Máshena, with the sanction of his liege lord the Sheikh of Bórnu, assigning to him a neighboring place, Yerímarí, for his residence. This is an incident of very frequent occurrence in these loosely-connected empires; but it is particularly so with the Fúlbe, among whom one brother often cherishes the most inveterate hatred against another. Exactly the same thing we have seen already in Kátsena. Bokhári, having remained some time quietly in this place, strengthening his party, and assisted underhand with arms and men by the Vizier of Bórnu, had just now set out to try his fortune against his brother, and was beating the drums in order to collect as many people as possible.

Predatory incursions are nothing new in these quarters, where several provinces and entirely distinct empires have a common frontier; but this, as the event proved, was rather a memorable campaign for the whole of this part of Negroland, and was to become "the beginning of sorrows" for all the country around; for Bokhári, having taken the strong town of Khadéja, and killed his brother, was not only able to defend himself in his new position, vanquishing all the armies sent against him, and among them the whole military force of the empire of Sókoto, which was led on by the vizier in person, 'Abdu the son of Gedádo, Clapperton's old friend, but spread terror and devastation to the very gates of Kanó. Indeed, on my second journey through these regions, I shall have the sad duty of describing the state of misery into which districts, which on my former visit I had found flourishing and populous, had been reduced by this warlike chieftain, who, instead of founding a strong kingdom and showing himself a great prince, chose rather, like most of his countrymen, to base his power on the destruction and devastation of the country around him, and to make himself a slave-dealer on a grand scale. Tens of thousands of unfortunate peo-

ple, pagans as well as Mohammedans, unprotected in their well-being by their lazy and effeminate rulers, have from the hands of Bokhári passed into those of the slave-dealer, and have been carried away from their native home into distant regions.

Kept in alarm by the drumming, and making some not very tranquilizing reflections on the weakness of our little band, which consisted of three men and a boy, in the turbulent state of the country through which we were passing, we continued silently on, while the character of the landscape had nothing peculiarly adapted to cheer the mind. Cultivation beginning to cease, nothing was to be seen but an immense level tract of country covered with the monotonous *Asclepias gigantea*, with only a single poor *Balanites* now and then. But the scene became more animated as we approached Chifówa, a considerable town surrounded by a low earthen wall, which I was greatly astonished to hear belonged still to the territory of Gúmmel, and was also assigned to Bokhári during his exile. The boundary between the provinces must run here in a very waving line.

All that I observed here testified that the Háusa population still greatly predominated; and as we had to turn close round the place on the north side, where the ground rose, we had a fine view over the whole interior of the town. It presented a very animated spectacle; and a large number of horsemen were assembled here, evidently in connection with the enterprise of Bokhári, while men and women were busy carrying water into the town from a considerable distance. Of cultivation, however, very few traces appeared; but a good many cattle and sheep, and even some camels, were seen grazing about. In Kaselúwa, also, the next town, we were complimented with the usual Háusa salute. Having then passed through a monotonous tract of country, covered with tall reed-grass and with the *Asclepias*, we reached the town of Yélkazá at half past nine in the morning. Here the governor of the province of Máshena, who generally has his residence in the town of the same name, was staying at present, apparently on account of the expedition of Bokhári, which he was assisting underhand; and I accordingly had

to pay him my compliments, as my horseman, who was a servant of Dan Tanóma, could not well conduct me any farther.

We therefore entered the town by the north gate, and found people very busy repairing the fortification, consisting of two walls and three ditches of considerable depth, two of which ran outside round the outer wall, while the third was inclosed between the two walls.

Having presented ourselves at the residence of the governor, which was situated in the middle of the town, and consisted altogether of reed work, we obtained good quarters, with a spacious and cool shed, which was the only thing we wanted; for, being anxious not to lose any more time, I had resolved to start again in the afternoon. In order, therefore, to obtain a guide as soon as possible, I went to pay my compliments to the governor, whose name was Mohammed. After a little delay, he came out of the interior of his reed house into the audience-hall, which likewise consisted entirely of reed-work, but was spacious and airy; there he sat down upon a sort of divan, similar to the ánkaréb used in Egypt, and made of the branches of the tukkurúwa, which had been brought in expressly for the purpose. My interview, however, was short, for neither was he himself a lively or inquisitive man, nor was my Tébu servant, whom, as I myself was not yet able to speak Kanúri with tolerable fluency, I was obliged to employ as interpreter, at all distinguished either by eloquence or by frankness, though in other respects he was an excellent lad.

I obtained, however, all that I wanted, the governor assigning me immediately a man who should accompany me to Ghaladíma 'Omár, the governor of Búndi, and I was glad that he did not grumble at my present, which consisted only of a small vial of rose-oil and a quarter of a pound of cloves. The best and most useful present for the governors on this road, who are justly entitled to some gift, as no tolls are to be paid, is a subéta or white shawl, with red or yellow border, such as are brought from Egypt, which may be accompanied with some spices. The old man also sent me, after a little while, when I had returned to my quarters, a dish which at least was not

richer than my present, consisting in a very unpalatable paste of Negro corn, with a nasty sauce of míya or molukhíya. Háusa with its delicacies was behind us; and I was unable to procure, either for hospitality's sake or for money, a dish of "fura," which I had become very fond of.

The heat was very great, though a light fresh breeze from the east made it supportable, and my new guide seemed by no means so anxious to go on as I was, so that I was obliged to search for him a long while. Having at length laid hold of him, we started, passing through an undulating country without cultivation, and covered only with brushwood, and with the dreadfully monotonous káwo or *Asclepias*, when, after three miles, it became a little varied by underwood, the scene being enlivened by a karábka or káfila, with nine camels, coming from Kúkawa.

Thus we approached Taganáma, a considerable town, inclosed with a wall and a double ditch. We were obliged, however, to go round the whole town, the western gate being closed, and a sort of outwork, such as is very rare in these countries, consisting in a cross ditch projecting to a great distance, being made at its northeast corner. At length we reached the eastern gate and entered the town. Its interior left on us an impression of good order and comfort; all the fences of the court-yards were in excellent repair, the huts large and spacious, and a certain air of well-being was spread over the whole place.

Having obtained tolerable quarters, and corn for my guide's horse and my own, we lay down early, in order to continue our journey with the first dawn next morning, but were roused at midnight by some people arriving and stating, with an air of great importance, that they had letters for me. Greatly surprised, and wondering what these important dispatches could be, I got up, but found, when I had kindled a light, that the letters were not for me at all, but addressed to persons in Kúkawa unknown to me, by others in Kanó not better known. These unknown friends most probably, after I had fairly set out, had determined not to let slip this excellent opportunity of communicating with their friends in Kúkawa. However, the carriers of the letters thinking, and perhaps expressly made to think.

that they had brought some important message for me, expected a handsome present, and I had some difficulty in persuading them that they were only giving me trouble for the sake of other people. Nevertheless, as they were unprovided with food, I ordered Mohammed to cook a supper for them; and after having disturbed my night's rest by their noisy conversation, they made off again long before daylight; for in this whole district, where so many different nationalities border close together, the greatest insecurity reigns, and the inhabitants of one town can not safely trust themselves to those of a neighboring place without fear of being sold as slaves, or at least of being despoiled of the little they have.

My fine lancer, with whose manly bearing I had been very much pleased yesterday, appeared to have thought that, instead of exposing himself alone, by accompanying me farther through a disturbed and infested district, he would do better to retrace his steps in the company of these people, for the next morning he was gone, and no trace of him was to be found. Perhaps he was anxious to join the expedition against Khadéja, where the soldier might make his fortune, while with me he could only expect to gain a few hundred shells; but, whatever was his reason for decamping, he left me in a state of great perplexity, as I was in a hurry to go on as fast as possible, and in a country where there are no high roads, but where even tracks so important as that from Kanó to Kúkawa are nothing but small paths leading from one village or from one town to another, I could not well dispense with a guide. As regards security, I could only rely upon Providence and my own courage.

Having in vain searched for my man, I loaded the camels, and mounting my horse, proceeded to the residence of the governor, who is the vassal of the ruler of Máshena. He, having been informed by his servants, soon came forth, a tall, imposing figure, and seeing that my complaint was just, his liege lord having expressly assigned me the horseman in order to conduct me to Búndi, he assured me that he would find another guide for me; but as it would take some time, he ordered one of his servants to lead me out of the town to a place where the cam-

els meanwhile might graze a little. Seeing that he was a just and intelligent man, I thanked him for his kindness, and followed his servant, who conducted us a few hundred yards from the town, where there was most excellent pasturage for the camels.

While we were waiting here for the guide, my companion, who was a sociable sort of man, helped me to pass the time most agreeably with his instructive talk. I had observed a very curious object at the governor's house—a leathern parcel of considerable dimensions, tied up with great care and hung on a long pole, and I had fancied that it contained the body of a criminal exposed there to every man's sight as a warning example of severe punishment; but, to my great astonishment, I now learned that it was a powerful talisman suspended in order to protect the town against the Felláta, as the Bórnu people call the Fúlbe, whose inroads were greatly feared. He likewise informed me that four years ago there was a desperate struggle for Taganáma, when that town very narrowly escaped falling into the hands of those fanatical invaders. He praised his master, whose name, as I now learned, was I'sa. The cheerful aspect of the town seemed fully to confirm his praises, and I expressed my hope that his watchfulness and energy might be a better safeguard to the inhabitants than that monstrous talisman, the dimensions of which were really frightful.

I was greatly pleased also to observe here the very first signs of preparing the ground for the approaching season, the slaves being busy clearing the soil with a sort of strong rake provided with four long wooden teeth, called "kámga;" but this is very rarely done, and the preparatory labors of agriculture must differ more or less in different districts, according to the peculiar nature of the ground.

At length we saw the guides coming toward us. Instead of a horseman there were two archers on foot,* short, muscular men, clad only with a leathern apron round their loins, and for

* The drawing given by Denham of a Mánga warrior makes him look much taller than the Kanémma, while the Mánga in general, though more robust, is shorter than the former, though there are exceptions. The battle-axe also, and other characteristic details, are wanting.

arms bearing, besides bow and arrows, the peculiar little Mánga battle-axe, which they carry on their shoulders, while a good-sized leathern pocket for carrying provisions, and several diminutive garra bottles hung down by their sides. In short, they were real Mánga warriors, though they certainly did not inspire us with all the confidence which we should have wished to repose in a guide. However, having made them promise in the presence of the governor's servant, who professed to know them well, that they would accompany me to Búndi, I started with them.

Having lost the finest hours of the morning, I was naturally anxious not to waste more time; and I was glad to perceive that the fine eastern breeze, which had prevailed for some days, greatly lessened the power of the sun. Soon afterward we met the brother of the Governor of Máshena, with a troop of twelve horsemen, hastening toward the point where the memorable campaign of Bokhári was to commence. The country was very monotonous, being soon covered with a forest of mean growth, uninterrupted by any tree of larger size, except the bare, dismal-looking kuka or monkey-bread-tree, and presented evident signs of destructive warfare waged throughout it; we passed the former sites of several small towns and villages. The soil consisted here of deep white sand.

After a march of about eight miles, however, the vegetation began to assume a different character, the ngílle or dúm-bush first appearing, then a karáge or gáwo (the locust-tree) being seen now and then, after which the dúm-palm began to prevail entirely. The substratum of this district is evidently granite, which seems to lie very close to the surface, as about noon a large mass of this rock projected near our path. A little beyond this point the wilderness was agreeably interrupted by an opening with stubble-fields, about which were scattered small granaries, producing, at such a distance from any inhabited place, and without guardians, an agreeable feeling of security.

Half an hour afterward we reached the stockade of Wuélleri, and proceeded directly to the house of the billama or mayor, as I wished to obtain another guide, for it was only with the great-

est difficulty that I succeeded in dragging on thus far my two archers, who had shown signs of the greatest anxiety during the latter part of the march, and had tried several times to turn their backs; but farther they would not go on any account, and I was therefore obliged to dismiss them, paying them three hundred shells. Unfortunately, the bíllama was not at home, and his brother proved to be a morose and surly fellow. I wished to stay here only during the hot hours of the day, and to proceed in the evening after having watered the camels; but he represented to me that the town of Máshena was too distant to be reached before night, if I did not go on directly. As this was impossible, I resolved to stay here for the night, and pitched my tent in an open place in front of a cool shed. However, we found great difficulty in watering our animals, the Mánga pretending that there was no water, though we ourselves had passed the well where the cattle had just been watered. Certainly the aquatic element was very scarce; and, after much debate, I was at length obliged to pay one hundred and fifty shells —an enormous charge, if the general price of the necessaries of life in this country be considered.

Thus our poor camels got at length something to drink, and, with a good feed in the afternoon, were prepared for a long march the following day. However, we still wanted a guide; and, notwithstanding our begging, promising, and threatening, we were unable to persuade any one to accompany us on to Búndi. The reason of this, however, was not only on account of the absence of the Governor of Máshena from his capital, but likewise owing to the unsettled state of the country, and the fear entertained by these people of being caught and sold into slavery. Indeed, between all these towns there was scarcely any mutual intercourse kept up by the natives themselves.

Thursday, March 20th. Having exerted myself to the utmost to obtain a guide, I found myself obliged to start alone with my two young lads, the eldest of whom was eighteen, and the other not more than thirteen or fourteen years of age. Field and forest succeeded alternately to each other; and after a little less than two miles, we passed on our left a small village

lightly fenced. Here we met also a small caravan, as a faint symptom of peaceable intercourse, though its array (covered as it went by an advanced guard of three archers marching at some distance, and performing at the same time the office of scouts, and by a rear-guard of two more) showed clearly their sense of insecurity. The country now began to improve considerably; and a beautiful tamarind-tree vested in the richest foliage, and closely embracing a colossal leafless Adansonia, formed the beginning of a finer vegetation, while two mounts, one on our right hand and the other on our left, interrupted the monotonous level through which we had been traveling. Farther on, granitic masses projected on all sides, and a solitary date-palm spread a peculiar charm over the landscape.

Having watered my horse at a well in the hollow between the two mounts, I reached, with my camels, the ditch and thorny fence then forming the only fortification of the town of Máshena, which place was strengthened, in the following year, with a clay wall. It lies on the gentle southern slope of an eminence, the top of which is crowned with a rocky crest, and is a considerable place for this country, having a population of certainly not less than 10,000 souls, but without the least sign of industry. A small káfila of Tébu and Arab merchants were encamped here; but, although we arrived at the very hottest time of the day, I was too anxious to proceed to think of staying here; and having only asked the news from Kúkawa, and heard that all was well, I continued my march. It shows the slowness of intercourse in this country that these people were ignorant of Mr. Richardson's death, although he had died twenty days before at a place only six days' march on this side of Kúkawa.

Keeping steadily on, first over open pasture-grounds, then through a section well wooded, we reached, after a march of about seven miles, a village, and entered it cheerfully with the intention of spending the night there, but were greatly disappointed on discovering that it was entirely deserted, and did not contain a living creature. Fortunately, however, after consulting what was to be done, we found a traveler who showed us a small path which was to lead us to the town of Álamáy. He

also informed us that the inhabitants of this village, the name of which was Jáwel, had formed a new village further south. The little path pointed out, however, was so overgrown and slightly marked that we soon became doubtful and perplexed. I went, therefore, to inquire of a shepherd whom we saw at some little distance on the right of our path; but no sooner did he observe me approaching than he ran away, leaving his flock at our discretion.

The state of this country is very miserable indeed, all the petty governors around, as soon as they have any debts to pay, undertaking a predatory excursion, and often selling even their own subjects.* However, we were lucky in finding at last a more trodden path, which soon brought us to an open, straggling village named Kárgímawa, which displayed a most animated and cheerful picture of a wealthy and industrious little community—the men sitting in the shade of some fine caoutchouc-tree, some of them busy making mats, others weaving, while the women were carrying water, or setting the pot upon the fire for the evening repast. Cattle, goats, and fowl roved about in considerable quantities.

Quite delighted at arriving (in consequence of having strayed from the direct road) at this sequestered place, we pitched our tent with a grateful sense of security, and squatted comfortably down, while the camels found a rich repast in the fields. In one thing, however, I was disappointed. The sight of so many cattle had led me to anticipate a good draught of milk; but the cattle did not belong to the inhabitants, and before sunset they were driven away. In other respects we were hospitably treated, and four little dishes were brought us in the evening from different huts, three of which contained paste of Guinea-corn, and one beans. The latter always seemed to me an agreeable variety; but a European must be very cautious how he indulges

* The Anti-Slavery Society seems to be unaware of these facts, as they suppose that a person in these regions is sufficiently protected by his creed. They appear not to have read the late Mr. Richardson's Journal, the latter part of which is full of remarks and exclamations on this melancholy state of the inhabitants. See especially vol. ii., p. 223.

in them in these regions, as they are apt to derange the stomach, and to bring on serious illness.

Friday, March 21st. Very early in the morning a numerous troop of small tradesmen, with pack-oxen, passed through the village while we awaited daylight; and then, having gratefully taken leave of the hospitable villagers, we set out, accompanied by one of them to show us the road. Having passed the former site of a little town, we soon gained the direct road, where we fell in with a motley gipsy-looking troop of those Tébu-Jétko, who, after the almost total annihilation of the commonwealth of Kánem, have immigrated into Bórnu. Those we met here were coming from Zínder. They had a few horses, oxen, and asses with them, but scarcely any luggage; and the whole attire of men, women, and children was very poor. We then passed the little town of A'lamáy, surrounded not only with an earthen wall and ditch, but also with a dense thorny fence some ten feet thick on the outside. Here was exhibited the pleasant picture of a numerous herd of fine cattle lying tranquilly on the spacious area inside the wall, ruminating their last day's repast, while a large extent of cultivated ground around the town gave ample proof of the industry of the people. But the well-being of the inhabitants of these regions has very little guarantee; and when, toward the end of the year 1854, I again traveled this same road, not a single cow was to be seen here, and the whole place looked mournful and deserted, tall reed-grass covering the fields which had been formerly cultivated.

Having then passed a thick forest of underwood, and some cultivated ground, half an hour before noon we reached Búndi,* the residence of the ghaladíma 'Omár, fortified in the same way as A'lamáy, and went up directly to the house of the governor, which consists entirely of reed-work. However, the mats ("lágará") which surround the whole establishment are of very great height, at least fifteen feet, and of considerable thickness, made of a peculiar reed called "súgu," and being sustained by long

* "Búndi," in Kanúri, means "wild beasts." The inhabitants still bear the particular name of Ngúru-bú, plural of Ngúru-ma, from the name of the place or district Ngurú, generally called A'ngarú.

poles, and kept in a good state of repair, do not look ill. Besides, they are in general strengthened still further on the outside by a fence of thorny bushes.

The ghaladíma,* or governor of the Gháladí, which (as we shall see in the historical account of the Bórnu empire) comprised all the western provinces of Bórnu from the komádugu Wáube (the so-called Yéou) to the shores of the Kwára, having his residence in Bírni Ngurú, near Mármar, in former times was an officer (or rather an almost independent feudal vassal) of immense power; at present, however, he has sunk to great insignificance, and in real power is much inferior to his neighbors the governors of Múniyo, Zínder, and even that of Máshena. But the present ghaladíma 'Omar is an intriguing man, and it would have been imprudent to pass on without paying him the compliment of a visit; and I was justified in hoping that he would provide me with a guide, in order that I might reach as soon as possible the presence of his liege lord the Sheikh of Bórnu.

Not being able to see him directly, I was obliged to sacrifice half a day, and to make up my mind to spend the night here. I therefore asked for quarters, and was lodged in a spacious but dirty court-yard, where I could procure but a very insufficient shade with my little English bell-tent of thin canvas. Having passed two uncomfortable hours without any refreshment, I was called in the afternoon into the presence of the governor, and, being obliged to leave my servant behind to take care of my

* The termination -ma in Kanúri signifies the possession of a thing, and is equivalent to the mai- in Háusa, placed before a word. Thus, bílla-ma is exactly identical with mai-gari, fír-ma with mai-dóki (the horseman), and so on. With this termination almost all the names of offices are formed in Kanúri, as yerí-ma, chiró-ma, kasél-ma, and so on. Thus, also, the governor of the province Múniyo or Mínyo bears the title Muniyó-ma or Minyó-ma, a name entirely misunderstood by Mr. Richardson. I will only add here that the title of the governor of the Gháladí in the Bórnu empire, on account of the immense extent of the latter, has been introduced into the list of offices of all the courts of Central Negroland, and that we find a ghaladíma in Sókoto as well as in every little town of 'Adamáwa. The same is to be said of some offices originally belonging only to the court of the empire of Mélle, such as that of feréng or fárma, mánso, and others.

luggage while 'Abd-Alla was pasturing the camels, I went alone, and found the great man in a spacious room or hall formed entirely of matwork, where he was lying upon an elevated platform or divan spread with a carpet. He was a short, well-fed, dark-colored man, of about sixty years of age, his large, broad face looking forth from the hood of a blue cloth bernús, with a neutral expression, indicating neither stupidity nor cleverness; his courtiers were grouped around him on the ground. Having saluted him and made the usual polite inquiries, I expressed my ardent desire to reach Kúkawa as soon as possible, as the day which I had fixed with my elder brother (Mr. Richardson) for a meeting in that place was drawing nigh; and I begged him, therefore, to grant me a guide who might conduct me there by the most direct road, of which I myself was ignorant, much time having been already lost in groping my way from one place to another. I then delivered my little present, consisting of an English razor and a clasp-knife, a large mirror of German silver, a parcel of English darning-needles, half a pound of cloves, and a piece of scented soap. Having looked at these things with satisfaction, he asked me if I had not any thing marvelous with me; and I consented to return to my quarters and fetch my musical box, with the performance of which the ghaladíma was highly pleased, but greatly desired to see some other curious things, such as pocket pistols, whereupon I told him that I had nothing else to gratify his curiosity. I was much fatigued, and on returning to my tent was not at all pleased to be still troubled by the governor's servant, who came to ask, in the name of his master, for calico, sugar, rose oil, and sundry other articles.

Búndi is a place of tolerable size, but with little industry; and the province of which it is the capital is going to ruin more and more, on account of the laziness and negligence of its governor—a statement which will be amply proved by the account of my journey through the same district in 1854. The town probably contains eight or nine thousand inhabitants, who belong to the Mánga nation, which seems to be the chief element of the Kanúri, and preserves many very remarkable customs. The special name of the clan of this tribe which dwells here-

abouts is Kárda. There is no market here of any importance; but the inhabitants seem to be tolerably at their ease, and there was music and racing, or "kadáske," in the evening, accompanied by the joyous shrill voices, the "wulúli," of the women. We, however, seemed to be forgotten; and it was nine o'clock at night, long after we had supped, when we received a dish for ourselves, and corn for the horse. It is rather remarkable that these western provinces of Bórnu were never conquered by the Fúlbe or Felláta, though lying so much nearer to those countries of which they definitely have taken possession than that part of Bórnu situated between the old capital and the great lagoon. The consequence is, that a certain degree of independence is allowed to them, and that they do not pay any tithes to the sheikh.*

* Here I will give the route from Kanó to A'lam'ay, near Búndi, by way of Khadéja, as it determines approximately the position of this town, which has been also mentioned by Clapperton as a place of importance. But its peculiar political situation, forced upon it by the events of this period, when it became the residence of a rebel chief waging war on all around, prevented my visiting it at a future period.

1st day. On leaving Kanó, sleep in Gógia, where the Governor of Kanó has a house, and where you arrive about two o'clock in the afternoon.

2d. Gáya, another town of the province of Kanó, where you arrive about the same hour, having crossed in the forenoon the bed of a torrent with water only in the rainy season.

3d. Dúchi or Dútsi; arrive about the 'aser, having crossed in the morning a torrent called Dedúrra, and passed about noon a half-deserted place called Katákatá.

4th. Zogó, a large open place, about 'aser. Many small villages on the road.

5th. Khadéja, a large town surrounded with a beautiful and very strong double clay wall, and well inhabited, the court-yards being inclosed with clay walls, but containing only reed huts. The inhabitants employ themselves exclusively in warlike expeditions, and have no industry; but nevertheless there are still to be seen here a few dyeing-pots, marking the eastern limit of this branch of industry. On the south side of the town is a kogí or komádugu, with a stream of running water in the rainy season, but with only stagnant pools in summer, along which a little wheat is cultivated. It is generally called Wáni.

6th. Garú-n-ghábbes, a middle-sized walled town, the first place of Bórnu, on this side, with a good deal of cultivation around. Though without importance in other respects, it is so in an historical point of view; for this place, being identical with the town Birám tá ghábbes, mentioned above, is regarded as the oldest place of the seven original settlements of the Háusa nation.

7th. A'lam'ay, the place which I passed by this morning; arrive about 'aser. Country in a wild state; no cultivation.

CHAPTER XXVII.

BÓRNU PROPER.

Saturday, March 22d. The ghaladíma had promised to send me a horseman last evening, as I wanted to start early in the morning; but, as we neither saw nor heard any thing of him the whole night, I thought it better not to lose any more time, but to rely upon my own resources, and accordingly left the town quietly by the northern gate, while the people, after last night's merriment, were still buried in sleep.

Following the great road, we kept on through a light forest, at times interrupted by a little cultivation. We met several parties—first of a warlike character, armed, horse and foot; then a motley band of natron-traders, with camels, bulls, horses, and asses, all laden with this valuable article. Emerging at length from the forest, we came upon a wide extent of cultivated land, with a sandy soil, with hardly a single tree at present, and, the labors of the field not having yet commenced, still covered with the káwo or *Asclepias*, the characteristic weed of Negroland, which every year, at the beginning of the agricultural season, is cleared away, and which during the dry season grows again, often to the height of ten or twelve feet. We then had a most interesting and cheerful scene of African life in the open, straggling village of Kálimarí or Kálemrí, divided into two distinct groups by a wide open space where numerous herds of cattle were just being watered at the wells; but how melancholy, how mournful became the recollection of the busy, animated scene which I then witnessed, when, three years and a half later, as I traveled again through this district, the whole village, which now presented such a spectacle of happiness and well-being, had disappeared, and an insecure wilderness, greatly infested by robbers, had succeeded to the cheerful abode of man.

But inviting as the village was for a halt during the heat of the day, we had, as conscientious and experienced travelers, the stomachs of our poor animals more at heart than our own, and having watered the horse and filled our skins, we continued on for a while, and then halted in very rich herbage, where, however, there was scarcely a spot free from the disagreeable "ngíbbu," the *Pennisetum distichum.* On starting again in the afternoon, the country began to exhibit a greater variety of bush and tree, and after a march of two hours we reached the village Dármagwá, surrounded with a thorny fence, and encamped near it, not far from another little trading-party. We were soon joined by a troop of five Tébu merchants, with two camels, a horse, and two pack-oxen, who were also going to Kúkawa, but who, unfortunately, did not suit me as constant companions, their practice being to start early in the morning, long before daylight, which was against my principle, as well in a scientific as in a material point of view; for neither should I have been able to lay down the road with correctness, nor would even the best arms have guaranteed my safety while marching in the dark. We therefore allowed them next morning to have the start of us for full two hours, and then followed.

Sunday, March 23*d.* We now entered a district which may be most appropriately called the exclusive region of the dúm-palm or *Cucifera Thebaïca* in Negroland; for, though this tree is found in large clusters or in detached specimens in many localities in Central Africa, yet it is always limited to some favored spot, especially to the bank of a water-course, as the komádugu near the town of Yó, and there is no other district of such extent as this tract between Kálemrí and Zurríkulo where the *Cucifera Thebaïca* is the characteristic and almost only tree. My Gatróni thought that the trees would perhaps not bear fruit here, but on my second journey, in the month of December, they were loaded with fruit.

The country has a very peculiar, open character, a sandy level, very slightly undulating, covered thinly with tall reed-grass shooting forth from separate bunches, the line of view broken only now and then by a cluster of slender fan-palms, without a

single trace of cultivation. I was anxious afterward to know whether this tract has always had this monotonous, deserted character, or whether it had contained formerly any towns and villages, and from all I could learn the former seems to be the case. However, our road was frequented, and we met several little troops of native travelers, with one of whom I saw the first specimen of the "kúri," a peculiar kind of bull, of immense size and strength, with proportionately large horns, of great thickness, and curving inward. They are almost all of white color. Their original home is Kárgá, the cluster of islands and swampy ground at the eastern corner of the Tsád.

After five hours' marching, when we had just traversed a small hollow full of herbage, the dúm-palm was for a moment superseded by other trees, chiefly by the gáwo or karáge, but it soon after again asserted its eminence as the predominating tree. We encamped at length, ignorant as we were of the country, a few minutes beyond a small village, the first human abode we had met with since we had left Dármagwá, half an hour before noon, in the shade of a tamarind-tree, surrounded by a thick cluster of dúm-palms. Certainly the tamarind-tree indicated that water was near, but I was not a little surprised when 'Abd-Alla, who was tending the camels, brought me the news that a considerable river, now stagnant, was close behind us. It was, as I afterward learned, the "Wáni," that branch of the komádugu Wáube (erroneously called "Y'eu") which runs past Khadéja, and joins the other branch which comes from Katágum. We therefore watered our camels here without being obliged to pay a single shell, and gave them a good feed, after which we resumed our march, and were not a little astonished when, having crossed the komádugu where it formed a narrow meandering channel about fifty yards broad, and bordered on both sides with trees, we discovered the town of Zurríkulo at a short distance before us.

Going round the north side of the town, we entered the dilapidated wall on the eastern side, where there was an open space, and pitched my tent close to the Tébu, who had arrived already in the forenoon. Soon after, there arrived also a káfila,

with twelve camels and a number of oxen and asses, from Kúkawa, and I was anxious to obtain some news of Mr. Richardson; but these people were utterly ignorant of the actual or expected arrival of any Christian in that place. They told me, however, what was not very agreeable, that the Sheikh of Bórnu was about to undertake a pilgrimage to Mekka; but, fortunately, though that was the heart's desire of that mild and pious man, he could not well carry it into execution.

I had now entered Bórnu proper, the nucleus of that great Central African empire in its second stage, after Kánem had been given up. It is bordered toward the east by the great sea-like komádugu the Tsád or Tsáde, and toward the west and northwest by the little komádugu which by the members of the last expedition has been called Yéou, from the town of that name, or rather Yó, near which they first made its acquaintance on their way from Fezzán. I had now left behind me those loosely-attached principalities which still preserve some sort of independence, and henceforth had only to do with Bórnu officers.

Not feeling very well, I remained in my tent without paying my compliments to the officer here stationed, whose name is Kashélla S'aid, with whom I became acquainted on a later occasion; but the good man being informed by the people that a stranger from a great distance, who was going to visit his liege lord, had entered his town, sent his people to welcome me, and regaled me with several bowls of very good paste, with fresh fish, and a bowl of milk.

Zurríkulo was once a large town, and at the time of the inroad of Wadáÿ revolted from the sheikh, but was obliged to surrender to his brother 'Abd e' Rahmán. Since then it has gradually been decaying, and is now half deserted. The neighborhood of the town is full of wild animals; and great fear was entertained by my companions for our beasts, as we had no protection in our rear. The roaring of a lion was heard during the night.

Monday, March 24th. Next morning, when we resumed our march, the fan-palm for some time continued to be the prevailing tree; but some kukas also, or *Adansonia digitata*, and

other more leafy trees began to appear, and after a while a thick underwood sprang up. Then followed a few scattered, I might say forlorn, date-trees, which looked like strangers in the country, transplanted into this region by some accident. The sky was clear; and I was leaning carelessly upon my little nag, musing on the original homes of all the plants which now adorn different countries, when I saw advancing toward us a strange-looking person of very fair complexion, richly dressed and armed, and accompanied by three men on horseback, likewise armed with musket and pistols. Seeing that he was a person of consequence, I rode quickly up to him and saluted him, when he, measuring me with his eyes, halted, and asked me whether I was the Christian who was expected to arrive from Kanó; and on my answering him in the affirmative, he told me distinctly that my fellow-traveler Yakúb (Mr. Richardson) had died before reaching Kúkawa, and that all his property had been seized. Looking him full in the face, I told him that this, if true, was serious news; and then he related some particulars, which left but little doubt as to the truth of his statement. When his name was asked, he called himself Ism'aíl; I learned, however, afterward, from other people, that he was the Sherif el Habíb, a native of Morocco, and really of noble blood, a very learned but extremely passionate man, who, in consequence of a dispute with M'allem Mohammed, had been just driven out of Kúkawa by the Sheikh of Bórnu.

This sad intelligence deeply affected me, as it involved not only the life of an individual, but the whole fate of the mission; and though some room was left for doubt, yet, in the first moment of excitement, I resolved to leave my two young men behind with the camels, and to hurry on alone on horseback. But Mohammed would not hear of this proposal; and, indeed, as I certainly could not reach Kúkawa in less than four days, and as part of the road was greatly infested by the Tawárek, such an attempt might have exposed me to a great deal of inconvenience. But we determined to go on as fast as the camels would allow us. We halted at eleven o'clock, shaded by the trunk of an immense leafless monkey-bread-tree, a little behind

the walled place Kábi, the southern quarter of which is alone inhabited, and where our friends the Tébu had encamped. Starting, then, together with them at two o'clock in the afternoon, we took the road by Déffowa, leaving on our right that which passes Donári, the country now assuming a more hospitable and very peculiar character.

For here begins a zone characterized by sandy downs from 100 to 120 feet high, and exhibiting on their summits a level plain of excellent arable soil, but with few trees, while the dells separating these downs one from the other, and which often wind about in the most anomalous manner, are in general richly overgrown with a rank vegetation, among which the dúm-palm and the dúm-bush are predominant. This curious formation, I fancy, has some connection with the great lagoon, which in a former period must have been of much greater extent.

The intercourse on the road this afternoon was exceedingly animated; and one motley troop followed another—Háusa fatáki, Bórnu traders or "tugúrchi," Kánembú Tébu, Shúwa Arabs, and others of the roving tribe of the Welád Slimán, all mixed together—while their beasts of burden formed a multifarious throng of camels, oxen, horses, and asses. The Welád Slimán, who were bringing camels for sale to the market of Kanó, were greatly frightened when I told them what had happened to their brethren near Kúka mairuá, as they were conscious that most of the camels now with them were of the number of those which two years ago had been taken from the Kélowí in Bílma.

As evening came on, the dells which we had to traverse were thronged with thousands of wild pigeons, carrying on their amorous play in the cool twilight of approaching night. All was silent, with the exception of a distant hum, becoming more and more distinct as we wound along the side of an exuberant meandering valley. The noise proceeded from the considerable town of Déffowa, which we reached at a quarter past seven o'clock, and encamped at a little distance to the north. Lively music never ceased in the town till a late hour.

Tuesday, March 25th. All was still silent in the place when,

early in the morning, I set out with my little troop to follow the track of our temporary companions, the Tébu. The village was surrounded only by a light, thorny fence, but it seemed to be prosperous and densely inhabited. The country continued similar in character, but better cultivated than the tract we had traversed the day before; and the immense multitude of wild pigeons, which found a secure and pleasant haunt in the rank vegetation of the hollows, made it necessary to resort to some expedient to keep them off. High platforms were therefore erected in the fields, in the shade of some tree, and ropes drawn from them were fastened to poles and coated with a peculiar vegetable extract, which caused them, if put in motion by a person stationed on the platform, to give forth a loud sound, which kept the birds at a respectful distance.

We saw here also a small cotton-field. If the country were more densely inhabited, and the people more industrious and better protected by their slave-hunting governors, all the lowlands and valley-like hollows, which, in the rainy season, form so many water-channels, and retain a great degree of moisture during the whole year, would afford the most splendid ground for this branch of cultivation.

The repeated ascent and descent along steep slopes of deep, sandy soil more than a hundred feet high was very fatiguing for the camels. While ascending one of these ridges, we had a very charming view over the whole of the neat little village of Kálowa, lying along the slope and in the hollow to our left. It was rather small, containing about two hundred huts, but every yard was shaded by a korna or bíto-tree (*Balanites*), and comfort (according to the wants felt by the natives) and industry were every where manifested. In the midst was a large open space, where the cattle were collecting round the wells to be watered, while the people were drawing water to fill the large round hollows, "kéle nkíbe," made with little clay walls to serve as troughs. The blacksmith was seen busy at his simple work, making new hoes for the approaching season; the weaver was sitting at his loom; several were making mats of reed; some women were carrying water from the wells, some

spinning or cleaning the cotton, while others pounded corn for their daily consumption. The little granaries, in order to preserve the stock of corn from the danger of conflagration, which every moment threatens these light structures of straw and reed, were erected on the sandy level near the edge of the slope.

Even the fowls had their little separate abodes, also of reed, very thrifty and neat, as the accompanying wood-cut will show. Such was the simple, but nevertheless cheerful picture which this little village exhibited. My two boys were a long way ahead of me when I awoke from my reverie and followed them.

It was shortly before we came to this village that we passed the enormous skeleton of an elephant—the first trace of this animal which I had seen since Gazáwa (I mean the independent pagan place of that name between Tasáwa and Kátsena). The road was frequented; early in the morning we had met a party of tugúrchi with pack-oxen, who had been traveling a great part of the night, as they generally do, on account of this beast of burden bearing the heat of the day very badly. About an hour's march beyond Kálowa we met a party of horsemen coming from Kúkawa; and as their head man appeared to be an intelligent person, I approached him, and asked him the news of the place. He most probably took me for an Arab, and told me that all was well, but that the Christian who had been coming from a far-distant country to pay his compliments to the sheikh had died, more than twenty days ago, in a place called Ngurútuwa, before reaching Kúkawa. There could now be no more doubt of the sad event, and with sad emotion I continued my march, praying to the Merciful to grant me better success than had fallen to the lot of my companion, and to strengthen me, that I might carry out the benevolent and humane purposes of our mission.

This district also has a very scanty supply of water, and it took us more than half an hour to collect, from four wells near another small village, a sufficient supply for my horses; but as to filling our water-skins, it was not to be thought of. The

wells were ten fathoms deep. We halted half an hour before noon, not far from another well, at the foot of a sandy swell upon which the little village of "M'allem Kerémerí" is situated. Here, as well as in the village passed in the morning, we could not obtain beans, though the cultivation of them is in general carried on to a great extent; but this district seemed to produce millet or *Pennisetum typhoïdeum* almost exclusively—at least no sorghum was to be seen. Keeping generally along a hollow, which, however, was not much depressed, and which consisted of arable, sandy soil, with a few bushes and trees, we reached the little town or village Dunú, surrounded with a ditch and earthen wall in decay, so that the gate had become useless. There was a large open space inside, and as the inhabitants, who gave us a very cheerful welcome, advised us not to encamp outside on account of the number of wild beasts infesting the neighborhood, we pitched the tent inside the wall.

We might have passed a very comfortable evening with the natives, who took great interest in me, had it not been for my faithful old companion the Bu-Séfi, the best (or, rather, the only good one) of my three camels, which, when it was growing dark, and 'Abd-Alla went to bring back the animals from their pasture, could not be found. The careless boy had neglected to fasten the camel's legs, and, being very hungry, it had gone in search of better herbage. This was a very disagreeable accident for me, as I was in the greatest hurry; and my two young lads, who were well aware of it, went for several hours, accompanied by the inhabitants of the place, in every direction, through the whole tract where the camels had been grazing, lighting the ground with torches, but all in vain.

Wearied and exhausted, they returned about midnight, and lay down to sleep, the music and dance also, which the cheerful natives had kept up, dying away at the same time. About an hour later, being too much excited from anxiety to obtain sleep, I went out once more to see if all was right, when I saw my favorite coming slowly along toward the tent; and on reaching it, he lay down by the side of his two inferior companions. There was no moonlight; the night was very dark; evidently only the

brightness of the well-known white tent guided the "stupid" animal. But this was no great proof of stupidity; and I am rather afraid that Europeans often make camels stupid by their own foolish treatment of them, whereas I was wont to treat this noble animal, which had carried myself or the heaviest of my things all the way from Tripoli, as a sensible companion, giving it in the beginning the peel of the oranges I was eating, of which it was particularly fond, or a few of my dates (for which it did not fail to turn round its beautiful neck), or granting it a little extra feed of Negro millet, which it ate like a horse. Rejoiced at seeing my favorite, the absence of which had created such anxiety, return of its own accord to my tent, and lying down near it, I aroused my servant from his sleep to tell him the joyful news. I wanted to reward it with some corn, but it had taken such good care of itself that it refused its favorite food.

I was much grieved in consequence of being obliged to part with my old companion; but camels from the coast will not stand the effects of a rainy season in Negroland. I hoped it would safely return to its native country; but the Arab who bought it from me went first to Kanó, when the rainy season was setting already in, and the poor animal died not far from the place where Mr. Richardson had succumbed. Its fidelity will ever remain in my memory as one of the pleasantest recollections of my journey.

Having thus got back our best carrier, though we had lost a good night's rest, we started early next morning over the same sort of ground we had been traversing the last few days, and in two hours reached the little town of Wádi, the noise from which, caused by the pounding of grain, had been heard by us at the distance of almost a mile. Indeed, the pounding of grain has betrayed many a little village and many a caravan. The town is considerable, but properly consists of two different quarters walled all round, and separated from each other by a wide open space, where the cattle rest in safety. Approving very much of this way of building a town in these turbulent regions, we kept along the open space, but were greatly perplexed from the number of paths branching off in every direction, and scarcely knew which road to take.

It had been my intention originally to go to Borzári, in the hope of obtaining from the governor of that town a horseman to carry the news of my approach to the Sheikh of Bórnu; but, being here informed that I should be obliged to make a great circuit in order to touch at that place, I changed my plan, and took another and more direct road, which in the beginning seemed a well-trodden high road, but soon became a narrow foot-path, winding along from village to village without any leading direction. However, we met several small caravans, as well of Arabs who were going to Kanó, as of native traders or tugúrchi with natron. Passing now over open, cultivated ground, then through a bushy thicket, we reached, about ten o'clock in the morning, the considerable open village Kábowa, where a well-frequented and very noisy market was being held, and halted during the heat of the day under a shady tamarind-tree about five hundred yards to the south, near a "kaudi" or "kabéa tseggénabé" (a yard for weaving cotton).

We had scarcely unloaded our camels, when one of the weavers came, and, saluting me most cordially, begged me to accept a dish of very well prepared "fura" or "tiggra," with curdled milk, which evidently formed their breakfast. The market was very partially supplied, and did not furnish what we wanted. Natron, salt, and túrkedi, or the cloth for female dress made in Kanó, constituted the three articles which were plentiful; also a good many cattle, or, rather, pack-oxen, were there, besides two camels and abundance of the fruit of the dúm-palm; but meat was dear, onions extremely scarce, and beans not to be got at all, and, what was worse, the people refused to accept shells ("kúngona" in Kanúri), of which we had still a small supply, and wanted gábagá, or cotton stripes, of which we had none. Our camels, therefore, which hereabouts found plenty of their favorite and nourishing food, the aghúl or *Hedysarum Alhaggi*, fared much better than we ourselves. The neighborhood had rather a dreary aspect; the east wind was very high and troublesome; the well was distant, and, with a depth of eight fathoms, did not furnish the supply necessary for the numerous visitors to the market.

Early in the afternoon we continued our march, first in the company of some market-people returning to their native village, then left to our judgment to discriminate, among the numberless foot-paths which intersected the country in every direction, the one which was most direct or least circuitous; for a direct high road there is none. We became at length so heartily tired of groping our way alone, that we attached ourselves to a horseman who invited us to accompany him to his village, till, becoming aware that it lay too much out of our way, we ascended the slope of a sandy ridge to our right, on the summit of which was situated the village Lúshiri, where we pitched our tent.

Here also the inhabitants behaved hospitably; and I had scarcely dismounted when a woman from a neighboring hut brought me a bowl of ghussub-water as a refreshment. We succeeded also in buying here a good supply of beans and sorghum, or ngáberi, as it is called in Kaúri; for my Kátsena horse refused to eat the millet or argúm, and sorghum is very scarce in all this part of the country as well as in many other districts of Bórnu, especially in the district of Koyám. The women of the village, who were very curious to see the interior of my tent, were greatly surprised to find that I was a bachelor, and without a female partner, accustomed, as they were, to see travelers in this country, at least those tolerably at their ease, with a train of female slaves. They expressed their astonishment in much diverting chat with each other. I got also milk and a fowl for my supper, and the bíllama afterward brought some "ngáji" (the favorite Kanúri dish) for my men. As the situation of the village was elevated, it was most interesting to see in the evening the numerous fires of the hamlets and small towns all around, giving a favorable idea of the local population.

Thursday, March 27th. Early in the morning we continued our march, but we lost a great deal of time through ignorance of the direct way. Some of the paths appear, at times, like a well-frequented high road, when suddenly almost every trace of them is lost. At length, at the walled town of Gobálgorúm, we learned that we were on the road to Kashímma, and we determ-

ined to keep on as straight as possible. The country which we traversed early in the morning consisted of stiff, clayey soil, and produced ngáberi; but this was only a sort of basin of no great extent, and the landscape soon changed its character. After we had passed Gobálgorúm the country became much richer in trees; and this circumstance, as well as the increased number of water-fowl, indicated plainly that we were approaching a branch of the wide-spreading net of the komádugu of Bórnu.

First we came to a hollow clothed with a great profusion of vegetation and the freshest pasturage, but at present dry, with the exception of a fine pond of clear water on our left; and we marched full three miles through a dense forest before we came to the real channel, which here, running south and north, formed an uninterrupted belt of water as far as the eye could reach, but at present without any current. It looked just like an artificial canal, having almost every where the same breadth of about fifty yards, and, at the place where we crossed it, a depth of two feet and a half.

We halted, during the heat of the day, on its eastern shore, in the shade of one of the small gáwo-trees which border it on this side; and after our dreary and rather uninteresting march from Kanó, I was greatly delighted with the animated and luxuriant character of the scene before us. The water of this komádugu, moreover, though it was fully exposed to the power of the sun's rays, was delightfully cool, while that from the wells was disagreeably warm, having a mean temperature of 77°, and quite unfit to drink until allowed to cool. The river was full of small fish; and about twenty boys from the village of Shógo, which lay upon the summit of the rising ground before us, were plashing about in it in playful exercise, and catching the fish with a large net of peculiar make, which they dragged through the water. This komádugu, too, is called Wáni; and I think it more probable that this is the continuation of the branch which passes Katágum than that the latter joins the branch of Khadéja to the southward of Zurríkulo.

While we were resting here I was pestered a little by the curiosity of a company of gipsy-like Jétko, who, with very little

luggage, traverse the country in every direction, and are the cleverest thieves in the world. I shall, on another occasion, say something about the settlements of these people along the komádugu Wáube.

A native of the village, whom we had met on the road, came afterward with his wife, and brought me a dish of well-cooked hasty-pudding; and on my complaining that, though in great haste, we were losing so much time, owing to our being unacquainted with the nearest road, he promised to serve us as a guide; but, unfortunately, I made him a present too soon, and as he did not keep his word, we preferred groping our way onward as well as possible. Our camels had meanwhile got a good feed in the cool shade of the trees; for, if exposed to the sun, these animals will not eat during the heat of the day, but prefer lying down.

With fresh spirit and energy we started, therefore, at half past two in the afternoon, ascending the considerable slope of the ridge upon which the village stands. At this hour the sun was very powerful, and none of the inhabitants were to be seen, with the exception of an industrious female, who, on a clean, open spot near the road, was weaving the cotton threads into gábagá. Opposite the village to the north of the path was a round cluster of light Kánembú cottages, formed in a most simple way, with the long stalks of the native corn bent so as to meet at the top, and fastened with a few ropes. Descending immediately from this considerable ridge, we entered a dale thickly overgrown with trees, where I was greatly astonished to see a herd of cattle watered with great trouble from the wells, while the river was close at hand; but, on addressing the neat-herds, I was informed by them that the stagnant water of the komádugu at this season is very unwholesome for cattle.

All the trees hereabouts were full of locusts, while the air was darkened by swarms of hawks (*Cenchreis*), which, with a singular instinct, followed our steps as we advanced; for, on our approaching a tree, the locusts, roused from their fatal repose and destructive reveling, took to flight in thick clouds, when the birds dashed down to catch them, often not only beating one

another with their wings, but even incommoding us and our animals not a little.

The peculiar character of lofty sandy ridges and thickly overgrown hollows continued also in this district. No dúm-palm was to be seen, but only the dúm-bush, called ngílle by the Bórnu people. About two miles and a half behind Shógo we passed a wide and most beautiful basin, with rich pasture-grounds enlivened by numbers of well-fed cattle. Stubble-fields, with small granaries such as I have described above, were scattered about here and there. Then keeping on through a more level country with patches of cultivation, we reached the fields of Bandégo. The village introduced itself to our notice from afar by the sound of noisy mirth; and I was surprised to hear that it was occasioned by the celebration, not of a marriage, but of a circumcision. This was the first and last time during my travels in Negroland that I saw this ceremony performed with so much noise.

We were quietly pitching our tent on the east side of the village, and I was about to make myself comfortable, when I was not a little affected by learning that the girls who had been bringing little presents to the festival, and who were just returning in procession to their homes, belonged to Ngurútuwa, the very place where the Christian (Mr. Richardson) had died. I then determined to accompany them, though it was late, in order to have at least a short glimpse of the "white man's grave," and to see whether it were taken care of. If I had known before we unloaded the camels how near we were to the place, I should have gone there at once to spend the night.

Ngurútuwa,* once a large and celebrated place, but at present somewhat in decay, lies in a wide and extensive plain, with very few trees, about two miles N.E. from Bandégo; but the town itself is well shaded, and has, besides kórna and bíto, some wide-spreading, umbrageous fig-trees, under one of which

* Ngurútuwa, properly meaning the place full of hippopotami, is a very common name in Bórnu, just as in "Rúóa-n-dorina" (the water of the hippopotami) is a widespread name given by Háusa travelers to any water which they may find in the wilderness.

Mr. Richardson had been buried. His grave, well protected by thorn-bushes, appeared to have remained untouched, and was likely to remain so. The natives were well aware that it was a Christian who had died here, and they regarded the tomb with reverence. The story of his untimely end had caused some sensation in the neighborhood. He arrived in a weak state in the evening, and early the next morning he died. The people had taken great interest in the matter, and the report they gave me of the way in which he was buried agreed in the main circumstances with that which I afterward received from his servants, and of which I forwarded an account from Kúkawa. Unfortunately, I had no means of bestowing gifts on the inhabitants of the place where my companion had died. I gave, however, a small present to a man who promised to take special care of the grave, and I afterward persuaded the Vizier of Bórnu to have a stronger fence made round it.

It was late in the evening when I returned to my tent, engrossed with reflections on my own probable fate, and sincerely thankful to the Almighty Ruler of all things for the excellent health which I still enjoyed, notwithstanding the many fatigues which I had undergone. My way of looking at things was not quite the same as that of my late companion, and we had therefore often had little differences; but I esteemed him highly for the deep sympathy which he felt for the sufferings of the native African, and deeply lamented his death. Full of confidence, I stretched myself upon my mat, and indulged in my simple supper, accompanied with a bowl of milk which the inhabitants of Bandégo had brought me. The people were all pleased with us; only the cattle, when returning from their pastures, took offense at my strange-looking tent, which I had pitched just in the path by which they were accustomed to return to their usual resting-place.

Friday, March 28th. At an early hour we were again on the march, conducted a little while by an inhabitant of the village, who undertook to show us the direct road, which passes on its south side. He represented the road which we were about to take as much infested by the Kindín or Tawárek at that mo-

ment, and he advised us, as we went on from one place to another, to make strict inquiries as to the safety of the road before us. With this well-meant advice he left us to our own discretion, and I pursued my way with the unsatisfactory feeling that it might be again my fate to come into too close contact with my friends the Tawárek, whom I had been so glad to get rid of. Saddened with these reflections, my two young companions also seeming a little oppressed, and trudging silently along with the camels, we reached Aláune, once a considerable town, but now almost deserted, and surrounded by a clay wall in a state of great decay. Accosting the people, who were just drawing water from the well inside the wall, and asking them about the state of the road, we were told that as far as Kashímma it was safe, but beyond that they pronounced it decidedly dangerous. We therefore continued our march with more confidence, particularly as we met some market-people coming from Kashímma.

Aláune is the same place which, by the members of the last expedition, has been called Kabshári, from the name of the then governor of the town—Bu-Bakr-Kabshári—after whom the place is even at present often called "bílla Kabshári*be*" (the town of Kabshári). Keeping on through a country partly cultivated, partly covered with thick underwood, which was full of locusts, we were greatly delighted by obtaining, at about eight o'clock, a view of a fine sheet of water in the dale before us, surrounded with a luxuriant vegetation, and descended cheerfully toward its shore, where two magnificent tamarind-trees spread their canopy-like foliage over a carpet of succulent turf. While enjoying this beautiful picture, I was about to allow my poor horse a little feed of the grass, when a woman, who had come to fetch water, told me that it was very unwholesome.

This is the great komádugu of Bórnu, the real name of which is "komádugu Wáube," while, just from the same mistake which has caused Aláune to be called Kabshári, and the river of Zyrmi, Zyrmi, it has been called Yeou; for, though it may be called the river of Yeou, or rather of Yó, particularly in its lower course, where it passes the town of this name, it can never be

called "the river Yó," any more than the Thames, on account of its flowing through London, can be called the river London.

While ordering 'Abd-Alla to follow with the camels along the lower road, I ascended with Mohammed the steep slope of the sandy swell, rising to about three hundred feet, on the top of which Kashímma is situated, in a fine, healthy situation, commanding the whole valley. It is an open place, consisting entirely of huts made of corn-stalks and reeds, but is of considerable size and well inhabited. However, I was not disposed to make any halt here; and learning, to my great satisfaction, that no Kindín had been seen as far as the Eastern Ngurútuwa, I determined to go on as fast as possible, and persuaded a net-maker to point out clearly to me the road which we were to take; for we had now rather difficult ground before us—the wide bottom of the valley, with its thick forest and its several watery channels.

The path led us gradually down from the eminence upon which Kashímma is situated into the bushy dale with a great quantity of ngílle, and also a few dúm-palms. Here we saw numerous footprints of the elephant, and some of enormous size; and truly the wanderer can not be surprised that this colossal animal has taken possession of these beautiful, luxuriant shores of the komádugu, from which the native, in his inborn laziness, has despairingly retired, and allowed them to be converted into an almost impenetrable jungle. The thicket became for a while very dense, a real jungle, such as I had not yet seen in Negroland, when a clearer spot followed, overgrown with tall coarse grass ten feet high, fed by the water which, after the rainy season, covers the whole of this low ground, and offering a rich pasture to the elephant. Then we had to traverse a branch of the real komádugu, at present very shallow, but at times to be crossed only with the aid of a "mákara." In the thick covert which bordered upon this channel the dúm-palm was entirely predominant.

Though the thicket was here so dense, the path was well trodden, but as soon as we reached a place which had been cleared for cultivation we lost all traces of it, and then turned off to our

right, where we saw a small village and a farm situated in the most retired spot imaginable. Here we found a cheerful old man, the master of the farm, who, on hearing that we too were going eastward, begged us, very urgently, to spend the remainder of the day in his company, adding that he would treat us well and start early the next morning with us for Ngurútuwa; but, however delightful it might appear to me to dream away half a day in this wilderness, my anxiety to reach Kúkawa compelled me to reject his proposal. However, the thicket became so dense that we had the utmost difficulty in getting my bulky luggage through it.

Having made a short halt about noon to refresh ourselves and our animals, we continued our march through the forest, which here consisted principally of dúm-palms, far'aón, kálgo, talha-trees, and a little siwák or *Capparis sodata*. The ground was covered with the heavy footprints of the elephant, and even at this season it retained many ponds in the channel-like hollows. A solitary maráya or mohhor (*Antilope Soemmeringii*) bounded through the thicket; indeed, antelopes of any species are rare in these quarters, and on the whole road I had seen but a single gazelle, near the village Díggere-báre. But it seems remarkable that, from the description of the natives, there can not be the least doubt that that large and majestic variety of antelope called *addax*, which is very much like a large stag, is occasionally found here. A fine open space, with rich pastures and with hurdle-inclosures, interrupted the thicket for about a mile, after which we had to traverse another thick covert, and, emerging from it, were agreeably surprised at beholding a lake of considerable dimensions on our left, and after a short interval another still more considerable approaching from the north and turning eastward, its surface furrowed by the wind, and hurrying along in little billows which dashed upon the shore. On its eastern side lie the ruins of the celebrated town Ghámbarú, which, although not the official residence of the kings of Bórnu, was nevertheless their favorite retreat during the flourishing period of the empire; and those two lakes, although connected with the komádugu and fed by it, were artificial basins, and seem to

have considerable depth, else they could scarcely have presented such a magnificent sheet of water at this season of the year.

But at present all this district, the finest land of Bórnu in the proper sense of the word, which once resounded with the voices and bustle of hundreds of towns and villages, has become one impenetrable jungle, the domain of the elephant and the lion, and with no human inhabitants except a few scattered herdsmen and cattle-breeders, who are exposed every moment to the predatory inroads of the Tawárek. This condition of the finest part of the country is a disgrace to its present rulers, who have nothing to do but to transfer hither a few hundreds of their lazy slaves, and establish them in a fortified place, whereupon the natives would immediately gather round them and change this fine country along the komadúgu from an impenetrable jungle into rich fields, producing not only grain, but also immense quantities of cotton and indigo.

The town of Ghámbarú was taken and destroyed by the Jemá'a of the Fúlbe or Felláta at the same time with Ghasréggomo, or Bírni, in the year of the Héjra 1224, or 1809 of our era, and has not been since reoccupied, so that the ruins are thickly overgrown and almost enveloped in the forest. Although I had not leisure to survey attentively the whole area of the town, I could not help dismounting and looking with great interest at a tolerably well preserved building, evidently part of a mosque, at the southeastern corner of the wall. I knew from the report of the last expedition that there were here remains of brick buildings, but I did not expect to find the workmanship so good. The bricks are certainly not so regularly shaped as in Europe, but in other respects they seemed quite as good. It is, indeed, a source of mournful reflection for the traveler to compare this solid mode of building practiced in former times in this country, at least by its rulers, with the frail and ephemeral architecture of the present day; but this impression of retrograding power and resources is caused also by the history of the country, which we shall soon lay before our readers. Even in the half-barbarous country of Bagírmi we may still find the remains of very extensive brick buildings.

Overtaking the two young companions of my adventurous journey, I traveled on through an interesting but wild country, when at five o'clock in the afternoon a branch of the river once more approached on our left, and soon cut across our path, leaving no trace of it. I felt sure that the track crossed the river here, but unfortunately allowed myself to be overruled by my servant (who was, in truth, an experienced lad), and accordingly we kept along the sandy borders of the channel, following the traces of cattle till we became assured that there was no path in this place. Having searched for about two hours, we were at last compelled, by the darkness which had set in, to encamp in the midst of this dense forest, and I chose a small hillock on the border of the river, in order to protect myself as well as possible from the noxious exhalations, and spread my tent over my luggage, in the midst of which I arranged my bed. I then strewed, in a circle round our little encampment, dry wood and other fuel, to be kindled in case of an attack of wild beasts, and, taking out a parcel of cartridges, prepared for the worst. However, we passed a quiet night, disturbed only by the roaring of a lion on the other side of the river, and by a countless multitude of water-fowl of various species, playing and splashing about in the water the whole night.

Saturday, March 29th. Having convinced myself that the river could be crossed by the path only at the place where we first came upon it, I mounted early in the morning, after we had loaded the camels, and returned to that spot, when, having crossed the stream, I found the continuation of the path on the other side. At length we were again *en route*, having lost altogether about three hours of our precious time. However, my companions thought that nevertheless we should not have been able the previous evening, in the twilight, to reach the next station, the name of which is also Ngurútuwa, so dense was the forest in some places, and such difficulty had we in getting through with our luggage, so that we were at times almost reduced to despair.

Beyond the village mentioned we should not have succeeded in finding an outlet had we not met with some shepherds, who

were tending numerous flocks of sheep and goats. All was one thorny covert, where kaña and bírgim, the African plum-tree, were, together with mimosa, the predominant trees. Near the village, however, which lies in the midst of the forest, very fine fields of wheat occupied a considerable open space, the corn standing now about a foot and a half high, and presented a most charming sight, particularly when compared with the scanty industry which we had hitherto observed in this, the finest part of the country.

Keeping then close to the narrow path, we reached, half an hour before noon, an open place of middle size called Míkibá, and halted between the village and the well, which, being in a hollow, is only three fathoms deep. Being obliged to allow the camels a good feed, as they had got nothing the previous evening, we did not start again till four o'clock in the afternoon, and it was in vain that I endeavored to buy some provisions from the inhabitants with the few indifferent articles which I had to offer them; the small fancy wares of Nuremberg manufacture proved too worthless and frail even for these barbarians. The people, however, endeavored to frighten us by their accounts of the roads before us; and, indeed, as it afterward appeared, they were not quite wrong; but we could not stay a night with people so inhospitable, and, besides, I had lost already too much time.

Confiding, therefore, in my good luck, I was again in the saddle by four o'clock, the country being now clearer of wood, though generally in a wild, neglected state. After a little more than two miles' march, near a patch of cultivated ground I saw a group of three monkeys, of the same species, apparently, as those in A'sben. In general, monkeys seem not to be frequent in the inhabited parts of Negroland. The day, with its brightness, was already fading away, and darkness setting in filled us with anxiety as to where we might pass the night with some security, when, to our great delight, we observed in the distance to our right the light of some fires glittering through a thicket of dúm-palms, tamarinds, and other large trees. We endeavored, therefore, to open a path to them, cheered in our effort by

the pleasing sound of dance and song which came from the same direction.

It proved to be a wandering company of happy herdsmen, who bade us a hearty welcome after they had recognized us as harmless travelers; and, well satisfied at seeing our resolution thus rewarded, we pitched our tent in the midst of their huts and numerous herds. Entering then into conversation with them, I learned, to my astonishment, that they were neither Kanúri nor Háusa people, but Felláta, or Fúlbe of the tribe of the O'bore,* who, notwithstanding the enmity existing between their kinsmen and the ruler of Bórnu, are allowed to pasture their herds here in full security, so far as they are able to defend themselves against the robberies of the Tawárek, and without even paying any tribute to the sheikh. However, their immigration into this country does not date from very ancient times; and they appear not to have kept their stock pure from intermixture, so that they have lost almost all the national marks of the Fulfúlde race.

They seemed to be in easy circumstances, the elder men bringing me each of them an immense bowl of milk, and a little fresh butter as cleanly prepared as in any English or Swiss dairy. This was a substantial proof of their nationality; for all over Bórnu no butter is prepared except with the dirty and disgusting addition of some cow's urine, and it is all in a fluid state. The hospitable donors were greatly delighted when I gave to each of them a sailor's knife; but, on our part, we were rather perplexed by their bounty, as I and my two boys might easily have drowned ourselves in such a quantity of milk. Meanwhile, as I was chatting with the old people, the younger ones continued their singing and dancing till a late hour with a perseverance most amusing, though little favorable for our night's rest; moreover, we were startled several times by some of the

* The name looks rather strange to me, a tribe of the Fúlbe of this name not having otherwise come to my knowledge; and I am almost inclined to think that these poor herdsmen, separated from their kinsmen, have corrupted the name originally U'rube. The O'bore, however, are even known at present in other parts of the kingdom, and were met with by Mr. Overweg on his journey to Gújeba.

cattle, which lay close to our tent, starting up occasionally and running furiously about. There was a lion very near, but the blaze of the fires kept him off. Our friends did not possess a single dog; but this was another mark of nationality; they rely entirely upon their own watchfulness.

In consequence of our disturbed night's rest, we set out at rather a late hour, accompanied by two of our friends, in order to show us the ford of the komádugu, which, they told us, ran close to their encampment. And it was well that we had their assistance; for, though the water was but three feet deep at the spot where they led us through, it was much deeper on both sides, and we might easily have met with an accident. It was here about five-and-thirty yards across, and was quite stagnant. It is doubtless the same water which I had crossed at Kashímma, where, with its several branches, it occupied an immense valley, and again just before I came to the Eastern Ngurútuwa.

Our hospitable friends did not leave us till they had assisted us through the extremely dense covert which borders the eastern bank of the river. They then returned, recommending us very strongly to be on our guard, as we should have the komádugu always on our left, where some robbers were generally lurking. We had not proceeded far when we met an archer on horseback following the traces of a band of Tawárek, who, as he told us, had last night made an attack upon another encampment or village of herdsmen, but had been beaten off. He pursued his way in order to make out whether the robbers had withdrawn. An archer on horseback is an unheard-of thing not only in Bórnu, but in almost all Negroland, except with the Fúlbe; but even among them it is rare. Fortunately, the country was here tolerably open, so that we could not be taken by surprise, and we were greatly reassured when we met a troop of native travelers, three of whom were carrying each a pair of bukhsa or ngibú, immense calabashes joined at the bottom by a piece of strong wood, but open on the top.

These are the simple ferry-boats of the country, capable of carrying one or two persons, who have nothing besides their clothes (which they may deposit inside the calabashes), safely,

but certainly not dryly across a stream. In order to transport heavier things, three pairs, joined in the way I shall have an opportunity of describing at another time, will form a sufficiently buoyant raft. This would form the most useful expedient for any European traveler who should undertake to penetrate into the equatorial regions, which abound in water; but if he has much luggage, he ought to have four pairs of calabashes, and a strong frame to extend across them.

The great advantage of such a portable boat is that the parts can be most easily carried on men's backs through the most rugged and mountainous regions, while the raft so formed will be strong enough, if the parts are well fastened together, for going down a river; but, of course, if they came into contact with rocks, the calabashes would be liable to break. Horses must swim across a river in these countries; but even their crossing a powerful stream safely would be greatly facilitated if they were protected against the current by such a float lying along their sides. On my succeeding journeys I often wished to be in the possession of such a boat.

Amusing myself with such thoughts, and indulging in happy anticipations of future discoveries, I continued my solitary march cheerfully and with confidence. To our left the channel of the komádugu once approached, but soon receded again, and gave way to the site of a considerable deserted town, containing at present but a small hamlet of cattle-breeders, and called significantly "fáta ghaná" (few huts). The country was here adorned with trees of fine foliage, and was enlivened besides by large flocks of goats and sheep, and by a small caravan which we fell in with. We then passed, on our right, a considerable pool of stagnant water, apparently caused by the overflowing of the komádugu, and farther on observed a few patches of cotton-ground well fenced and protected from the cattle. Then followed stubble-fields adorned with fine trees, in the shade of which the cattle reposed in animated groups. The soil consisted of sand, and was burrowed throughout in large holes by the earth-hog (*Orycteropus Æthiopicus*).

Thus about half past ten we reached the neat little village

A'jirí, and encamped at a short distance from it, under a cluster of beautiful and shady tamarind-trees, not knowing that, as the cemetery of some venerated persons, it was a sanctified place; however, on being informed of this circumstance, we were careful not to pollute it. I now learned that I had not followed the shortest track to Kúkawa, which passes by Kamsándi, but that Yusuf (Mr. Richardson's interpreter), with the Christian's property, had also taken this road. I might, therefore, have pursued my journey directly to that residence, and should have had the company of a corn-caravan, which was about to set forward in the afternoon; but as it was absolutely necessary that I should send word to the sheikh that I was coming, and as there was no other governor or officer on the track before me from whom I might obtain a decent and trustworthy messenger, I preferred going a little more out of my way in order to visit the Kashélla Khér-Alla, an officer stationed by the sheikh in the most exposed place of this district, in order to protect it against the inroads of the Tawárek.

Having, therefore, taken a hearty leave of the villagers, who had all collected round me, listening with astonishment and delight to the performance of my musical box, I started again at an early hour in the afternoon, accompanied for a little while by the bíllama, and continuing in a northeasterly direction. The country in general presented nothing but pasture-grounds, with only some cultivation of grain and patches of cotton-fields near the hamlet Yerálla, which, after a little more than three miles, we passed on our left. Farther on the komádugu again approached on the same side, and we were obliged to go round it in a sharp angle to reach the village where the Kashélla had his residence.

Having pitched the tent, I went to pay him my compliments, and had the satisfaction to find him a friendly, cheerful person, who at once ordered one of his best men to mount and to start for Kúkawa, in order to carry to the vizier the news of my arrival. He is a liberated slave, who, having distinguished himself by his valor in the unfortunate battle at Kúsuri, has been stationed here at the vizier's suggestion. His power, how-

ever, is not great, considering the wide extent of district which he has to protect, as he has only seventy horsemen under his command, twenty of whom are constantly employed in watching the motions of the predatory bands of the Tawárek. These are chiefly the inhabitants of the little principality of Alákkos, of which I had occasion to speak above, who, like all the Tawárek, in general are not very fond of serious fighting, but rather try to carry off a good booty, in slaves or cattle, by surprise. Khér-Alla has already done a great deal for the security and welfare of the district where he resides, the population of which is intermixed with Tébu elements, and can not be trusted; but he evidently can not extend his protecting hand much farther westward than A'jirí.

Feeling deeply the disgraceful state of this, the finest portion of Bórnu, I afterward advised the vizier to build watch-towers all along the komádugu, from the town Yó as far as the Western Ngurútuwa, the place where Mr. Richardson died, which would make it easy to keep off the sudden inroads of those predatory tribes, and, in consequence, the whole country would become the secure abode of a numerous population; but even the best of these mighty men cares more for the silver ornaments of his numerous wives than for the welfare of his people.

I presented Khér-Alla with a red cap, a pair of English scissors, and some other small things; and he spent the whole evening in my tent, listening with delight to the cheerful Swiss air played by my musical box.

Monday, March 31*st.* At a tolerably early hour I set out to continue my march, accompanied by a younger brother and a trusty servant of the kashélla, both on horseback, and traversed the entire district. It is called Dúchi, and is well inhabited in a great number of widely-scattered villages. The soil is sandy, and corn-fields and pasture-grounds succeed each other alternately; but I did not see much cattle. I was astonished, also, to find so little cultivation of cotton. Having met a small troop of tugúrchi with pack-oxen, we made a halt, a little after eleven o'clock, near the first village of the district, Dímberwá.

My two companions wanted to obtain here a guide for me, but

were unsuccessful; however, after we had started again at three o'clock, they procured a man from the billama of the next village, and then left me. I wished to obtain a guide to conduct me at once to Kúkawa; but I was obliged to submit to this arrangement, though nothing is more tedious and wearisome than to be obliged to change the guide at every little place, particularly if a traveler be in a hurry. It might be inferred, from the number of little paths crossing each other in every direction, that the country is thickly inhabited, and a considerable troop of tugúrchi gave proof of some intercourse. Dark-colored, swampy ground, called "ánge," at times interrupted the sandy soil, which was covered with fine pasture; and we gradually ascended a little. I had already changed my guide four times, when, after some trouble, I obtained another at the village Gúsumrí; but the former guide had scarcely turned his back when his successor in office decamped, most probably in order not to miss his supper, and, after some useless threatening, I had again to grope my way onward as well as I could. Darkness was already setting in when I encamped near the village Bággem, where I was treated hospitably by the inhabitants of the nearest cottage.

Tuesday, April 1st. Keeping through an open country with sandy soil and good pasture, we reached, a little after nine o'clock, the well of U'ra, a village lying at some distance to the left of the path, and here filled a water-skin, and watered the horse; but, hurrying on as we were, perhaps we did not allow the poor beast sufficient time to fill his stomach. Having then marched on through an open country, where large trees cease altogether, only detached clusters of bushes appearing here and there, and where we saw a large herd of ostriches and a troop of gazelles, we halted a little before noon in the scanty shade of a small *Balanites*.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, after man and beast had enjoyed a little repose and food, we prepared to continue our march; and my horse was already saddled, my bernús hanging over the saddle, when I perceived that my two youngsters could not manage our swift and capricious she-camel, and that, hav-

ing escaped from their hands, although her fore legs were tied together, she baffled all their efforts to catch her again. Confiding, therefore, in the staid and obedient disposition of my horse, I ran to assist them, and we at length succeeded in catching the camel; but when I returned to the place where I had left my horse, it was gone, and it was with some difficulty that we found its tracks, showing that it had returned in the direction whence we had come. It had strayed nearly as far as the well of U'ra, when it was most fortunately stopped by some musketeers marching to Kúkawa, who met my boy when he had already gone half way in pursuit of it.

In consequence of this *contretemps*, it was five o'clock when we again set out on our march; and, in order to retrieve the lost time, I kept steadily on till half an hour before midnight. At seven o'clock we passed a considerable village called Búwa, where the troops, horse and foot, which had passed us some time before, had taken up their quarters, and two miles farther on we had villages on our right and left; but still there were few signs of population, probably because, owing to the lateness of the hour, the fires were extinguished. We encamped at length near a small village, but had reason to repent our choice; for, while we were unable to procure a drop of water, the inhabitants being obliged to bring their supply from a considerable distance, we were annoyed the whole night by a violent quarrel between a man and his two wives. But here I must remark that I very rarely witnessed such disgusting scenes during the whole of my travels in Negroland.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ARRIVAL IN KÚKAWA.

Wednesday, April 2d. This was to be a most momentous day of my travels; for I was to reach that place which was the first distinct object of our mission, and I was to come into contact with those people on whose ill or good will depended the whole success of our mission.

Although encamped late at night, we were again up at an early hour; but in endeavoring to return to the track which we had left the preceding night, we inadvertently crossed it, and so came to another village, with a very numerous herd of cattle, where we became aware of our error, and then had to regain the main road.

Two miles afterward there was a very great change in the character of the country; for the sandy soil which had characterized the district all along the komádugu now gave way to clay, where water is only met with at considerable depth. We met a troop of tugúrchi, who informed us that none of the villages along our track at the present moment had a supply of water, not even the considerable village Kangáruwa, but that at the never-failing well of Beshér I should be able to water my horse. This news only served to confirm me in my resolution to ride on in advance, in order as well to water my poor beast before the greatest heat of the day, as to reach the residence in good time.

I therefore took leave of my two young servants, and, giving Mohammed strict orders to follow me with the camels as fast as possible, I hastened on. The wooded level became now interrupted from time to time by bare naked concavities or shallow hollows, consisting of black sedimentary soil, where, during the rainy season, the water collects, and, drying up gradually, leaves a most fertile sediment for the cultivation of the másakwá. This

is a peculiar kind of holcus (*Holcus cernuus*), which forms a very important article in the agriculture of Bórnu. Sown soon after the end of the rainy season, it grows up entirely by the fructifying power of the soil, and ripens with the assistance only of the abundant dews, which fall here usually in the months following the rainy season. These hollows, which are the most characteristic natural feature in the whole country, and which encompass the southwestern corner of the great lagune of Central Africa throughout a distance of more than sixty miles from its present shore, are called "ghadír" by the Arabs, "fírki" or "ánge" by the Kanúri. Indeed, they amply testify to the far greater extent of the lagoon in the ante-historical times.

Pushing on through a country of this description, and passing several villages, I reached about noon Beshér, a group of villages scattered over the corn-fields, where numerous horsemen of the sheikh were quartered; and, being unable myself to find the well, I made a bargain with one of the people to water my horse, for which he exacted from me forty "kúngona" or cowries. However, when I had squatted down for a moment's rest in the shade of a small talha-tree, his wife, who had been looking on, began to reprove him for driving so hard a bargain with a young, inexperienced stranger; and then she brought me a little tiggra and curdled milk diluted with water, and afterward some ngáji or paste of sorghum.'

Having thus recruited my strength, I continued my march: but my horse, not having fared so well, was nearly exhausted. The heat was intense, and therefore we proceeded but slowly till I reached Kálilwá, when I began seriously to reflect on my situation, which was very peculiar. I was now approaching the residence of the chief whom the mission, of which I had the honor to form part, was especially sent out to salute—in a very poor plight, without resources of any kind, and left entirely by myself, owing to the death of the director. I was close to this place, a large town, and was about to enter it without a single companion. The heat being just at its highest, no living being was to be seen either in the village or on the road; and I hesitated a moment, considering whether it would not be better to

THE DENDAL IN KÛRAWA

wait here for my camels. But my timid reluctance being confounded by the thought that my people might be far behind, and that, if I waited for them, we should find no quarters prepared for us, I spurred on my nag, and soon reached the western suburb of Kúkawa.

Proceeding with some hesitation toward the white clay wall which encircles the town, and which, from a little distance, could scarcely be distinguished from the adjoining ground, I entered the gate, being gazed at by a number of people collected here, and who were still more surprised when I inquired for the residence of the sheikh. Then, passing the little daily market (the dyrríya), which was crowded with people, I rode along the dén-dal, or promenade, straight up to the palace, which borders the promenade toward the east. It is flanked by a very indifferent mosque, built likewise of clay, with a tower at its N.W. corner, while houses of grandees inclose the place on the north and south sides. The only ornament of this place is a fine chédia or caoutchouc-tree in front of the house of 'Ali Ladán, on the south side; but occasionally it becomes enlivened by interesting groups of Arabs and native courtiers in all the finery of their dress and of their richly-caparisoned horses.

The sheikh, though he usually resides in his palace in the eastern town, was at present here; and the slaves stared at me, without understanding, or caring to understand, what I wanted, until Díggama, the store-keeper, was called, who, knowing something of me as 'Abd el Kerím, ordered a slave to conduct me to the vizier. Though I had heard some account of the sheikh living out of the western town, I was rather taken by surprise at seeing the large extent of the double town, and I was equally astonished at the number of gorgeously-dressed horsemen whom I met on my way.

Considering my circumstances, I could not have chosen a more favorable moment for arriving. About two hundred horsemen were assembled before the house of the vizier, who was just about to mount his horse in order to pay his daily visit to the sheikh. When he came out, he saluted me in a very cheerful way, and was highly delighted when he heard and saw that I

had come quite alone. He told me that he had known me already from the letter which I had sent to his agent in Zínder, stating that I would come after I had finished my business, but not before. While he himself rode in great state to the sheikh, he ordered one of his people to show me my quarters. These were closely adjoining the vizier's house, consisting of two immense court-yards, the more secluded of which inclosed, besides a half-finished clay dwelling, a very spacious and neatly-built hut. This, as I was told, had been expressly prepared for the mission before it was known that we were without means.

I had scarcely taken possession of my quarters when I received several visits from various parties attached to the mission, who all at once made me quite *au fait* of all the circumstances of my not very enviable situation as one of its surviving members. The first person who called upon me was Ibrahím, the carpenter, who, at Mr. Richardson's request, had been sent up from Tripoli, at the monthly salary of twenty mahbúbs, besides a sum of four dollars for his maintenance. He was certainly a handsome young man, about twenty-two years of age, a native of the "holy house" (Bét el mogaddus) or Jerusalem, with big sounding phrases in his mouth, and quite satisfied to return with me directly to Fezzán without having done any thing. Then came his more experienced and cheerful companion, 'Abd e' Rahmán, a real sailor, who was not so loud in his clamors, but urged more distinctly the payment of his salary, which was equal to that of Ibrahím.

After I had consoled these dear friends, and assured them that I had no idea at present of returning northward, and that I should do my best to find the means of satisfying the most urgent of their claims, there arrived another of the bloodsuckers of the mission, and the most thirsty of them all. It was my colleague, the bibulous Yusuf, son of Mukni, the former governor of Fezzán, accompanied by Mohammed ben Bu-S'ad, whom Mr. Richardson, when he discharged Yusuf in Zínder, had taken into his service in his stead, and by Mohammed ben Habíb, the least serviceable of Mr. Richardson's former servants. Yusuf was mounted upon a fine horse, and most splendidly dressed; but

he was extremely gracious and condescending, as he entertained the hope that my boxes and bags, which had just arrived with my faithful Gatróni, were full of shells, and that I should be able to pay his salary at once. He was greatly puzzled when I informed him of my extreme poverty. Mr. Richardson's other servants, to my great regret, had gone off the day before, unpaid as they were, in order to regain their various homes.

I now ascertained that the pay due to Mr. Richardson's servants amounted to more than three hundred dollars; besides which there was the indefinite debt of the Sfáksi, amounting in reality to twelve hundred and seventy dollars, but which, by the form in which the bill had been given, might easily be doubled. I did not possess a single dollar, a single bernús, nor any thing of value, and, moreover, was informed by my friends that I should be expected to make both to the sheikh and to the vizier a handsome present of my own. I now saw also that what the Sherif el Habíb had told me on the road (viz., that all Mr. Richardson's things had been divided and squandered) was not altogether untrue. At least, they had been deposited with the vizier on very uncertain conditions, or rather had been delivered up to him by the two interpreters of our late companion, intimating to him that I and Mr. Overweg were quite subordinate people attached to the mission, and that we had no right to interfere in the matter.

Seeing how matters stood, I thought it best, in order to put a stop to the intrigues which had been set a going, to take Mohammed ben S'ad into my service on the same salary which he had received from Mr. Richardson. Besides, I pledged my word to all that they should each receive what was due to him, only regretting that the rest of Mr. Richardson's people had already gone away.

After all these communications, fraught with oppressive anxiety, I received a most splendid supper as well from the sheikh as from the vizier, and, after the varied exertions of the day, enjoyed a quiet night's rest in my clean cottage.

Thus strengthened, I went the next morning to pay my respects to the vizier, taking with me a small present of my own,

the principal attractions of which lay in a thick twisted lace of silk, of very handsome workmanship, which I had had made in Tripoli, and a leathern letter-case of red color, which I had brought with me from Europe. Destitute as I was of any means, and not quite sure as yet whether her Britannic majesty's government would authorize me to carry out the objects of the mission, I did not deem it expedient to assume too much importance, but simply told the vizier that, though the director of the mission had not been fortunate enough to convey to him and the sheikh with his own mouth the sentiments of the British government, yet I hoped that, even in this respect, these endeavors would not be quite in vain, although at the present moment our means were so exhausted that, even for executing our scientific plans, we were entirely dependent on their kindness.

The same reserve I maintained in my interview with the sheikh on the morning of Friday, when I laid little stress upon the object of our mission (to obtain security of commerce for English merchants), thinking it better to leave this to time, but otherwise dwelling upon the friendship established between the sheikh's father and the English, and representing to them that, relying upon this manifestation of their friendly disposition, we had come without reserve to live a while among them, and under their protection, and with their assistance, to obtain an insight into this part of the world, which appeared so strange in our eyes. Our conversation was quite free from constraint or reserve, as nobody was present besides the sheikh and the vizier.

I found the sheikh ('Omár, the eldest son of Mohammed el Amín el Kánemy) a very simple, benevolent, and even cheerful man. He has regular and agreeable features, rather a little too round to be expressive; but he is remarkably black—a real glossy black, such as is rarely seen in Bórnu, and which he has inherited undoubtedly from his mother, a Bagirmaye princess. He was very simply dressed in a light tobe, having a bernús negligently wrapped round his shoulder; round his head a dark red shawl was twisted with great care; and his face was quite uncovered, which surprised me not a little, as his father used to

cover it in the Tawárek fashion. He was reclining upon a divan covered with a carpet, at the back of a fine, airy hall neatly polished.

My presents were very small, the only valuable article among them being a nice little copy of the Kurán, which on a former occasion I had bought in Egypt for five pounds sterling, and was now carrying with me for my own use. That I made a present of this book to the prince may perhaps be regarded with an unfavorable eye by some persons in this country; but let them consider it as a sign of an unprejudiced mind, and of the very high esteem in which he held me, that, although knowing me to be a Christian, he did not refuse to accept from my hands that which was most holy in his eyes. On the whole, I could not have expected a more friendly reception, either from the sheikh or from his vizier. But there was a very delicate point which I was obliged to touch upon: what was to become of Mr. Richardson's property?

In the afternoon I went again to the vizier, and requested to see the inventory of all that my late companion had left, and he showed it to me and read it himself. He then ordered the box to be opened, which contained clothes and papers; and I was glad to see that not only the journals, upon the keeping of which Mr. Richardson had bestowed great care, but also all his other collectanea, were safe. Having taken the inventory with me, I sent Mohammed the following day to him with the request that Mr. Richardson's property should be delivered to me. Having been desired to call myself at noon, I went, but was surprised to find only Lamíno (properly El Amín), the vizier's confidential officer, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. I was still more surprised when only some of Mr. Richardson's boxes were brought in, and I was desired to select what I wanted, and leave the rest behind. This I refused to do, and asked where the other things were, when Lamíno did not hesitate to declare that the ornamented gun and the handsome pair of pistols had been sold. Upon hearing this, though I had been treated very kindly and hospitably on my arrival, and had received immense quantities of provision of every kind, I could

not refrain from declaring that if in truth they had behaved so unscrupulously with other people's property, I had nothing more to do here, and returned to my quarters immediately.

My firmness had its desired effect; and late in the evening I received a message from the vizier, that if I wanted to have a private interview with him I might come now, as during the daytime he was always troubled by the presence of a great many people. The person who brought me this message was Háj Edrís, a man of whom, in the course of my proceedings, I shall have to speak repeatedly. Satisfied with having an opportunity of conversing with the vizier without reserve, I followed the messenger immediately, and found Háj Beshír quite alone, sitting in an inner court of his house, with two small wax candles by his side. We then had a long interview, which lasted till midnight, and the result of which was that I protested formally against the sale of those things left by Mr. Richardson, and insisted that all should be delivered to me and to Mr. Overweg as soon as he should arrive, when we would present to the sheikh and to the vizier, in a formal manner, all those articles which we knew our companion had intended to give to them. Besides, I urged once more the necessity of forwarding the news of Mr. Richardson's death, and of my safe arrival, as soon as possible, as, after our late misfortunes in Aïr, her Britannic majesty's government, as well as our friends, would be most anxious about our safety. I likewise tried to persuade my benevolent and intelligent host that he might do a great service to the mission if he would enable us to carry out part of our scientific purposes without delay, as government would certainly not fail to honor us with their confidence if they saw that we were going on. Having carried all my points, and being promised protection and assistance to the widest extent, I indulged in a more friendly chat, and, delighted by the social character of my host, and full of the most confident hopes for my future proceedings, withdrew a little after midnight.

Having in this way vindicated the honorable character of the mission and my own, I applied myself with more cheerfulness to my studies and inquiries, for which I found ample opportu-

nity ; for many distinguished personages from distant countries were staying here at this time, partly on their journey to and from Mekka, partly only attracted by the fame of the vizier's hospitable and bounteous character. But, before I give any account of my stay in Kúkawa previous to my setting out for Adamáwa, I think it well to try to impart to the reader a more lively interest in the country to which he has thus been transferred, by laying before him a short account of its history, as I have been able to make it out from original documents and from oral information.

APPENDIX.

I.—Route from A'gades to Sókoto.

Day.

1st. Leaving A'gades in the afternoon, you encamp in the valley called U'leye, where there is a well.

2d. Kerbúb, a valley with water in the sand; start at daybreak, arrive after sunset.

3d. A'azeru; arrive at sunset, having started before daylight. The whole ground traveled over is covered with pebbles, and now and then with a little sand.

4th. Tebérkurt; arrive after sunset, having passed a watering-place called Aruthes. All pebbles and stones.

5th. I'ngal, a small town; salt of very good quality, and of red color, is obtained, but only in small quantities. The inhabitants, mostly belonging to the tribe of the I'ghdalén, speak a dialect of the Sónghay, and possess much cattle, with which they supply the market of A'gades. Formerly the S.W. gate of that town was therefore called "Kófa-n-I'ngal." Arrive at sunset; ground pebbly, very few large stones.

6th. ———, a well, the name of which my informant did not remember; arrive about four o'clock in the afternoon.

7th. Afáyen, a valley, where you arrive about the same time; pebbles and sand.

8th. Encamp on the pebbly plain a little before sunset.

9th. The same; the plain here is overgrown with a little herbage.

10th. A spot called Semye-táyen; arrive at sunset.

11th. Jóbeli, a considerable place belonging to the province of A'dar, the territory of which begins here.* It is the market of the Kél-gerés. The language of the inhabitants is said to be a dialect of the Sónghay; you arrive at about three o'clock P.M., after having passed on your road "Tésaki," a locality probably so called from the "capparis sodata."

12th. Awelímmiden, an encampment of the section of this great Tawárek tribe which is called "Awelímmiden wuén Bodhál;" at sunset.

13th. Ir-zaghúr, a village; arrive about one o'clock P.M.; road very rugged.

14th. Tinfáf, a village (N.B.—I forgot to ask my informant to what tribe belong the inhabitants of these two places); road rocky.

15th. Dúk-rausu, a village; about one o'clock P.M.

16th. Múzki, a village; at sunset; stony.

17th. Kónni, a considerable place, residence of A'dam, a chief who commands a large body of cavalry; arrive a little after midday; road very rocky.

18th. Jáni, a village; at sunset.

* I shall say more about A'dar in the third volume of my journal.

Day.
19th. Wúrno, a considerable place, the present residence of Emír el Mumenín Alíyu, son of Bello; arrive at one o'clock P.M., after having passed Saláme and other villages.
20th. Sókoto, after a march of about eight or nine hours.

II.—Route from A'gades to Marádi, according to the information of the Kél-gerés Gojéri and his Companion Gháser.

1st. E'razar, a valley, where you arrive about three o'clock P.M., having started from A'gades in the morning.
2d. E'm-réndel, a valley; arrive about the same hour.
3d. Urzédem, a valley; arrive at sunset, your march having led over a sandy region.
4th. A valley, with water, which (according to Gojéri) is called Témiye, but according to Gháser, Afénkúk; at about four o'clock. Probably these are different valleys at a short distance from each other.
5th. A valley, Tewuílu, or another called Bégem; at sunset.
6th. Akúku; at 'aser (about four o'clock), after having passed a valley called Zeríten, where you fill your water-skins. The whole road consists of pebbles.
7th. Tígger-áderez, a valley; at four o'clock.
8th. Etíddul, high sand-hills, where you arrive about noon.
9th. Jénkeb, a valley; about two o'clock P.M.
10th. Yamímma, a valley with water; arrive at 'aser.
11th. Zermenétta, a village; about 'aser.
12th. Awelímmid, a considerable place called after a settlement of the Awelímmiden; arrive about one o'clock P.M.
13th. Ladémmau, or Eladémmau, the northernmost village of the province of Góber, and the residence of Ittegáma, the brother of 'Abd el Káder, the sultan of A'gades.
14th. Gudunnézna, a village; arrive about one o'clock P.M.
15th. A'keruf, a village; at the 'aser.
16th, and the two following days, travel over the Hammáda, or sárari.
17th. Arrive at Marádi, Mariyádi, or, as the Emgédesi people frequently call it (apparently adopting the Berber idiom), Amrádi. I shall have to say more about this country in the course of my narrative, and therefore omit a list of the places in Góber, which I collected in A'gades.

III.—Itinerary from A'gades to Dam-erghú, according to various Informants.

1st. Leave the town in the afternoon, and sleep in Tésak-n-tállemt.
2d. Valley E'riyán, with water; about 'aser.
3d. Sofó-n-bírni, a place now deserted, with a well filled up, but evidently once a seat of government, being called "the old capital;" the whole country is flat; arrive about three o'clock in the afternoon.

Day.
4th. Faífaí, a place with plenty of herbage; no water on the road side except in holes in the rocks.
5th. Lágato, a basin or pool of water, "tébki," of very remarkable extent, and surrounded with abundant herbage.
6th. Riyán, or "Eriyán-embísge," with plenty of herbage; about sunset. Another road from Lágato to Téténi seems to touch at the village Takóko.
7th. Téténi, with much herbage, no water; between four and five o'clock P.M.
8th. Gagáwa, a village belonging to the district of Dam-er-ghú, with a basin of water which is said to be connected in the rainy season with that of Lágato; arrive about 'aser.
9th. Tágelel, the village belonging to the chief A'nnur; about noon.

IV.—Route from A'gades to Bílma, according to the Emgédesi E'deri.

1st. Leaving A'gades in the evening, sleep the first night at about half an hour's distance from the town, in the depression called Efígi-n-tághalamt.
2d. Tin-tabórak, a valley with water, where you arrive at the 'aser, after having passed early in the morning the valley called Amelúli.
3d. Binébbu, a valley ornamented with dúm-palms, where you arrive a little before sunset. In the morning you keep for a while along the valley of Tin-tabórak, after which your way lies over the rocks, crossing three different valleys, viz., Eméller, Aráta, and the valley of Amdégern, before you arrive at that called Binébbu.
4th. Tín-dawén, a valley with water; arrive about one o'clock P.M.
5th. Atezérket, after the 'aser; all rocky ground.
6th. Encamp on the Hammáda, or ténere, consisting of pebbles; about the 'aser.
7th. Tázel, a spot among the rocks; about the same hour.
8th. Efígagén, a locality of similar character; about sunset.*
9th. Débradu Ezákker, a hollow between the rocks; halt two hours after sunset and rest a while, then start again.
10th, and the four following days, you travel night and day over the Hammáda, making only a short halt from 'Asha to about midnight. On the Hammáda there are neither trees nor stones, and scarcely any herbage.
15th. Fáshi, the westernmost oasis of the "Hénderi Tedá," or, as it is called by the Arabs, Wádi Kawár, with plenty of date-trees and two castles, one of which is in ruins, while the other is in good condition.
16th. About two hours after sunset, encamp on the Hammáda, when, after about three or four hours' repose, you start again, and continue the whole of the night.
17th. Encamp late in the evening and start again, as the day before.
18th. Bílma, the well-known town in Kawár, with the salt-pits. The Tawárek call all the Tedá or Tébu Beraúni, a name which in the following volume I shall endeavor to explain, from the original connection between this people and the Kanúri or Bórnu race.

* About the name Efigagén, which is probably only a dialectic variety of Efinagen, I have spoken in a former passage.

V.—Route from A'gades to Tawát according to 'Abd-Alla.

N.B.—Although the first part of this route, as far as Neswa, coincides in many places with my own route, I shall nevertheless not omit it, as the coincidence in question proves the accuracy and intelligence of the informant.

Day.

1st. Leaving the town in the afternoon, you encamp the first night near the village called El Khasás, or El Hakhsás, in the fertile valley of the same name, distant from A'gades about eight miles.

2d. Télwa, a valley, where you arrive about the 'aser, after having passed on your road several valleys separated from each other by rocky ground, more or less elevated. Early in the morning you cross the valley called A'zal, then that called Tufátekín; after which, about noon, you pass the celebrated valley of I'r-n-allem, with ruins of old houses, and two fruit-bearing date-trees; after which, before you arrive at Télwa, there is still another valley to be crossed, which is called Isérserén.

3d. U'klef, a valley with water, like Télwa; arrive at the time of the 'aser, after having crossed the Wadi A'sa, and afterward gone over a pebbly level called Tínin.

4th. Makám e' Sheikh ben 'Abd el Kerím, a sort of mosque known to some under the name of Msíd Sídi Baghdádi, where you arrive about an hour before sunset, after having rested, during the greatest heat, near Aúderas. In the morning, your road passes for some time along the valley U'klef.

5th. Tíggeda; about 'aser.

6th. Encamp about sunset on rocky ground. Pass in the morning the valley called Tefárrowet; then cross for some hours gravelly ground, with a few large white projecting stones; after which you descend into the valley called A'gaten, where, near a well, you pass the hours of the greatest heat.

7th. Ténsif; arrive before the 'aser.

8th. Iferwán, one of the finest valleys of Aïr, with a village of the same name, and plenty of date-trees bearing excellent fruit. Arrive at sunset, after having passed a number of small valleys called Aghítam.

9th. Tídik, a valley, with a village of the same name, where you arrive before the 'aser, after having passed the well called Néggaru.

10th. Súf méllel, "the white sand," a place in the gravelly ground, over which your route lies the whole day; arrive about 'aser.

11th. Zelíl, an inhabited spot, where you arrive about one o'clock P.M., after having passed valleys called respectively Ageléndi, Fadé, and Merátha. (N.B.—The valley can be called by this last name only by the Arabs.)

12th. Ifígi or Ifíne-makkéder, called by others Ifíne-bákka, where you arrive at sunset, after having marched the whole day over a pebbly plain called by the Arabs "Sh'abet el Ahír." The reason why this plain received such a remarkable name was evidently because it was here, in the neighborhood of the hill Máket-n-ikelán*, that the ancient Góber country of

* See my narrative, p. 243.

Day.

Asben was changed into the Berber country of Aïr, or, as the Arabs call it, Ahír.

13th. You encamp on the Hammáda, where there is a little herbage, after having crossed a rocky ground full of pebbles, and having passed a valley called Tiyúten.

14th. You encamp at one o'clock P.M. on a spot with a little herbage of the species called "el hád," after having crossed a stony track called by the people Tim-áz-garen.

15th. Néswa, a well, not far west of the well Asiu, where you arrive after the 'aser, after having crossed a valley called Tafsástan.

16th. Teráf, a place on the Hammáda, where you encamp at the 'aser.

17th. Tin-terámbe, a valley, with a famous cavern called A'agídet e' Níb, where you arrive at the 'aser, proceeding always on the Hammáda.

18th. Encamp at sunset between sand-hills called by the Arabs "el Ark" or "Irk" (the Hills).

19th. Tageréra, a valley, where you arrive about one o'clock P.M., after having entered a mountainous tract called "Aghíl."

20th. El A'ghsul, a valley with water, where you arrive a little after noon, after having passed over rugged ground called Esfaméllesa.

21st. Tékderen, a valley, where you arrive after the 'aser.

22d. Egháraghén, a valley, where you arrive at the time of the 'aser, after having crossed a flat plain covered with pebbles.

23d. Zérzer, a valley with water; arrival at the 'aser. The ground of the same character.

24th. Ifék, a valley; arrival at the 'aser. Country the same.

25th. *El Imkám*,* a valley, where you arrive at one o'clock P.M.; pebbly ground.

26th. A'gnar, a plain inclosed by ridges; arrive at the 'aser, after having kept first along the valley which is called by the Arabs el Imkám, and leads into another valley called Temághaset, from which you enter upon the plain.

27th. Turaghén, a valley, where you encamp about the 'aser, after having crossed another valley called Utúl, into which you descend from the gravelly level.

28th. Tílak, a valley; where you arrive after the 'aser, having crossed another valley called E'heri.

29th. Tema-sanéggeti, a valley; arrive at the 'aser, having crossed another valley called Tin-agh-ákeli.

30th. E'n-émmegel, a valley rich in trees, where you encamp at sunset. To-day you have to pass two other valleys called Erésnughén and Tin-táheli, all these valleys being separated from each other by a hammáda of an even surface, without stones.

31st. Tehárraket, a valley commanded by a mountain called Turéret, where you arrive about the 'aser; pebbles and stones.

N.B.—Tehárraket is a very important point on this route, as, having now

* The name Imkám is remarkable. It seems to denote a religious "station;" and it is interesting, as it exactly corresponds with the station Dekhár, mentioned by the famous traveler Ebn Batáta as ten days distant from the well where the road to Tawát separated from that to Egypt, which, there can not be the least doubt, is identical with Asiu or with Néswa.

Day.

turned the high mountainous region of the desert of the Hogár or Hágara, which you leave on your right, you change your direction and turn northward.

32d. Hágara, a valley with a well called Tehelehóhet, where you arrive after the 'aser.

33d. Súf méllel, another locality of the same name as that above mentioned, where you arrive about the 'aser, after having passed two valleys, the first of which is called Akdhau, and the other E'm-ujáj.

34th. Sheikh Sálah, with the surname Melá el ákhsen, "the best of men,"* near to whose chapel, situate in the mountainous tract Tésennu, there is water; you arrive a little before sunset, having passed over a pebbly level.

35th. Terazart, "the little valley" or "glen;" shortly before sunset; hammáda.

36th. Emmesír, a valley, where you arrive after the 'aser. In the morning you keep along a valley called Méniyet, with a well, beyond which you cross another valley called Afísfes, while the last part of your road leads over the hammáda, consisting of gravel.

37th. Etgúlgulet, where you arrive at the time of the 'aser. In the morning you keep for a while along the valley Emmesír, till you reach the valley called Arák; and following it up, you pass two watering-places, one of which is called (by the Arabs) Sekíyah, and the other "el Hájar."

38th. Tajemút, a valley, where you encamp before the 'aser.

39th. Koikewát, a cluster of small valleys, where you encamp at one o'clock P.M.

40th. Gurdí, a valley, where you arrive a little before sunset, after having crossed another valley called Teráttimín, with water.

41st. The well in the long valley A'ghmemár.

42d. Encamp about the same hour, still in the same valley A'ghmemár.

43d. E'n-semméd, where you arrive after the 'aser. In the morning you still keep along the broad valley of A'ghmemár until you ascend a mountain, from which you descend into another valley called by the Arabs "el Botta," probably on account of its hollow shape; here is a well called "Tin-Slimán. Proceeding along the valley, you reach the place of your encampment for the night.

44th. El Ghábah (the Forest), of great extent and full of brushwood; arrive at the 'aser, after having crossed on your road a depression or hollow called e' Sha'ab, from which you enter upon rising ground and come to the forest.

45th. I'n-sálah, the great market-place of the southernmost district of Tawát, where you arrive about the 'aser, first keeping in the forest, then ascending a little.

N.B.—Along this route, as I learned on a later occasion, there are several places where *salt* is found, which, as the fact is one of the greatest interest, I shall here name together, although I am unfortunately not able to connect the first places which I have to mention with the corresponding points of the itinerary. These are E'm-éddarór, said to be six days' march from Asiu; farther on, Ahóren, and, one day S. from the well Tin-slimán, E'n-méllel.

I here also add what information I could collect about the tribes dwelling on

* Whether this Sheikh Sálah be the same as the famous sheikh of the same name who has given his name to the celebrated Wadi el Sheikh, in the peninsula of Sinai, I can not tell.

or near this road. As far as Néswa, we know them from what I have said above; but the first part also of the road from this place is inhabited by sections of the Imghád, as the Kél-áhenet, while the Ijrán have their settlements even as far west as the valley Tájemút.

a. The Sakomáren.

Next to the Imghád, on the north side of the road, are the Sakomáren, a tribe who, in the middle age of the Arabs, lived N.E. from the middle course of the so-called Niger, and of whom some remains are still to be found in the neighborhood of that river, near Timbúktu; for there can be no doubt about the identity of these tribes.* By what revolution this tribe was driven from their ancient seats we are not yet able to say; however it may be, Ebn Batúta found the Berdáma where the Sakomáren had formerly resided.

Their present settlements seem not to be so very dreary, and are said to be rich in pasture-grounds, so that they are enabled to breed plenty of cattle, and make a good deal of butter, with which they supply the less favored districts of A'sben. They appear to possess, however, little strength, and are greatly influenced apparently by their intimate friendship with the Tawátíye; part of them live even in the territory of the latter oasis, principally belonging to the section called Welád-wúen-Tawát, a name manifesting a curious mixture of Arabic and Temáshight, though the main body of them is said to dwell in the district of Amgíd. Besides the name of this tribe, I learned the names of the following, viz.:

The Kél-tegéttuft, who inhabit the district called Ahóhoghén.

The Kél-úhet, whose tents are generally pitched in Ahéllegen.

The Welád Témenít, living in Fazólet.

The tribe of the Háj 'Ali, living in a valley called Gháris; and,

The Ihiyáwen-háda, a tribe living in Imáhir, and probably related to the tribe called simply Ihiyáwen.

b. The Hogár or *Hágara.*

Formerly I thought that the Hogár were more numerous than their eastern kinsmen the Azkár, and that they were able to bring into the field as many as three thousand men; but I have discovered in the course of my proceedings that the free men, the real "hharár" or Imóshagh among them scarcely exceed five hundred, while of course their Imghád and slaves muster a greater number. But, notwithstanding their small number, the Hogár are much feared by the other tribes on account of their great bodily size and strength, and because they are armed with a variety of weapons, and are thickly clothed. They live entirely upon meat and milk, and have few resources but their herds, as they do not levy tribute on the caravans, but receive only small sums from the Kúnta, the Berabísh, and even a light tax from Arawán. They are not capable of turning to ac-

* The Arab authors always write صغمارة; but with regard to African names there is the greatest uncertainty in the use of the غ the ڤ and the ك. Thus some write غرمة, others قرمة; Gober is written جكوبر by others غوبر; Tagant تكانت and تغانت.

count the salt-mines of Taodénni, which are rather distant from their seats, though they levy a small tribute from the chief of that place. But their relations to the western part of the desert will be more clearly understood from what I shall say in another place.

The Hogár are divided into six branches:

The Kél-ghálla, inhabiting the valley of Erárar (a general appellation for a large valley plain);

The Bu-ghelán, living in the valley of Téfedist;

The Tai-túk, inhabiting the fine valley Arák;

The Tégehin-usídi, who have their abode in the valley of Téghazart;

The Inémba, who pitch their tents in the valley Tífi-n-ákeli;

The I'kdeyén, who inhabit Anímmegel.

I will now add a few remarks on the centre of the district occupied by this tribe, which seems to present traits of peculiar interest. It is generally called by the Arabs "jébel Hagár," but this is not the original appellation, its true or indigenous name being "*Atakór*." This mountain-mass (which evidently lies in the angle formed by the route from Asiu to Tawát) stretches from three to four days' march in length, and one in breadth, from S. to N., at the distance of seven days' march S.E. from Tawát. My intelligent friend the Sheikh Sidi Ahmed el Bakáy, in Timbúktu, who had lived some time among the Hogár, as well as among the tribes of Aïr, especially the Kél-fadaye, assured me in the most positive way that this mountain group, and one long range of it in particular, is far higher than the mountains of Aïr, the rocks being very steep and of red color. He represented to me as very remarkable, and probably the highest of the group, the isolated, detached, and steep peak I'limán or E'limán. Very fine valleys and glens are formed between these mountains, some of them watered by lively perennial streams, and producing figs and grapes.

In this place may be fitly mentioned those Tawárek tribes that live within the boundaries of Tawát. These are the Kélemellel or Welád Fákki, as they are called by the people of Tawát, and their kinsmen the Tígge-n-sákkel, and also the Tígge-n-gáli. These tribes are regarded as belonging to the Tawárek, while the Gurára are considered as Zenáta; and it is very erroneous to regard Tawát as almost a Tawárek country.

VI.—Route from A'gades to the Hillet e' Sheikh Sídi el Mukhtár in Azawád, according to the Kél-ferwán Baina.

N.B.—This route is a path taken at present every year by the Kél-ferwán when they sally forth to plunder the caravans on the road from Tawát to Timbúktu; it is not altogether a direct road, as I learned afterward. But, unfortunately, none of the people of Azawád (who, as I mentioned above, when they do not go by way of Timbúktu, generally take the road to Mekka by way of A'gades) was able to give me the exact details of the direct road. This road passes through the seats of the Awelímmiden.

Day.

1st. E'nwágged, a valley, where you arrive at the 'aser, having started from A'gades in the morning.

Day.
2d. Imintédent (perhaps E'm-n-tédent), where you arrive about the same hour, having crossed many depressions or hollows in the rocky ground.
3d. Sakéret, a valley; arrive at sunset.
4th. Etmet Tadérret, a valley; arrive two hours after sunset.
5th. Agrédem; about 'aser. The whole day's journey lies over a hammáda of red soil (recalling to mind the sameness of all those elevated levels in Central Africa), the red color being produced by the iron oxide.
6th. Etsá-n-élimán; at 'aser. Hammáda.
7th. Timmia; at 'aser. Hammáda.
8th. Ebelághlaghén; about the same hour. Hammáda.
9th. Isakeríyen; about the same hour. The hammáda is here covered with a little herbage. The road thus far seems to be about N.N.W.; hence it turns northwestward.
10th. Etsá-n-Hébbi; about the 'aser.
11th. Igédian; about one o'clock P.M.
12th. Akár; about the 'aser.
13th. Kélijít; a little after noon.
14th. A'kalú, a considerable valley with water, which you reach at one o'clock.
15th. A'kerír, an inhabited valley, where you arrive about the 'aser, having traveled the morning till after midday along the valley A'kalú.
16th. Kídal; after the 'aser.
This name, as I learned afterward, is not applied to a single locality, but comprises a district with fertile valleys, inhabited by the Debákal, who breed an excellent race of horses.
17th. Tim-áklali; about 'aser.
18th. Asalágh; at sunset, after having crossed several hollows in the rocky ground. Here you find inhabitants, partly Arabs, of the tribe of the Kúnta, partly Tawárek, of the widely dispersed tribe of the I'fógas.
19th. Aghasher (Eghazar), a fine valley with date-trees, corn, and tobacco. At some distance from it is another fertile valley called Tesillíte, likewise abounding in dates.
20th. Tigháughawen; about the 'aser.
21st. Hillet e' Sheikh Sídi el Mukhtár, a celebrated place of worship, where you arrive about one o'clock P.M. This place ought to have considerable interest for all those who take an interest in the circumstances attending the frequent sacrifice of life made in the arduous endeavor to open the African continent to European science and intercourse; for this is the very spot where the unfortunate Major Laing, under the protection of Sídi Mohammed, the father of my noble friend, the Sheikh El Bakáy, recovered from those fearful wounds which he had received in the nocturnal attack by the Tawárek in Wadi Ahénnet. Hence, in the few letters which he sent home, so full of resignation and heroic courage, he called the place "belád Sídi Mohammed." In the further course of our narrative this spot will be connected with Timbúktu.

VII.—Quarters of the town of Kátsena.

Ambutéy, or Mbutéy, the oldest quarter; Tódo-málle,* Bar-hemáwa, Suafáwa, Rímin-Sámbari, Darma, Túdduwa-Anábara, Tokáwa, Chidefáwa, Rímin-Gúlladu, Uchéalbába, Mógoba alhándu, Tawátínke,† Sófo-káswa, Mesállachi-n-Káura. Dúrrima-n-tákelme (the shoemakers' quarter), Ungwa Debbósa, Kameyáwa, Shibdáwa, Dábera, Tafí da ráwa ("clapping hands and dancing"—a very merry quarter, as it seems), Ungwa-n-baráye, Ungwa Dóka, Sábbera, Mehédi, Ungwa Kúka, Chefenáwa, Lóloki-n-da-n-al barka, Ungwa Saká, Ungwa da-n-alló (probably the schoolmasters'‡ quarter), Ya-áura, Yansabóni, Dambo, Súnkura, Ungwa Beréberé (the quarter of the Bórnu people), Gamberáwa, Lóloki-n-ákochi, Barasáki, Rímin-áferga, Týdde Líffeda, Ungwa Sherifáwa, Limáwa, Chédia§ Akánzem, Kófa Túluwí, Gogári, Réri-n-wuári, Jagabanchi, Addemunáwa, Dodáwa, Kachúmbe, Yankéwuré, Masanáwa, Muskáni, Cheferáwa, Lóloki-n-Kabáwa, Gafay, Ungwa Chédia, Kokoyáwa, Jangwáki, Jangozáwa, Mesállachi-n-Góberáwa (the mosque of the Gober people), Fáskari, Zázagau, Dúrrimi-n-sháuru,‖ Kontaráwa, Sakáwa, Kófa-n-Yandaka, Ungwa Kóani, or Kwáni (probably the quarter of the Köana or Kwána people), Dorówa, Sabberáwa, Jambira, Mákera-n-owo, Mákerachínki, Daugaumu, Yagabánchi, Yarángway, M'allemi-n-dáwa, Bokudáwa, Kantamáwa, Békuráwa, Bindáwa, Mareá, Ungwa Turáwa (the quarter of the Arabs), Ungwa Sirdi (the saddlers' quarter), Ungwa Yatáwa, Jambaráwa, Yángozáwa, Jembiráwa (different from Jamberáwa), Machíka, Samrí, Arbabejéri; then the quarters lying close to the different gates of the town, and called after them the Kófa-n-Gúga, K. Samrí, K. Dyrbi, K. Marúsa, K. Káura, K. Gazúbi, K. Kóya, K. Yéndaka. Further, the quarters Loloki-n-karí, Jembísa, Kátukam, Yanguzali, Kógo, Gulbí, Jínu, Kéyiba, Kuseruwa fodú (the four corners), I'nchide yáki, Duggul, Amorébbi, Danróri, Dandinki, Turkáwa, Haski-n-káura, Sába-n-báuri, Ungollo or Ngóllo, Adyrjáwa, Ombuwamáy, Ansága, Jínu, Mbánau, Aúra, Dansagí, Dánkashí, Bágada, Bowáy, Shénteli-karamá, Shénteli babá, Grássemí, Magaji-Edíris, Gági, Mejébbamá, Mariná-dan-Gammu, Jirayí-baba-n-Háusa, Kammasáwa, Dansakawu, Sakayáwa, Mariná dan mariná, Tokkumáwa, Dambókulum, Marrakáda, Kokochikó, Propporokáya, Barazakaña, Tebki-n-chémi, Fari-n-yáro, Kádam baki-n-gulbi, Yawal-khawári, Baskoráye, Kautáwa, Rúkum, Gongom, Daggabáwa, Kasáwa, Bagauzamáwa, Ilsáwa, Chiserakawa, Komming, Hannuzerawa, Gulbawa, Hanníni-básará, Moichi, Rímaye-algári, Zambadáwa, Baskoráwa, Mariyadawa. These are the names of the larger quarters of the town; but there are still a good many smaller ones.

* This name seems to have evident relation to Mélle or Málle, the foreigners from that country probably living in this part of the town.

† The form of the name seems to be Mandingo, while the root calls to mind Tawát. "Nke" in Mandingo means "inhabitants." It is not impossible that the quarter of the Tawáti in Kátsena was honored with the same name which in former times it had in Mélle.

‡ Or more properly "the schoolboys'." "Da-n-alló" means "the son of the writing-board."

§ "Chédia," in Kanúri "jéja," is the caoutchouc-tree.

‖ "Dúrrimi" is a kind of tree; and durrimi-n-sháuru means a tree of this sort under which councils were held.

VIII.—Chief Places in the Province of Kátsena.

The names of the principal places belonging to the province of Kátsena are as follows: On the west side of the capital, Jengéfi, Yangéro, Búggaji, Baráwa, Kangwa, Kangwáji, Záuri, Kurfi or Kúrrefi, Sháfo, Ráwani, Kúsa, Kómi, Atagaráwa, Kabakáwa, Sóri, Tsáni, U'ruma, U'mmadáwu, Kógo, Fáskari, Tsaskia, Sakka, Gunki, Runka, Takabáwa, Dyrrú, Guzoráwa, Automáki, Motázu, Sayáya, Karófi, Géza, Raweó, Ganwa, Farí-n-rúa, Kadándaní, Dóka, Máji, Sabóngarí, Yatáwa, Kadakáwa, Shibdáwa, Bindáwa, Kamrí, Táma, Kusáda, Kafardá, Yakofáwa, Ingáwa or Ngáwa, Dorú, Jáni, Dawané, Yáme, Duwáng, Kógadó, Ajiyawa, Danyeam, Rinúnguzá, Kúragó, Kaita, Sábi, Kurfúndu, Yandáki, Shinkáfi, Kotyi, Berda, Mókordá, Tunáni, Bai, Kofi, Kúrtufá, Tsúntsuwa, Túrajó, Másabó, Lagéru, Kóddu, Kotta, Mámmarú, Máni, Túwarú, Jéndodó, Dúchi-n-rága, Tamallawa, Sandáwa, Tabaní, Baréruwa, Goranzám. On the east side there are Káya, Yáme (different from that above mentioned), Dagésamú, Debbáwa, Máshi, I'lelúgalú, I'lel-labúkará, Mále-yabáni, Yoyo, Gárwa, Búkurú, Chille, Dankar, Túna, Yéndaka, Rúma, Merédabáy; Musáwa, Dangáli, Tafáshia, Kurkojango, Dáyay, Sabó-n-bírni, Gángara, Seéya, Mahúta, Dándamay, Kúrremi, Dantýtturu, Danjá, Húriyá, Maska, Gózeki, Dúya, Dárwa, Túdu, Shenéli, Yangéme, Babélkazá, Dahaukada, Kuchéri, Kórumawa, Machíka, Kiyéra, Báskari, Zágami, Sakafárda, Keffi-n-deñi, Keffi Pokkwa, Keffi Sille; Tsá, Kúndurú, Yashé; Garú-n-Señína, Karadúwa, Táku, Luggul, Kánkara dan Jémmaka, Totali, Farú, Zúgani, O'naka, Rúwafí, A'jejá, Sábberé, Gúnki, Birki, Múnir, Taura, Dabáwa, Shéni, A'demú. Toward Dáura there are Dantótoní, Dandáre, Beñe, Karófi, Makera, Yentomáki, Dakkaruwé, Sheléri, Samrí, Lámbisa, Tuddu, another Shéni, Dankada, Fáskali, Koyéllo, birni-n-Gwari, Madódo, Kurríga.

IX.—Chief Places in the Province of Kanó, and Routes diverging from Kanó in various Directions, principally toward the South.

As for the province of Kanó, it comprises a very fertile district of considerable extent, with the following walled towns: Yeríma, Gérki, Zánkara, Yáfen, Ringim, Dushi, Géa, Gérko, Dell, Udil, Táura, Kúra (a place particularly famous for the beauty of its dyed cloth), Sákwa, Bebéji, Rímangadó, Dawáki, Gódia, Bíshi, Gezáwa, Zákeré, Killi, Méjia, Méga, Merké, Tákay, Sangáya (the place touched at by Clapperton), and the governor's two pleasure towns Gógem and Fánisó.

Besides these walled towns, the most considerable places of the province are as follows: Ungógo, Dáwano, Zabenáwa, Gezé, Wottarí, Góra, Mádobí, Salánta, Ammágwa, Dadi-n-dúnia, Gabezáwa, Dóko, Kwinke-alla, Dangayáme, Gurjáwa, Zongonkilli, Abegáni, Sákwa-n-Kumbóto, Zango, Gezí, Ráfi m'allem, Rímí-n-Asbenáwa, Dawáki, Gunó, Ranó (the town mentioned in p. 000 as having formerly been the seat of a kingdom or principality by itself), Ténneger, Kiyáwa, Kadwáwa, Takaláfia, Katákata, Gazóbi (a village consisting of scattered groups), Danzóshia, Gulú, Gani, Tamberáwa, Dáhasa, Gorzo, Karáye, Káfi-n-Agúr, Rukadáwa, Boda, Tariva, Fáki, Kokí, Dawáki-n-Dambámbara (properly Da-n-Bámbara), Katángeráwe, Katánga-babá, Katánga-káramá, Katkázuba, M'allem, Kwiwa, Bunkóri (a considerable market-place, with much cultivation of rice),

Ya-n-kásari, Tuddum Bíllané, Bacheráwa, Yamáta, Demé, Demé-n-da-n-karfi, Tunfáfi, Kuddadefáwa, Zango-n-da-n-A'udu, Paginkayi, Jájira, Fofá, Dangúgwa, Zango Mala A'udu, Jelli, Mádachí, Mákodé, Konshi-n-gwárta, Yákasé, Yóla, and others.

I will here add some of the chief routes connecting Kanó with the principal places around, and which will best show its central situation. As for the routes to Kúkawa, of which I forwarded an account to Europe in 1851, I shall omit them, as I had myself repeatedly sufficient occasion to become acquainted with this tract from my own observations. The route by Khadéja has been united with my own route.

I first give the route from Kanó to Zínder, the northwesternmost place of the empire of Bórnu, by way of Kazáure:

Day.

1st. Makóda, a large open place, consisting of cottages with clay walls and thatched roofs. The country level and densely inhabited. Arrive about the 'aser.

2d. Kazáure, residence of the governor Dámbo, formerly in direct dependence upon Sókoto, but at present in a certain degree of subordination to Kanó. The town is surrounded with a clay wall, and but thinly inhabited. A market is held every Monday. The neighborhood of the town is rocky, and the country intervening between Kazáure and Makóda thickly covered with wood, without cultivation or an inhabited spot.

3d. Mazánnia, a large place surrounded with a "kéffi" or stockade, said to be larger than Tasáwa; but the government of the town is generally divided, half of it belonging to Dáura, and the other half to Bórnu.

4th. Magáriyá, a large place with a kéffi, only about fifteen miles from the former. The surrounding country all covered with forest.

5th. Zínder, about 'aser. There are no villages on the road except near Zínder.

I now add the road from Kazáure to Dáura, and from Dáura to Zínder. Keeping in a northwesterly direction from Kazáure, you reach on the first day, about 'aser, Sándamu, an ancient town of considerable size, but with few inhabitants, and enter, on the following day, the town of Dáura, about two o'clock in the afternoon. The town of Dáura, which, as I have observed (p. 472), is one of the oldest, if not the very oldest* settlement of the Hausa people; and here, too, the Islám seems to have been introduced at an earlier date, certainly not later than its introduction into Kátsena by the grandson of Maghíli, the missionary, as is stated, having been a man from Baghdád, of the name of Mohammed 'Alí, who killed the dodó, or the old fetish lion. I have already mentioned the magic well; and there are many other interesting traditions current with regard to the older history of the place. Dáura is a large town, surrounded with a strong clay wall in good repair, but is only thinly inhabited, and the Thursday market is of no importance. It is the capital of a province, and the residence of a governor dependent only on the Emir el Múmenín, and would certainly have been visited by me in one of my wanderings, if the governor, whose name is the same as that

* It is a difficult question, as I have said already, whether Dáura be identical with the Dáur mentioned by El Bekrí; but I think it is not. It was in former times a chief place of the Diggera.

of the governor of Kátsena (Mohammed Béllo), and whose character is much worse, had not been notorious as an energetic and warlike, but unjust and rapacious fellow, with whom it would be more difficult to deal than with the highway robbers in the wilderness of Dánkama. But I recommend this place strongly to the notice of future travelers, as a great many native stories relate to it. It was once conquered by a prince of Múniyó named Sóriyó. All the country around is at present a wilderness, and there is very little cultivation.

Going from Dáura to Zínder in a N.N.E. direction, you sleep the first night in Kúrni or Kúrreni, a small village surrounded with a stockade, being the frontier-place of the province of Dáura in this direction. It is situated in the midst of the forest, and is distant from the capital about six hours.

Day.
2d. Arrive at an early hour in the forenoon at Máshi, a small place surrounded with a stockade, and belonging to Zínder. Every Wednesday a market is held here.
3d. About 'aser arrive at Bakí, a large place surrounded with a "kéffi."
4th. Before noon arrive in Zínder. There are no villages on this road.

I now proceed to give the routes from Kanó toward the Bénuwé, which has been called Tshádda or Chádda in its lower course, merely from mistake, I think, while it has several other names. Záriya or Zózó, the capital of the province of Zegzeg, was visited by Clapperton on his second journey; and its latitude can be laid down with certainty, its longitude with approximate correctness.* From this place some important routes, very frequently taken by native traders, and even sometimes by enterprising Arabs, branch off toward the places in the vicinity of the above-mentioned river. On the other hand, we have now, by Mr. Vogel's observations, the exact position of Yákoba, the capital of the province Boloboló, or Báuchi, and therefore generally called "Garú-n-Báuchi;" so that the most important places between Kanó and the river can be laid down with tolerable exactness. I will here only remark that the general features of my hydrographical sketch of this dictrict in 1852 have been entirely confirmed by Mr. Vogel's observations, from which, although they are as yet very insufficiently known, it is clear that the central part of Báuchi, in which Yákoba is situated, is a high rocky plateau, the central ridge of which evidently forms the water-parting of the various rivers in opposite directions—the head-waters of the komádugu of Bórnu (generally called Yéou) toward the east, the Kadúna and Gurára (the Rari of Richard Lander), which unite near Bírni-n-Gwári, toward the west, and a branch of the Bénuwé, running first to the east and then turning southward. The two most important points with regard to the connection of Kanó, Záriya, and Yákoba with the lower course of the Bénuwé, are the towns of Kéffi-n-Abdezénga and Láfiya Beréberé, while the latter of these places is also one of the chief centres whence spreads the dominion of the Fúlbe, with misery and devastation, over the neighboring tribes.

I will here give the route from Kanó by way of Záriya to Kéffi-n-Abdezénga, which goes from Záriya almost directly southward. The stations are very short.

* Záriya has been recently (end of 1855) visited by Mr. Vogel; but his astronomical observations have not yet been received. However, it appears from what he says that all the water here around is drained toward the Kwára, and not toward the komádugu of Bórnu.

Day.

1st. Mádobí, a place with a market. Pass in the morning the "kogí," or kogí-n-Kanó.

2d. Reach Bebéji about ten o'clock A.M.*

3d. About one o'clock P.M. arrive at Rimi-n-Káura, a group of villages with a rivulet running east.

4th. About nine o'clock A.M. reach Báki-n-Kamínda, a cluster of scattered villages, called by this name from a rivulet Kamínda or Kamánda, which skirts it.

5th. About eleven o'clock A.M. reach a walled town called Da-n-Sóshia, rich in date-trees. Here is the frontier of the province of Kanó toward that of Záriya, marked by a large "kúrremi" dry in summer.

6th. A little after noon reach a small river called Kubútutu, running east, but afterward turning south and joining the Kadúna, which drains all this part of the country. On the bank of the rivulet is a village called Anshó.

7th. About eleven o'clock A.M., after a journey through a woody country, reach Rúma, a large place but thinly inhabited, and surrounded with walls in decay.

8th. About the same hour you reach a walled place called Likóro, where a market is held every other day. All the country is thickly wooded and uncultivated.

9th. Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, after having crossed a rivulet which sometimes presents difficulty in the rainy season, you arrive at Záriya.

10th. About noon arrive at a village called Ungwa A'rendé. Small water-pools on the road.

11th. About eleven o'clock A.M. reach Kaséllu, a walled place with the wall in a state of decay, and with a market held every other day.

12th. About the same hour arrive at Gímba, a large walled place, but thinly inhabited.

13th. Reach Mátarí, a large place. Between Gímba and Mátarí, nearer the latter, is a kúrremi, which during the rainy season can be crossed only in boats.

14th. Kábi, a considerable walled market-place.

15th. Reach a small village called Kásabó, situated on a mountain range running eastward. The whole country is mountainous; and a little before you reach Kásabó you pass a high mountain with a village on its top.

16th. Encamp in the forest called "Dáwa-n-serkí-n-Fáwa," where there is a kúrremi, dry during the hot season.

17th. A small village of the district Kadára, ravaged by the Fúlbe.

18th. During the dry season you reach a place called Jére (not Tére), while in the rainy season you encamp on the shore of the Gurára, the chief branch of the Kadúna, which can not be crossed but in boats. The country mountainous.

19th. Reach a small village called Kámané; country mountainous.

20th. A small place called Káterí, situated on a kogí, with water at all seasons of the year, and well wooded. It joins the Gurára.

21st. A straggling village called Góla-mínda, inhabited entirely by Fúlbe or Féllani. The country level, with mountains in the distance.

* Bebéji has been visited, and probably astronomically fixed, by Mr. Vogel.

Day.
22d. Kogáro, a considerable market-place; country mountainous, irrigated by many streamlets.
23d. Fajári, a small place with a wall in decay; country level, with plenty of water.
24th. Bagáji, a considerable walled market-place.
25th. Kéffi-n-Abdezénga, a large place, where a market is held every day. The country in general is flat, with a high mountain to the west. Plenty of water-courses.

Láfiya Beréberé, originally a colony of the Bórnu people, called Beréberé by the Háusáwa, is five days E.S.E. from Kéffi-n-Abdezénga, and two days and a half from a place called Toní, between Darróro and Kéffi. Darróro was visited by Richard Lander, who calls it Danroro; but this place, as well as the important place Katab (called by him Kuttup), has been laid down very erroneously from his indications. I therefore give here the

ROUTE FROM ZÁRIYA BY KATAB TO DARRÓRO; FIRST PART S.E., THEN S.S.E.

Day.
1st. Egébbi (called Ejibi by Lander), a place surrounded with a wall, but not of large size.
2d. Dawáki, a middle-sized place, lying west from Káuru, a town which we shall soon connect with Kanó. About one day south from Dawáki lies a mountainous district, with the village Libélle, inhabited by pagans.
3d. Sháffero, a place surrounded with a wall, and dependent on Káuru. The inhabitants are said to eat dogs.
4th. Encamp on the bank of the River Kadúna (báki-n-Kadúna), with a village N.E. from the river.
7th. Katab, a district consisting of a great number of hamlets, very rich in honey, and with a good cultivation of sorghum, millet, cotton, and sesamum. A small rivulet or torrent intersects the district running toward the north. Pass the two preceding nights in two small villages, the names of which my informant had forgotten; most probably they are identical with Gídan Bakáya (not G. Banaya) and Kála. One long day's march N.E. from Katab is the pagan district Sháwe, wherein the Kadúna is said to take its rise.
8th. Kujé, a village situated on the top of a hill, other villages being scattered about in the plain.
9th. Dangóma, a small slave-village belonging to Darróro, situated on the top of a mountain. About the middle of your day's march you cross the River Gurára, running through a deep valley, and forming a cascade at some distance N.E. from Darróro. It runs westward, though in a very winding course, and joins the Kadúna near the town of Gwári. This is evidently the river which Lander calls Rári, and which, its course not being accurately observed by him, as he had to cross it repeatedly, has given rise to that unfortunate theory of Captain William Allen with regard to the connection of the Chadda with Lake Chád, or rather Tsad.
10th. Darróro, a town in a strong position, surrounded with an artificial wall only on the north side; still belonging to the province of Zegzeg. At some distance from it, in the plain, there is a new Féllani settlement

called Jemmá'a-n-Darróro; the word jemmá'a, or, as it is generally pronounced, jemmára, "the congregation," being the characteristic word for the religious and political reformation of the Fúlbe. There is a direct road from Katab to Jemmá'a, passing by the small open place called "Madáwaki-n-mútuwa," where the mountainous district commences. It was in Darróro that Richard Lander thought that he was but a few miles distant from Yákoba, the capital of Bauchi, while in reality he seems to have been, in a direct line, about one hundred miles distant from it; and as this line, owing to the mountainous nature of the country, and the wild and unsubdued spirit of its pagan inhabitants, is not passable, he was about a hundred and sixty miles from it by the ordinary track.

THE ROUTE FROM JEMMÁ'A-N-DARRÓRO TO KÉFFI-N-ABDEZÉNGA, WITH THE BRANCH ROAD TO LÁFIYA BERÉBERÉ.

Day.

1st. Kogóm, a small place on the slope of the mountain, and inhabited by slaves. The neighborhood is thickly covered with forest, through which, on the west side of the village, the Gurára winds along, being here navigable for boats, at least in the rainy season. Arrive at noon.

2d. Gwári-n-kúrremi, a large open place in the wilderness; no hills. A small torrent runs N.W. in the direction of Káteri. About noon.

3d. Toní, a large walled place with much cultivation and many hamlets dotting the neighborhood; about noon. From hence a road leads to Láfiya Beréberé in three days, S.E.

4th. Likóro, a large town with a clay wall; the houses built half of clay, half of shíbki; a good day's march. There is another more circuitous way from Toní to Likóro, passing by Tonúng-mádaki, a place situated in a valley with much forest, and not far north from two places surrounded with clay walls, one of which is called Tonúng-wámbay—and by "Gulbi-n-túnka," a small open place with much cultivation, which has received this name from the Háusa travelers on account of its being situated on a small stream (gulbí) running northward.

5th. Kéffi-n-Abdezénga, a large town surrounded with a clay wall, and situated at the eastern foot of the mountains; the town partly yumbú, partly shíbki. Arrive about dhohor.

ROUTES UNITING KÉFFI-N-ABDEZÉNGA WITH TÓTO AND FÁNDA.

From Kéffi-n-Abdezénga to Tóto there are several roads, the stations of which are at the following places:

Day.

1st. Gongóndara, a large place with a wall in decay. Plenty of water; the mountains are at some distance.

2d. Gwágwa, a middle-sized town surrounded with a clay wall; to the east a considerable mountain group.

3d. Támma, a large walled place in a plain with much water.

4th. Dógeri, a place of middle size, the frontier-place (in 1851) of the extensive province of Zegzeg, and of the independent kingdom of Fánda.*

* Fánda, conquered in 1853 by the Fúlbe of Záriya by treachery.

Day.
5th. O'gobe, a large walled market-place belonging to Tóto.* The neighborhood is a plain abounding in water.
6th. Ganó, a considerable open place; country flat; plenty of trees, particularly of those called mája.
7th. Enter Tóto in the morning.

Another road, sometimes uniting with the former, at others diverging from it, passes by the following places:

Day.
1st. Yánkardé; short march.
2d. Gwágwa; short march.
3d. Bokoko.
4th. A large village of the Bása; about noon.
5th. A large town situated in a plain, and surrounded with a clay wall; the inhabitants speak the Bása language, but pay tribute to Záriya. My informant called this town Gorgóndara; but I think he must be mistaken.
6th. Wári, a large open place with much cultivation of corn; the whole country is flat. Arrive about noon.
7th. Kargo, a village. The country level, and covered with forest.
8th. Gwári-n-Kargo, a village, the frontier-place of the territory of Zegzeg (that is to say, in 1851; but since the end of the year 1853 it appears, both from what Dr. Baikie and his companions learned on their interesting and successful expedition up the River Bénuwé, and from what I myself heard on my return to Kanó from my journey to Timbúktu, that the Fúlbe, partly by treachery, partly by warfare, have made great progress in this direction, extending their depredations to the very bank of the river). A small stream or torrent skirts the side of the village, running toward the Kadúna; here is more cultivation. Arrive in the forenoon.
9th. Another open village of the Bása, with a good deal of cultivation; arrive about noon.
10th. Ungwa Limáng, a small village inhabited by the people of the Prince of Toto; rocky ground, and a small rivulet or brook.
11th. About two o'clock in the afternoon arrive in Tóto, a large town protected on the west side by a woody fáddama or valley, and on the other sides surrounded with a clay wall. The town is said to be of about the same enormous dimensions as Kanó (that is to say, about fifteen miles in circuit), but more densely inhabited, and divided into two distinct quarters, the western and the eastern, the former being inhabited by the natives, or the Katáwa,† as they are called by the Háusa people, who have a distinct language (probably related to the Bása and Núpe languages), and are pagans; while the eastern quarter is the dwelling-place of the Moslemín, viz., people from Kátsena, Kanó, and Bórnu, who have a chief for themselves, called El Imám, a name corrupted by the Háusa people into that of Limáng. This Limáng is regarded in general by the travelers as the prince, but, according to more accurate information, the town and province of Tóto seems to be under the direct government of

* Is this town identical with the place called by the Háusafatáki "gari-n-serki-n-Fáwa?"
† Katáwa is the Háusa name for the people of I'gbira, the country itself being called Katú or Kotú, as in Kotú-n-karfi=iron district, Rúgga-n-Kotú.

Day.

the Sultan of Tánda (not Fánda), whose name is Shémmage, and who receives a great quantity of European goods, chiefly muskets, which form his strength, from the inhabitants of Tágara or Kotú-n-karfi, as the district is generally called by the Háusa people, near the junction of the Bénuwé with the Kwára. This prince, by his energy and watchfulness, had kept the conquering Fúlbe in awe; and he prohibited, with the utmost diligence, suspicious people from being admitted into his town. He may therefore, even after the fall of Fánda or Pánda, which was in a wretched condition, and was taken by treachery in the beginning of 1853, have preserved his independence; but I am not quite sure about it. Be this as it may, surrounded on all sides by enemies, he will scarcely be able to hold out long. Tóto, as far as I was able to make out (although there does not appear to have ever been much intercourse between the two towns), is distant from Fánda from thirty to thirty-five miles E.N.E. It is, besides, three days from Kotú-n-karfi, a place the position of which is well established, and four days from Sansan Ederísu, a place likewise well known from the Niger expeditions, so that we can place Tóto with tolerable exactness.

I here subjoin the itinerary from Tóto to Sansan Ederísu

1st. Zángó-n-kará, a village inhabited by Núpe people, and situated in a valley tolerably wooded.

2d. Agáya, a large town surrounded with a clay wall, dependent on the governor of Záriya, but inhabited by Núpe people. Soon after you leave Zángó-n-kará in the morning, you cross a river called Gúrma by my informant, who crossed it in a boat; it runs northward. The country is well cultivated, and many villages are scattered about.

3d. Kúrremi, a town surrounded with a stockade and a clay wall, but of smaller size than Agáya. A small rivulet, not navigable, skirts the town, running northward; it is called Kúdduba.

4th. Sansan Ederísu, a large open village not far from the shore of the Kwára, opposite E'gga. The country well cultivated.

I will now join Katab with Kanó.

Route from Kanó to Katab.

1st. Bebéji, the town mentioned above; in the morning you cross a small water-course, with a village on its south border, called Báki-n-kogí, then pass Góra, and in the afternoon Mádobí, with a brook running toward Bebéji; arrive here at sunset.

2d. Báuda, a large town surrounded with a clay wall, and lying around a rocky eminence. In the morning cross the rivulet Kamánda. A short march. Báuda is the furthest town of Kanó in this direction.

3d. Páke, an open place on a deep rivulet, which (often) is not fordable; it runs westward, and seems to be identical with the kogí-n-Kubútutu, which is crossed on the road from Bebéji to Záriya, near the village A'nsho. There are several small hamlets on the road side, but cultivation is not very extensive. Arrive a little after noon.

4th. Kó-zintú, a walled place, the huts consisting of reeds; arrive at noon. No village on the road, but a good deal of cultivation.

Day.
5th. Zintú, a large walled place with clay houses, on a considerable rivulet passing by Záriya, and running westward. It is said not to be fordable (probably only in the rainy season), two boats being constantly employed for carrying over travelers. It has no fish. I think it is the same river with the kogí-n-Gédia, which is crossed on the road from Kanó to Sabóngarí. A short march.

6th. Káuru, a large town surrounded with a clay wall, and lying on a considerable and navigable rivulet running eastward (not westward); arrive in the afternoon. The country is covered with dense forest.

7th. Shaffero, the village mentioned in p. 613.

8th. Gída-n-bakáya, an open village inhabited by pagans, but under the dominion of the Fúlbe; arrive at noon, having crossed in the morning the Kadúna running westward. The country very woody.

9th. Katab; pass in the morning the village Kalá.

Route from Kanó to Yákoba.

1st. You arrive early in the forenoon at Sákwa, a place situated on a running stream called "kogí-n-Sákwa." In the morning you pass the village of Dawáki. Sákwa was visited by Clapperton.

2d. About two o'clock P.M. arrive at Dell, a considerable town, said to be larger than Tasáwa, after having passed another populous place, not much less than Dell, called Gérko. The whole country is well cultivated; and there is but little jéji, or uncultivated land on the road. In Róro, S.W. about one day from Dell, there are mines.

3d. A little after noon arrive at Párna, a place not so large as Dell, and situated at the foot of a mountain, by the side of a small rivulet. During the morning you pass a village named Gédia, between which and Párna there is a little wilderness.

4th. At noon you arrive at a place called Tébki (probably so called from a pond), situated at the foot of the mountains, and the frontier place between the province of Kanó and that of Báuchi. The whole march leads through a wild mountainous country, covered with wood.

5th. Arrive in the morning at Sabó-n-garí, a place situated in the plain, and important on account of the road from Záriya (the details of which I shall directly subjoin) joining in this place the track which leads from Kanó. The country is well cultivated, and the people during the rainy season dwell in huts, scattered through the fields, while during the dry season they retire to the tops of the mountains. Soon after leaving Tébki in the morning, you cross a small brook, and then pass a place called Shébshi.

6th. A place whose name I can not make out at present.

7th. Zaránda, a considerable village situated in the plain, while toward the east rises a very lofty mountain mass, said to be the highest mountain in Bolóboló or Báuchi. The whole country is under cultivation; and hamlets or small villages are met in every direction. Close to Zaránda is a rivulet, said by my informant to run eastward.* Arrive in the afternoon.

* This is entirely confirmed by Mr. Vogel's recent exploration.

Day.

8th. Yákoba (thus the name is generally pronounced, although more correctly the accent ought to be given to the second syllable, thus Yakóba, or, rather, Yakúba), the capital of the province of Bolóboló or Báuchi, founded by Yakúb, the father of the present governor Ibrahíma. Selmán (properly 'Othmán), the name given by this informant to the governor, is, I think, the name of his brother, who, during his long absence, has the government of the town. The town is large, and has twelve gates; *there is no running water near the town*, and the inhabitants supply themselves from ráfona, or hollows. All the country is under cultivation, and the neighborhood is rich in hamlets. The road keeps along the plain, all laid out in fields, shaded with trees.

The character of this town, which I have thus laid down from information, has, in opposition to the prevalent opinion that Yákoba is situated on a river, been entirely confirmed by Mr. Vogel's very important journey. Coming from the east, he found Yákoba situated on a stony elevated level, without any running stream, but well supplied with water, which collects round the walls of the town. He has found its position to be 10° 47′ 30″ N. lat., and 9° 28′ 0″ E. of Gr. In consequence of the long absence of the governor Ibrahíma (who, having sworn not to return to his capital until he shall have subdued a warlike pagan tribe, has been living now seven years in his "sansánne," or encampment, about 65 miles N.N.W. from the capital), Mr. Vogel found Yákoba rather thinly inhabited. He has not yet forwarded an account of the elevation of this place; but I believe that it will not be much less than two thousand feet.*

ROUTE FROM KATAB TO YÁKOBA.

Day.

1st. About 'aser reach Alhájji, a considerable village belonging to the province of Zegzeg, and situated at the west foot of a mountain. The whole road leads through forest.

2d. About noon arrive at Sabó-n-bírni, a small village consisting of shíbki. The road is partly covered with forest, and partly cultivated; but there are no villages, the people, during the rainy season, coming from a great distance to cultivate the country.

3d. About noon reach Ríruwe, a considerable place surrounded by an earthen wall, and having a well-attended market every Tuesday. Ríruwe is at a short distance south from Sabó-n-garí; and many persons going from Kanó to Yákoba prefer joining this road and leaving the other at Sabó-n-garí.

4th. About one o'clock P.M. reach U'mbutú or Mbutú, a village situated at the foot of a mountain, on the top of which there is another place of the same name. The inhabitants, who are very fierce, wear a bone stuck through the chin. They do not pay any tribute to the Féllani of Záriya nor to those of Yákoba, and constantly intercept the communication—as happened, indeed, in 1851, during my stay in Kanó. Near the first village is a rivulet which joins the Gurára, one of the tributary streams of the Kwára. The whole march leads through forest.

5th. About one o'clock P.M. reach Wárji, a village situated at the foot of a large mountain extending far to the west, on the top of which there are

* From Mr. Vogel's last letters it appears that the elevation is 2500 feet.

Day.

other villages of the same name, whose inhabitants wage war against the Féllani. Informant states that the inhabitants of the valley pay tribute to the Governor of Kanó; but I think he means that of Báuchi. Cattle of a particular kind, called múturú, are frequent here, much smaller than the ox, with shorter legs, without the hump, and of a gray color. I saw a specimen of this kind afterward in Kúkawa.

6th. About 'aser reach Mélanláwel, a considerable place with a clay wall, situated in the plain at the S.E. foot of the large mountain mass already mentioned. The whole country is laid out in cultivated fields.

7th. After 'aser arrive at Zaránda; the country partly wild and partly cultivated.

8th. At noon reach Yákoba.

I now proceed to give the routes from different points, obtained by the construction of the former itineraries, and corrected also by the recent observations of European travelers, to Wukári, the capital of that very interesting country Korórofa, which, unfortunately, was not reached by the late expedition on the River Bénuwé.

Close to Láfiya Beréberé begins the territory of the Dóma, the capital of which, called likewise Dóma (at least by my informants), is only one day from Láfiya, and five days from Kéffi-u-Abdezénga, the road from this latter place to Dóma passing by Haríri, a large town still dependent upon Záriya, and distant three days from the former, and two from the latter town. This Dóma is a large walled town, but already in the year 1851 its governor was obliged to pay a small tribute to the Governor of Záriya. A great number of Nyffáwa, or people from Núpe, are said to live here.

From Dóma there seem to be two roads to Wukári, although I frankly confess that the information which I obtained with regard to them, as well as to other parts of Korórofa, was not so clear as I might have wished. One of these routes crosses the river at a spot called Chínkay; the other does not name the ferry. Chínkay is not among the places laid down hereabouts in the survey of the Bénuwé expedition, but it is evidently either identical with, or near to Anyíshi.

From Dóma my informant goes to Kóberé; thence to Kadérku (the Bridge), a town belonging to Dóma; thence to Kiyána or Keána, a considerable market-place, which he calls "birni-n-Korórofa, kása-n-Báuchi," the inhabitants paying tribute as well to the Púllo governor of Báuchi as to the native king of Korórofa. From this place, which is often mentioned in the proceedings of the Bénuwé expedition, my informant goes to Túnga, which he calls "Garí-n-gisherí," stating the memorable fact, not mentioned in these proceedings, that salt is obtained there. Close to Túnga is a kogí or rivulet joining the Bénuwé, or rather, I think, a creek of the river. My informant then crosses the river and reaches Chínkay, which lies at a little distance—as he states, in a southerly direction—from a large place called Owí. From Chínkay he proceeds to A'kkona, which is evidently identical with the Akkwana of Crowther, who, however, does not mention the interesting fact that "kohol" or antimony is obtained there; from A'kkona to Jíddu (a place not mentioned by Crowther), in a locality with small rocky mounts starting up from the plain; thence to A'rfu, and thence again to Wukári.

The other shorter route (if, indeed, it be complete) goes from Dóma to Mínchi, which is called "Bírni kása-n-Kiyána," a walled town of the territory of the Kiyána; thence to Agáya (evidently different from the place of the same name between Tóto and E'gga, and therefore by one of my informants called "Mínchi-n-Agáya); from this directly to A'rfu, crossing the Bénuwé somewhere below Anyíshi; thence by Fíya to Wukári.

I now give an itinerary from Darróro to Wukári, unfortunately of the same abridged and incomplete character. Proceeding at a slow rate with short stations, my informant goes first to a large place called Zúngur; thence crossing a small rivulet, which he calls by the very unscientific name of "kogí-n-Mamádu" (the river of Makhmúd), to Dull, a large but dilapidated place dependent on Yákoba; thence to Gar, a small place in a mountainous district; thence to Bárrum, the country continuing mountainous; thence to Gémbat; thence to Wáza, a very large town, said (probably with some exaggeration) to be as large as Kanó, and the residence of a governor or chief named Hamma ben 'Abdu. It stands upon a mountain or hill, and a river or creek is said to skirt the town.

This important place can be reached in three good days' marches from Yákoba, sleeping the first night, after a very long and fatiguing day's journey through a mountainous country (granite, as it seems), in Gáage, a town as large as Ngórnu, inhabited by Fúlbe and native pagans, and the second in Yúnguru. Yúnguru is a town inhabited by the conquering tribe, while the native pagans live in straggling villages along the valleys. This is another long day's march, and the country mountainous. The third day's journey is shorter, and Wáze is reached after about eight hours' march. In the dry season at least, when the river may be easily crossed either by swimming or even occasionally by fording it, a good tourist will reach Wukári from Wáze in one day. My informant, proceeding at a slow rate, and perhaps not in a direct line, went from this to Dámpar, a place near the Bénuwé, where it has come under the notice of the Bénuwé expedition; then, crossing several creeks which he calls "ráfi-n-dórina," and "kogí-n-Deñi," and the river itself, passed the places Mákera, Usé (a small village in the plain), then Aíkiri (with a kogí) and a place which he calls Zangó Ladán (probably the station, "zangó," where a toll or tax, "ladán," is paid), and thus at length reached the capital Wukári.

I have also a *soi-disant* itinerary from Láfiya Beréberé to Wukári; but I will only name the places situated on this route without stating the order in which they succeed each other. These are Ovi, which seems to be a large town distant one day from A'zzara, which is said to be west from Aíkiri, the place mentioned above; then Kíbi, Dóya, A'boné, Aíro, Kanjé, Agwatáshi, Dédderé.

I will now say a few words about Wukári, the capital of Korórofa, which it is much to be regretted that the last expedition on the river was unable to reach; but the next will, I hope, be more successful in this respect,* if they have the good fortune of finding the country still in a flourishing state. Even the name of this important place was scarcely known† before my researches in 1851, while the name of the country, Korórofa, though well known to former geographers,

* Mr. Vogel also, though some time at Zibu, which he calls Chubum, has not been able to reach that important place (the name of which he writes Okale), on account of the flooded state of the country.

† There is some faint indication of such a place in Dupuis' Researches, and its name, as Okare, is mentioned by William Allen.

had been erased from recent maps. Wukári was placed in my map close to the river, a few miles only too far north and east; but had I been able to correct it according to my latest information, from which I learned that it lay not on the main river itself, but on a small branch,* I should have laid it down exactly in the right position.

Wukári lies on the west side of a small rivulet, called, by my Háusa informants, "kogí-n-Kalám," which is said to join the Bénuwé, or, as the great river is called in at least one of the dialects of Korórofa, which seems not to have come under the notice of the expedition, "Zánfir." In a straight line, Wukári is only a good morning's walk ("tafiyan hantsi")—that is, about ten miles—from the shores of the Bénuwé. The town is said to be very large, even larger than Kanó; not, however, like the latter, embracing a wide extent of fields, but densely inhabited to the very walls. The people do not drink the water of the rivulet which skirts their town, but supply their wants from ponds in its interior, probably like those in Kanó. They are distinguished by their dark complexion, and features not disfigured by shashawa or tattooing, by their long hair and their neat shirts, or rather plaids, "zénne," which they wrap round the body. Indeed, the inhabitants of Korórofa are celebrated all over this part of Africa for their cotton cloth, which is said to be of very fine texture, but also very narrow, being only the breadth of two fingers. They are said to have a peculiar kind of cotton, called "worzi" by the Arabs, and mentioned already by that accurate and princely geographer, Abú 'Obéd Allah el Bekri, in 1068, though without naming the district of Negroland, where the plant grew,† and not without some exaggeration. There seems to be a kind of coffee indigenous to the country. A great deal of dóya, or yam, is cultivated; and áyaba (*Musa paradisiaca*) seems to be the most common tree in the southern provinces. The only essential defect under which this nation suffers, besides their division into many separate tribes, seems to be the despotism of the government, which evidently checks also the energy of the people in defending their independence against the restless Fúlbe, who are constantly gaining ground, and, if her Britannic majesty's government do not hasten to interfere, will in a very short time take possession of this kingdom.

All the handicrafts, as those of blacksmiths, saddlers, &c., are under the immediate control of the king, and can be exercised only by his own people. He monopolizes the foreign trade, none of his subjects having a right to buy. The name of the present king is said to be A'nju Zénki. His authority, nevertheless, does not now seem to extend, in reality, far beyond the walls of Wukári; and the Háusa traders, while they give him the title of "serkí-n-gulbí" (lord of the river), call the governor of Chónkoy or Gónkoy "serkí-n-géro" (lord of the corn, or rather millet), intimating that the country towns are rather in the hands of this latter prince. The inhabitants of Wukári, as well as of the towns in the interior, are expressly stated to be armed only with spears, none but the people near the banks of the Bénuwé using bows. Small articles are bought and sold for iron hoes, called "akíka," of which forty will buy a slave; more valuable objects are bartered for salt or clothes.‡

* This information, received after I had laid down the map, was, however, indicated by Mr. Petermann in the notes accompanying his Atlas, p. 11.

† Notices et Extraits, tom. xii., p. 650.

‡ A large piece of native cloth of Kwána manufacture, very interesting to those who feel real

East, about one day's journey from Wukári, are said to be Júggum and Gónkoy: Júggum is the name of a considerable place; but as for Gónkoy, I was unable to ascertain whether it was the name of a district or a town. Gónkoy is said to be three days and a half from Bú-mánda, the stations on the road being at the villages or towns of U'riyó, U'rbo, then, near the máyo, Mantáje (?), Búmánda being reached on the fourth day; and I have another itinerary leading from Bú-mánda to Júggum in five days, through a country desolated by those predatory wars by which the Fúlbe are so distinguished. Only one day before reaching Júggum there is a place inhabited by pagans called Gánte. I will further mention here some places around Wukári; though, from the imperfect character of my information, I am not able to lay them down on the map, nevertheless I hope a list of them will prove useful to the next expedition up the river. Along the south side of the river are said to lie east from Gónkoy the places Balli, Júbu, Tinto; one day south from Wukári the town Kónte; then westward, and toward the northwest, the following places, some of them on the north side of the Bénuwé: Kúrgoy (a walled town), U'ngosálla, Toríña, A'kata (near a rivulet, the residence of a chief called Jímmi), Kondé, Bémbem, Mínchi-n-Agáya (on the north side of the Bénuwé), Kátsena Alla (a name most probably corrupted by the Háusa traders), a large town situated on the east side of a river or rivulet. Between Kátsena Alla and Fánda there are said to be the following places: Zangó kogí-n-Alla (a whimsical fatáki name—that is to say, used by the native traders), with Mínchi or Múnchi (Mitsi) inhabitants, Dúchi-n-Díkku (a place situated between two mountains), the town Gedímmir, and the town A'yirkú-n-girké.

Korórofa does not appear to be the native name either of the country or of the tribe; but I can not exactly say whether it only originates with the Háusa traders, and whether the name Djúku or Júku applies to the whole nation or only to a portion of it. Bábai or Báibai, I think, is not the original native name of the people, but only an appellation given them by the Háusa traders. There are certainly several different dialects prevailing in the country, since that of which I wrote down some hundred words from the mouth of the Koána or Kwána A'bbade, a native of the village Bú-mánda, appears to have very little, if any, relation to the Tiwi of Koelle, or the Mitsi of Crowther, or to any other mentioned by them; but it must be borne in mind that the gentlemen composing the expedition seem not to have collected any specimens whatever of the Djúku, which they themselves state to be the language of Korórofa, and I feel satisfied that the dialect spoken by the Kwána differs but little from that of the people of Wukári. The Kwána (called Konáwa by the Háusa people), at least those of Júggum, have the curious and disgusting custom of forming an artificial ulcer behind the ear, which in Wadáy is the distinguishing mark of valor. They wear white and black shirts, and have horses and cattle. They cultivate various species of Negro corn, and have many large trees. This same informant of mine, A'bbade, named to me the following divisions of the Korórofa, which I give here as an imperfect notice, hoping that it may lead succeeding travelers to further inquiries and to clearer information: the Agáwi, Jímmolo, Churíbolo

concern for the state of industry among the native Africans, was forwarded to England by the Vizier of Bórnu at my urgent request.

(the second syllable is not clear in my manuscript journal), Bashikkári, Jemsáli, Bakawelíno, Kéwe, Ndau, Bínderi, Jáufeni.

Having given what little information I have been able to gather with regard to that interesting region on the River Bénuwé, I now proceed to subjoin a few details illustrating the geography of the provinces between Yákoba and Katágum; for the country between the former place and the Bénuwé will, I hope, soon be amply illustrated by Mr. Vogel's observations, who seems to have traversed the triangular tract of country inclosed between Gómbe, Yákoba, and Hamárruwa in several directions, and to have come into intimate, though at times hostile, contact with the natives. The position of Gómbe, which he has fixed by astronomical observations in lat. 10° 49′ N., and long. 10° 16′ E., is an important check upon the construction of the materials obtained by me with regard to this tract of country; and I openly confess that, with regard to Gómbe, which I had no means of connecting with a southern point, I have erred in laying it down much too far south, while with respect to the latitude assigned by me to Hamárruwa, which I was able to connect with Yóla, I have scarcely erred a single mile—a result which I hope will inspire some confidence in my numerous geographical deductions from native information.

I start from Katágum, a place twice visited by Captain Clapperton, and laid down by him correctly, no doubt, with regard to latitude, while with regard to longitude it has to be shifted, as I shall elsewhere show, about forty geographical miles further west.

ROUTE FROM KATÁGUM TO GÓMBE, THE CAPITAL OF BOBÉRU.

Day.

1st. Early in the morning, between nine and ten o'clock, you reach Sókkuwa, a large place surrounded by an earth wall on the western bank of the "kogí-n-Katágum," the water of which is used by the inhabitants for drinking. In the dry season there is no stream of running water, but merely stagnant pools. The houses of Sókkuwa are built partly of yumbú (clay), partly of shíbki (reed). A market is held here every Saturday. On the road many small villages are passed.

2d. About eleven o'clock arrive at Kéffi, a large village surrounded by a stockade, and belonging to the province of Katágum. Many small villages on the road.

3d. An hour after noon reach Hardáwa, a large place surrounded with a clay wall, also under Katágum. On the road are many villages. The soil consists of sand, and trees are scarce.

4th. Arrive at Mésau, a large place surrounded with a clay wall, capital of the province of the same name, and residence of a governor whose name, or rather title, at present is Yerima. The houses consist of clay walls with thatched conical roofs, the palace of the governor alone being built entirely of earth. A considerable market is held here every Friday. It seems very remarkable that the inhabitants of this town are said to be all Fúlbe or Féllani. The soil all around consists of sand.

5th. About noon Dárasó, a large walled place belonging to the province of Báuchi, to the capital of which leads a frequented route from hence, which I shall subjoin immediately. In the morning you cross a rivulet in the midst of the forest.

Day.

6th. About two or half past two o'clock P.M. reach Tawíya, a large place with an earthen wall now in decay; most of the inhabitants pagans; the whole country covered with dense forest. N.B.—The road from Dárasó turns a little east from south.

7th. Early in the morning, about nine o'clock, arrive at Gómbe, a large walled place and the capital of the province Bobéru, which is said to have received its name from the late governor; the name of the present one is Koriyénga; his house is the only good building in the town.

ROUTE FROM DÁBASÓ TO YÁKOBA.

1st. About the 'aser reach Sóro, a small open place situated at the western foot of a rock. The road lies through a mountainous country, the first half of it being thickly wooded.

2d. About one o'clock P.M. arrive at Kírfi, a large open place at the foot of the rocks, inhabited entirely by pagans. The whole road is intersected by high mountains with perennial springs.

3d. About eleven o'clock A.M. reach Tyrrem, a large open place surrounded by mountains toward the east and south. On the road you pass several small villages situated on the tops of the mountains, and inhabited by pagans.

4th. Early in the morning, about nine o'clock, arrive at Yákoba; all the road mountainous, the tops of the mountains being inhabited.

N.B.—The route from Gómbe to Yákoba I shall not give, as my imperfect itinerary will, I hope, soon be superseded by the rich materials of Mr. Vogel and his companion Corporal Macguire. I have, however, many materials for the district hereabout, which may be laid down with great approximative certainty as soon as an accurate basis is obtained by Mr. Vogel's route. For the same reason I will not give the itinerary from Gómbe to Gújeba, but only connect one important point of this route—Dúkku, which I hope will have been touched at by my friend—with Yóla.

This route from Yóla to Dúkku is very dangerous, and is not now taken by the Fúlbe; but such was the case in the times of their greatest youthful vigor. I will only observe that Dúkku lies one day and a half E. by N. from Gómbe. My informant, M'allem Katúri, starts from Yola.

Day.

1st. After crossing the Bénuwé, pass though the mountainous district of the Zéna.

2d. District of the U'rgeni, another pagan tribe living on the mountains.

3d. District of the Tángalé, a tribe with whom Mr. Vogel has, on his more western route from Hamárruwa to Gómbe, come in contact.

4th. Fánda, another pagan tribe.

5th. Dembé.

6th. Chongóm. All these are independent pagan tribes, the country being mountainous. Road very unsafe.

7th. Téra, a settlement of the Fúlbe of Bodéru; here security commences.

8th. I'na, a large town of pagans in a state of subjection. At the foot of the mountains is a torrent running west, sometimes not fordable; it probably joins the northern branch of the Bénuwé.

Day.
9th. Kámbo, a pagan village.
10th. Kom, a pagan village.
11th. Dúkku.

Dúkku is two days from Gómbe:

1st. Wángelé.

2d. Gómbe, the present residence of Kóriyénga, the son of Bobéru, the Púllo conqueror, from whom the province has received its name, and the brother of Suléy. It is situated on the south side of a large water-course called Náfada. This place was visited by Mr. Vogel in 1855, and found from observation to be in lat. 10° 49′ N., long. 10° 16′ E. from. Gr.

ROUTE FROM KATÁGUM TO SHÉRA, S.S.W.

1st. About 'aser reach Gubú, a large open place belonging to the province of Katágum. The country open, partly cultivated and inhabited, and partly covered with forest.

2d. About eleven o'clock reach U'zum, a small open village belonging to the province of Katágum. The whole country well cultivated with numerous villages.

3d. About noon arrive at Shéra, a considerable place, the capital of a province of the Fulfúlde empire of Sókoto, and residence of a governor. The place is fortified by nature, its position among the rocks, which surround it on all sides, leaving only a narrow approach from N.W. and S.; otherwise there is no wall. Most of the houses are built partly of clay, partly of reeds, while the house of the governor consists entirely of clay. Most, if not all of the inhabitants seem to belong to the race of the conquerors; the consequence is, that there is neither industry nor commerce, and the market is of no importance.

I here subjoin a list of the more important places of the province of Shéra or Shíra, from which it will appear that this territory, although heretofore scarcely known by name, is not inconsiderable, though greatly reduced from its ancient extent, when the whole district round Fágam belonged to it. This comprises the following places: Fágam, bírni-n-Máshi, Hósobo-bérajá, Géllamáng, Rabadí, Geréttí, Dándang, Tóba, Matsángo, Yélku, Zúmborúm-daffatúwo. At the present day there still belong to the province of Shéra, besides the capital (likewise called Shéra), Kúrba, Géade, Dóggo, Dógwa, Kádgo, Kárgo, Rímí Táshirá, A'ndobám, Dógo-gawán, Dógo-kawé, Dógo-dekáwen, Dógo-dúchi, Dógo-bángaré, Dógo-damwé, Dezína, Túngom, Gowála, Zábi, Sabáwa, Byllum, Béchimé (on a rock), Danguzózo, Yellwá garí-n-da-n-Háwa, Gumár, Zákkuwa, Jerégo, Chínnadé, Hardáwa (I can not say whether identical with the place of the same name mentioned above), Goráng (east from the latter), A'zere (with iron mines), Chínnadé madáshi, Daláren, Kúrke, Túmperé, Dúnkowy, Póngi, Zagédebá, Mógonshí, Gadáber, Cherácherá, Gadáwu, Degá, Goré, Itésh, Jóga, Wóliyá, Gósamé ("garí-n-dáffa kárfi," place for smelting iron), Tsáudi, Kolá ("úri-n-saráuta," "the seat of [the old] government," where all the rulers of the country are buried), Sófo-n-garí, Gámbaná, Lájewá, Zíbbek, Máshemá, Bangaráti, Sírko, Gámbakí, Káwada, Máchi-n-káya, Dingáya, garí-n-Mallinzáki, Hírfi, U'ngobá or Ngobá, Gádarárima, Kóndokó, Rasáwu, Kórko, Bárring, Mánakó, Wódufá, Tsogú, Kúrnokay, Láfiya garí-n-Berdagúngome (da-n-ghaladíma Shéra), Lanzedóguwa, Ajángara,

Zámmaga, Fógo, Sáwi shéli-n-jíka-n-Mallinzáki (the residence of the grandson of Mallinzáki), Yáyu, Dagáro, Kúkokí, Bilkáchuwa, Farí-n-rúwa, Kósomé, A'rzamú, Yákasé, A'ffotu, Uzum Zándan, Jegás, Chókkoti, Chafágo, Degágito, Galinámarí, Kádiya, Jándogo, Zagáña, Gorán, Nasaráwa, Kflla.

I now subjoin the short itinerary from Shéra to Yakoba, west a little south.

Day.

1st. Between one and two o'clock P.M. arrive at Fágam, a place larger than Shéra, surrounded with a clay wall, being the frontier town of the province of Kanó toward the S.E. The country is flat.

2d. About eleven o'clock A.M. arrive at Gánjuwa, a large open place belonging to the province of Báuchi. All the houses, or rather huts, are built of reed, only that of the governor consisting of clay. The country mountainous, with many springs and pools of water; large numbers of palm-trees.

3d. About 'aser arrive at Yákoba; the country mountainous.

X.—Collection of Itineraries passing through the various Districts of A'damáwa.

In endeavoring to describe the country by means of this net of routes, traversing it in every direction and thus controlling each other, it will be the best course first to connect Yola, the farthest point which I have been able to lay down from my own observation, with Hamárruwa, the farthest point reached by her majesty's steamer "Pleiad"* in September, 1854.

1. Routes from Hamárruwa to Yóla.

(*a.*) *Direct route; very unsafe.*

Day.

1st. Having crossed the Bénuwé, encamp on the border of the máyo Badóre.

2d. A pagan village of the Zená; about four o'clock P.M.

3d. A village of Hámidu (not the son of A'dama); a long day's journey; the whole country is mountainous.

4th. Líma, a settlement of the Fúlbe; about noon.

5th. Yóla; in the morning.

(*b.*) *Another direct route, a little more northerly.*

1st. The máyo Badóre.

2d. Dútsi-n-máifulá (the Capped Mountain), obviously a traveling name given by the Háusa people to a mountain with a peculiar cone; compare the expression "shúsh el 'abíd" (the Slave's Cap). Before noon.

3d. Bang, a settlement of pagans, on a mountain; turn round its southern side. A long day's journey.

* I have already observed with what accuracy I have laid down Hamárruwa with regard to latitude, while the error of longitude is attributable to the false position of Kúkawa, as established by Clapperton. With regard to the name of the town, I observe that I formerly wrote Hamárrua; and although for English readers it is certainly better to write it Hamárruwa, nevertheless I never heard it pronounced with a long ú, but the accent was always laid upon the second syllable.

Day.
4th. Passam; in the forenoon.
5th. About two o'clock P.M. encamp; leave Líma at some distance south.
6th. Yóla; in the morning.

(c.) *Route from Hamárruwa to Yóla by way of Kóncha.*

This route makes a sharp angle. Direction, as far as Kóncha, S.S.E., then N.E.

Day.
1st. Reach the River Bénuwé about noon, and cross it in the boats of the Kwána or Kwóna; sleep in Kwánárí, a village on the south bank of the river.
2d. Reach a pagan village under the protection of the Fúlbe, and therefore called by travelers Amána Bárka, in a valley bordered by mountains; it belongs to the dominion of A'mba Sámbo, the governor of Chámba.
3d. About sunset encamp in the wilderness.
4th. Zangó-n-gharáma (a name given to the locality by the Háusa traders, meaning "the toll-station"), a village, the master of which, called by the traders mai Chebchóma,* levies a considerable tax on the caravans. "Masr," or the Egyptian durra, forms the principal food of the natives.
5th. Reach the residence of the chief Nyagáng. Formerly travelers used to make a stage in the village of Ardo Kési, situated more to the north; but this custom has lately ceased.
6th. Mount Chébchi, stretching out to a great length, and crossing the path; encamp either on its summit or at its base, in the afternoon.
7th. Rúmde 'Omáru, a slave village in the plain; about noon.
8th. Kóncha (probably so called because it belonged originally to the Kwóna or Kwána), the residence of the governor Mohammed Jóbdi (not Gábdu), a Púllo, who is in a certain degree dependent on the Sultan of A'damáwa. The place is large, being divided into three distinct quarters—that of the Fúlbe, that of the Kanúri, and a third inhabited by pagans; but the dwellings consist entirely of round conical huts, with the exception of that of the governor himself, which is built of clay. The eastern side of the town is skirted by the máyo Béli, which in the dry season is fordable, but during the rains can be crossed only in a boat. It is tributary to the Fáro, and runs from Kóncha to Láro, from this to the town of Yáji about twelve miles west from Chámba, and having been joined by the máyo I'li, which is said to come from I'mber five days south from Kóncha, in the territory of the Tek'a,† joins the River Fáro at Rúmde Bárka, a slave village of Ardo Yáji. This river is confounded by several informants with the Déve, which joins the Fáro at Búbadáddi. The governor Mohammed Jóbdi is said to possess no less than 10,000 slaves. East of the river, between it and the town, a conspicuous mount meets the view. Kóncha is a remarkable place, on account of the wild sugar-

* Mai Chebchóma being the title of the chief, the original name of the place is probably Chebchó.

† According to another very intelligent informant, of the name of A'dama, a Púllo native of A'damáwa, the river of Láro is joined by the máyo Chánega, which flows two days S.S.W. from Chámba.

Day.

cane (not the sweet sort of Indian corn called sébbade in Kanúri), which is said to grow here in great abundance.

9th. Láro, or more properly "Tírgade Lároma," a large settlement of the conquerors, governed by an officer of the seignior of Chámba, and situated on the west side of the máyo Béli. When you leave Kóncha you cross the river, and then keep along its southeastern bank, but before entering Láro you cross it again.

10th. Dirdiyú, a village inhabited conjointly by pagan natives and by Mohammedan Fúlbe; the country level. About noon.

11th. Zángi, a place formerly belonging to the pagans Fárang, but at present inhabited and ruled by the Fúlbe. Numerous elephants and *mouflons*; at least so says my informant, who nevertheless may have mistaken buffaloes or other animals for those peculiar to the desert.

12th. Reach Yóla, having traversed a well-inhabited country, and crossed a small tributary of the Fáro.

2. Route from Morá, the Capital of Mándará, to Yóla.

Morá was found by Mr. Vogel, by observation, to be in lat. 10° 58′ 38″ N.,* and in long. 12° 22′ E. Gr.

Day.

1st. Mógashe, a village of Mándará, of middling size, lying on the eastern side of a range of mountains. Route S.E.; arrive about noon.

2d. Fétte,† a large Púllo settlement, and residence of a powerful chief called Khúrsu.

3d. Malám, a large Púllo place, governed by a cousin of Khúrsu's, from whence a shallow water-course runs eastward to join the ngáljam of Démmo (see vol. ii.). The country is level; arrive before noon. From Fétte you turn S.W. Malám is a short day's journey N.W. from Bógo, another large Púllo settlement.

4th. Kóngala, a Púllo settlement, situated on the upper part of the same water-course.

5th. Márruwa (pronounced by many people as if it were Marba), a large place, the residence of M'allem Dámraka, situated on the north side of a water-course which joins the river of Lógone. On the north side a mountain strikes the eye. Arrive before the heat of the day.

6th. Mískin, a large place, residence of Ardo Búba, situated on the same water-course. An isolated mountain (Mount Míndif?) rises toward the east, the country in general being level.

7th. Gázaba, a large place, and residence of Ardo Gazáwa, an old man. It is a market-place of some importance. Direction west. Arrive before the heat of the day. Both places, Gázaba and Mískin, seem to lie in a line west from Mount Míndif.

8th. Mbóla, a Púllo settlement, and residence of a son of Ardo Jídda, situated

* This place also furnishes another proof of the care with which I constructed my routes from information, having changed the latitude of this place from 10° 15′, in which Denham had placed it, to 11° 1′—an error of less than three miles. In the number of Mr. Vogel representing the longitude, there seems to be an error.

† The situation of this place is controlled by its relation to my route to Músgu, and by the distance from Wolóje as well as by that from Wúlya. See vol. ii.

Day.

on the same water-course. The country level; direction west. Arrive about noon.

I here subjoin a short itinerary from Múbi (see p. 000) to Mbóla, in order to connect this route with the track of my own journey to A'damáwa. This road is mountainous and dangerous.

Day.

1st. U'mshi, a pagan village. Arrive about two o'clock P.M., having passed Bá, in the mountain group which I noticed on my journey to A'damáwa, and left Jimmi to the south. After having cleared the mountains of Fingting, you turn E.N.E.

2d. Sínna, a village inhabited by Fúlbe and native pagans; about noon.

3d. Mbóla, a Púllo settlement; about noon.

9th. Lúlu, a pagan village, the inhabitants of which do not disfigure their features by tattooing, and wear no barbarous sort of ornament, except a small reed in the left ear, like the Marghí. Country mountainous; no water-courses. Direction, south. Arrive between ten and eleven o'clock.

10th. Mátabá, a place situated in a mountainous district, inhabited by pagans and Fúlbe conjointly. The deléb-palm or dúgbi, a species of *Hyphæna*, grows here in great quantity, but only few dúm-palms. The inhabitants drink only from wells. Direction, south a little west. Arrival, about four o'clock P.M. Mátabá lies on the road between Dába and Lam, a little nearer the former.

11th. Gidér, a place situated on the great pilgrim-road from Yóla eastward, and inhabited by Fúlbe and pagans conjointly. The whole conntry is mountainous, and only partly subjected. A water-course runs along the east side of the village toward the máyo Kébbi. Arrive about noon.

12th. Héri, a village inhabited by pagans of the tribe of the Falí. At some distance, a water-course. The country mountainous. Direction, south. Arrive in the morning.

13th. Báila, a Púllo settlement, residence of Ardo Badéshi, with a small water-course. Country mountainous. Short march south, very little west. A few miles west from Báila is Badéshi, situated in a mountainous region, and on the east side of the máyo Saréndi, which is said to come from the south. In the distance, south, a place called Kacháwu is seen lying on a high mountain, with a water-course at its northern foot, which joins, or rather is identical with, the máyo Kébbi; this place possessing very rich pasture-grounds, the cattle of Báila are driven there in time of peace. Between Baila and Soráyi lies Bizér, about fifteen miles from the former. Direction E.N.E.

14th. Nyáwu, a village inhabited by the slaves of Janfúra. Toward the west a mountain range; toward the east, country open. Short march S.W.

15th. Bátema or Bázuma, the principal and central place of the tribe of the Falí, at least in former times; at present, residence of Sanfúra, who has about 200 horse under his command. The place is skirted by the waters of the máyo Dundé, which joins the máyo Kébbi. Toward the east is a mountain. Short march a little south from west.

16th. Géwe, a large settlement of the Fúlbe, situated on the N.E. bank of the

Day.

Bénuwé, a few miles below its junction with the máyo Kébbi. It is the residence of the chief Sámbo-Géwe, who commands about 100 horse. A large mountain called Banáwa, inhabited by pagans of the tribe of Falí, overtowers the Bénuwé. At a short distance from Géwe, a little east from south, lies Ribágo—not to be confounded with the more important place of the same name to be mentioned farther down, this Ribágo being the estate of M'allem Músa, the governor of Chébowa. In the angle formed by the junction of the two rivers lies the village Dúli, and east from it another village called Lángi, the three places lying so near each other that one may be seen from the other. A short day's march west.

17th. Géweke, a small Púllo settlement, under the same chief as Géwe. On starting from Géwe, cross the River Bénuwé, and traverse a mountainous country. Short journey, west.

18th. Bilónde, a place principally, but not exclusively, inhabited by Fúlbe, and situated on the southern bank of the River Bénuwé. Short march west.

19th. Gáruwa, a place inhabited by pagans of the Bátta tribe. Arrive at noon, having passed in the morning the village Badóde, situated likewise on the south side of the Bénuwé. North, or perhaps a little west from north, of Gáruwa lies Bángeli, at the foot of a mountain which is skirted by the river, from which Gáruwa itself lies about five miles distant. There is another road from Géwe to Gáruwa, which, though making a circuit, is sometimes taken. Keeping first south, and leaving, after about four hours' march, Dúli on your left on the bank of the river, then turning S.W., you reach Dúkka in the evening, situated on the west bank of a small rivulet and at the east foot of a large mountain; from hence, a day along the mountain N.W. brings you to Gáruwa.

20th. Kókomi, a considerable place, inhabited by pagans of the Bátta. At a short distance west rises a large mount, the western foot of which is skirted by a water-course running north toward the Bénuwé. A short march, west. Kókomi, before the conquest of the Fúlbe, was the chief and central place of the Bátta, as Bázuma was that of the Falí. A Bórnu prince is said to have once found refuge here, and to have governed Gáruwa also. About ten miles south from Kókomi lies Chébowa, a considerable Púllo settlement, inhabited chiefly by 'ulama of the tribe of Ulérba, and the residence of M'allem Músa. Some people, in going from Gáruwa to Búndang, take this road by Chébowa, which seems not to be longer. One day's march W.S.W. from Chébowa, about twenty miles, is Mount Kárin, which is rich in iron, and supplies the independent pagan inhabitants of Mount Alantíka with this necessary article.

21st. Búndam, or rather Búndang,* a considerable place, the inhabitants of which are Fúlbe and Kanúri, not far from the eastern bank of the Fáro, on a shallow branch, backwater, or "chókel" of the river, while the Bénuwé is a good day's journey northward. The country is flat, with sandy soil, and with small eminences of rock projecting here and there. Arrive at noon; direction west. In going from Búndang to Lamorde, a good day's journey S.S.W., keeping along the "chókel" on which the

* The termination *ng* is a nasal sound, and is often not clearly distinguished.

Day.

place lies, you pass first by U'ro Búggel, the former residence of Sámbo Jíkera, then by Turáwa ("the white people"), the residence of Mohammed Jóbdi, then by Báyaga, and then by Yáske, a Bátta village, where the road from Gúrin to Lamórde joins our road, and where the Fáro, from a sweep westward, once more approaches the track.

22d. Gúrin, formerly the capital of A'damáwa, but which was not regularly walled. It lies on the western bank of the Fáro, which here, from a more southerly direction, turns eastward, running toward Búndang, from whence again it makes a sweep toward the north; in the dry season Gúrin does not lie directly on the river, but on a backwater called "Gúddi." People crossing from Búndang to Gúrin therefore, a distance in a straight line of perhaps only five or six miles, as they drift a great deal with the current, report the river to be of an immense breadth, and more important than the Bénuwé. A little lower down from Gúrin, the Fáro is joined by the máyo Béti.

23d. If you take the northern road from Gúrin to Yóla, you pass by Fárda; if the southern one, you stay a night in Béti (Binti?), a Púllo settlement lying on the eastern side of a rivulet (called after it the máyo Binti?). Arrive in Béti about three o'clock P.M.

24th. By the north road Yebbólewó, on the west bank of Máyo Binti; by the southern road Gáwo-Nyíbbi, a Púllo settlement, with a considerable market every Wednesday. The village has received its name from the circumstance that the Fúlbe, on their coming to this place, found in it a large troop of elephants, "nyíbbi." A short day's journey; and, if you choose, you can easily go on to Yóla the same day.

25th. Yóla; early in the morning.

3. Route from Saráwu, by Gidér, to Fátawel and Bínder.

1st. Bútu, a Púllo settlement in a mountainous district, and a small water-course toward N.W. at the foot of a mountain; the inhabitants, however, provide themselves only from wells. A short march, east.

2d. Doérnom, or rather Doérnomi, a Púllo settlement in an open, well-cultivated district; a short march, east.

3d. Búllemi, a place inhabited by pagans in its inner circle, and by Fúlbe all around, skirted by a water-course on the east side, and bordered by a mountain at some distance toward the north. Pass another water-course on the road, which runs toward Hína. About eight or ten miles N.W. from Búllemi, and about sixteen or eighteen miles E. or E.N.E. from Saráwu, is Ngómna, a large pagan village of the Falí.

4th. Méso, a considerable Púllo settlement, which is said to possess as many as 200 horses; it is situated in an entirely open country, and is near a water-course, which is said to run N. (?), and to join that of Doérnum. On the road the village of Hámma Gári is passed, which was formerly the residence of I'subu (Yusuf) Derbé, the father of Ardo Badéshi. If a man walk well, he can reach Méso in one day from Saráwu.

5th. Peske, a Púllo settlement and residence of 'Abdú, a brother of the governor of Méso and Badéshi, in an open valley plain, and with a small water-course on the west side.

Day.
6th. Gidér, the place above mentioned, inhabited by pagans and Fúlbe, and skirted by a water-course, which is said to be joined by three others near a place called Kólla, and to run toward Máyo Kébbi. Gidér is properly a district comprising four villages situated on the tops of mountains. There are two roads from Péske to Gidér, one more direct, leading straight through the mountainous wilderness in an easterly direction, while another, passing by a place called Yáji, forms an angle. Gidér is about eight miles north from Báinga or Baila; you may easily reach Gidér in one day from Méso.

7th. Soráyi, a place inhabited chiefly by pagans, and having but a few Fúlbe, with a small water-course on its south side; arrive about noon, direction east.

8th. Binder, a large town, inhabited by Fúlbe, arrive in the morning.

From Binder to Káfta-Báudi, the place mentioned above, is one day and a half N.N.E., spending the night in Gajám, where you arrive late in the afternoon, having passed on your road the village of Torók, then Goy, Kosére, and, farther on, Búsu; arrive the next day, before the heat, in Káfta-Báudi.

From Gidér to Fátawel.

Day.
1st. Encamp in the wilderness between two and three o'clock P.M.; country mountainous.

2d. Gázabá, the place mentioned above; arrive early in the morning. The road, as far as this place E.N.E., now turns a little south from east.

3d. Mískin, a Púllo settlement in the plain; arrive in the morning.

4th. Míndif, a considerable Púllo place at the east and N.E. foot of Mount Míndif or Méndefi. There is another road from Gázabá to Míndif, turning round the south side of the mountain, and passing first by Kadé, the residence of Ardo Béle, then by Salág.

5th. Máud, a large place, residence of the Lawán S'aíd, who is said to have a good many horsemen under his command; the country intersected by several small water-courses. Direction a little north of east.

6th. Fátawel, an important place, residence of the chief M'allem Hámma Yegúdu, and the principal ivory market in this part of Africa. Indeed, it is so celebrated that people in Bórnu generally suppose its name to be that of a large region. About ten miles east of Fátawel is Darám, or rather Darám-sulú, a large place inhabited by many Kanúri as well as by Fúlbe, and the residence of the chief Ardo Kalíbi, and south from it another place called Gájia. I here subjoin the road from Bága, on my Músgu route, to Fátawel.

Day.
1st. Kadé, not the village before mentioned, nor the place where the Músgu chief A'dishén at present resides, but originally a part of the same district, which at present forms a Púllo settlement and residence of the chief Ardo Júlde ("chief of the Moslemín").

2d. Káya, a Púllo settlement, residence of Ardo I'sa (or 'Aísa, that is, Jesus), a short march. East from Káya, at no great distance, are the Púllo settlements Bágané and Gúmbulé, and south of the former the sister towns Káfta-Báudi, Káfta lying on the north, and Báudi

Day.
on the south side of a shallow water-course, "fáddama" or ngáljam, and being ruled by one chief, Ardo Bélło.
3d. Fátawel, early in the morning.

4. Road from Méso to I'ssege, by way of Hína. Direction north.

Day.
1st. Dabá, a pagan village, with but a small number of Fúlbe, in a very mountainous district; about noon.
2d. Hína, a pagan village of the Mózogoy, a tribe nearly related to the Marghí, and probably, therefore, another branch of the Bátta. Their chief has a house at the foot, and another on the top of the rocky mount round which the place is situated.
3d. Udábunú, a village situated at the foot of a rocky mount, and inhabited by pagans. Arrive about two o'clock P.M.
4th. Madágalí, a pagan village; a long march ascending and descending in a mountainous country with many small water-courses.
5th. I'ssege, the Marghí place on my own route; a long day's march. Before reaching the place, cross a river running northward.

From Múbi to Hina, E.S.E., *is one day.*

Keep along the rivulet of Múbi as far as Bá, where you leave it; reach Jímmi at noon, and Hína between three and four o'clock P.M., marching at an expeditious rate.

5. Route from Géwe to Ka'rnak Lógone.

Not a direct road, but, such as it is, often taken by pilgrims. Corrected from the statements of several informants.

Day.
1st. Bázuma, the Púllo settlement mentioned above, residence of Yamhúra, in a plain without water-courses, but having generally stagnant pools; a short march east.
2d. Badéshi, the Púllo settlement mentioned above, situated at the northern foot of a mountain; a long march; arrive between three and four o'clock P.M.; direction N.E.
3d. Báinga or Báila, a Púllo settlement in a mountainous district, residence of 'Omáro Mbílla; a very short march of about six miles.
4th. Bínder, the Púllo place mentioned above, in a plain; in the dry season stagnant pools, in the rainy season running water. A very long march, from early in the morning till sunset; direction N.E. Road unsafe, the country not being entirely subjected by the conquering Fúlbe. A little after noon pass close by Bizér, one of the strongholds of the Mbána.
5th. Lára, a Púllo settlement, with a mountain toward the west; arrive in the forenoon; direction north.
6th. Míndif, the Púllo settlement mentioned above, at the foot of the high mountain of the same name. Among the Fúlbe live a few pagans of the tribe of the Zummáya. A short march a little north from west. There is another more western and more frequented road between Bínder and Míndif, leading by Bobóyo, which is about half way; between

Day.

Bobóyo and Lára are the places Ghadás and Kílgim, and between Bobóyo and Gidér the villages of Múmmur, Tóde, and Lam, at about equal distances in succession, Múmmur lying a few miles south from Bobóyo, and Lam about ten miles north or N.N.W. from Gidér. This whole district seems to be very mountainous, and it is therefore difficult to lay down the roads with any certainty.

7th. Máudi, a Púllo settlement in a mountainous district without rivulets; a short march N.E. There is another place of the same name at no great distance, but inhabited by pagans of the tribe of the Zummáya.

8th. Yúlguf, a Púllo village near a small mountain; the country in general level; short journey; direction N.—E.S.E., at a short distance from Yúlguf, is a small place called Yólde or Yúlde.

9th. Bálazá, a Púllo settlement in a level country; a short march east.

10th. Bógo, the considerable Púllo place mentioned above, residence of Lawán Gári; arrive about noon; direction east.

11th. Bálda, a pagan village on the top of a short mount. Short march, east.

12th. Malám, the border settlement of the Fúlbe, toward the Músgu country, and formerly the residence of Khúrsu, who now resides in Bógo. At a short distance south from Malám is another smaller place of the same name, with the surname Jébjeb. The informant from whom I first wrote this itinerary, Abú Bakr ben N'am, before continuing his direct road eastward, entirely retraced his steps westward from this place, after he had already changed his direction in Bógo, which is S.E. from Malám, visiting Márruwa, which is about thirty miles west from Málam, and thence returning S.E. toward Fátawel, which is about the same distance or a little more, from Márruwa. Malám is about thirty miles S.S.W. from Wolóje, on my Músgu route.

15th. Waza, a small village, consisting of two hamlets, and belonging to Lógone; a few Fúlbe families are settled here. The country level, with the exception of a few detached rocky hills. This is the place where we encamped on our return from the Músgu expedition. Abú Bakr passed two nights in the wilderness between Malám and Wáza, which is full of elephants and wild oxen ("mbánna"); but an expeditious traveler will make this journey in one day, from early morning till about five o'clock in the afternoon. Direction, N.E.

16th. Jínna, a considerable walled town of the territory of Lógone, in a plain richly clothed with trees, an important market for ivory, and distinguished by its fine matting and lattice-work. A man who wishes to travel direct in going from Malám to Jínna does not touch at Wáza, but leaves it at some distance north.

18th. Logon Bírni, or Karnak Lógone, the capital of the small kingdom of the latter name. On this march a bare wilderness, called by Abú Bakr "Fili Obája," stretches out toward the south. On the road are three villages.

6. Routes to and in the Province of Búbanjídda and Mbána.

i. *From Gúrin to Ray-Búba, the capital of the province of Búbanjidda. Rate expeditious. Direction east.*

Day.

1st. Chébowa, the Púllo settlement mentioned above.

2d. Kauyen, called by other informants Wóyene, a small Púllo settlement.

3d. Bóngi, another Púllo place, situated on the Bénuwé.

4th. Bidéng, another large place, inhabited by Fúlbe and Dáma, residence of a son of Búba, and occasionally also of many wealthy inhabitants of the walled town Ray Búba, situated on the máyo Dóro, which, near the place Bóngi just mentioned, joins the Bénuwé, the place Dóro, from which it takes its name, lying between Bidéng and Bóngi. Another more southerly and more direct road leads in one day from Wóyene to Bidéng, passing in the morning by Agúrma, a large Púllo settlement upon which Wóyene is dependent, and crossing at noon the Bénuwé.

5th. Ray Búba, the capital of the country of the Dáma, a family of the Falí, called at present Búbanjídda, from the Púllo conqueror Búba, a man of the tribe of the Hillegáwa, and his mother Jídda. The town, being strongly fortified and surrounded by a wall, with four gates, lies on the máyo Chubí, which joins the Bénuwé.

ii. *Three different roads from Ray-Búba to Ribágo. Direction north.*

(*a.*) *The westernmost.*

1st. Bidéng or Bidáng, the place just before mentioned.

2d. Bóngi, residence of the Púllo chief 'Omár Gári; cross the Bénuwé.

3d. Sáini, a Púllo settlement, residence of a chief called by my Kanúri informant M'allem Fébe, probably from his rich possessions of cattle, "fé." Before entering the place, cross the River Bénuwé, which skirts its southern side. On the north side of the place is a high mountain. In this place the road from Ray to Ribágo is joined by the general road from Géwe to Ribágo, from Géwe to Dyllemi, about ten miles south along the eastern bank of the Bénuwé, from Dýllemi to Bóngi, passing by Dóka, about eighteen miles, and from here Sáini, at a short distance.

4th. Gámfargó, a Púllo settlement; short march.

5th. Ribágo, or perhaps more correctly, Ribádo ("the prince's residence"),* a large and important Púllo settlement, the residence of the powerful chief Bágeri (Bú Bakr), and situated on a water-course of some size, called by the Fúlbe "Máyo Gelangéro," which joins the River Bénuwé at a hamlet called "Rúmde Hámma Salátu," distant from Ribádo two days' journey, sleeping the first night in a village of the Dáma, called U'ro Kanáwachi,† which is reached about two o'clock P.M., and arriving in Rúmde the next morning.

* Respecting this name, see what I have said in vol. ii., p. 176.

† This name seems to be a nickname given to the place by the Kanúri people, on account of the misery or dearth prevailing there, although "úro" is a Púllo name meaning "farming-village."

(*b.*) *The middle road.*

Day.
1st. Lifóro or Livóro, a cluster of two villages, one inhabited by pagans of the Dáma tribe, and the other by Fúlbe; arrive at noon. Wilderness the whole way.

2d. Bárgirám,* a Púllo settlement, and residence of a chief of the name of 'Omáro; about noon. Dense forest the whole way.

3d. Ribágo; a long day; arrive between four and five o'clock P.M.

(*c.*) *The eastern road.*

1st. Bágalá, a Púllo settlement. About twelve miles S.E. from this place lies Bére, which will be mentioned farther on.

2d. "Bári hosére" (Bári the rocky hill), called so to distinguish it from another Bári, a Púllo settlement; before noon. Bári hosére is ten or twelve miles east from Bárgirám, and about fifteen miles N.E. from Bére.

3d. Nákiri, a Púllo settlement; before noon.

4th. Ribágo. Expeditious travelers often make the journey from Ray to Ribágo in two days, passing the night in the farming-village U'ro I'bbe.

iii. *From Ribágo to Saráwu.*

1st. Lapáre- or Lafáre-Fulfúlde, in order to distinguish it from the pagan village of the same name, Lafáre Héferbe (plural of "keféro," "the infidel"); arrive before noon. N.N.W.

2d. Wógoló, Fúlbe; forenoon.

3d. Layade, Fúlbe; arrive about noon, having passed on the road a place called Bay.

4th. Saurogúmji, Fúlbe; arrive about noon, having some time before left on the right the place Méso.

5th. Saráwu; arrive about four o'clock P.M. Soon after starting in the morning the road is joined by the path coming from Méso, and then you pass the villages Dyllemi and Doernum.

From Ribágo to Baila is one day's journey from early morning till about three o'clock P.M.; direction north. Pass in the morning a village called 'Omáruwá, or more correctly Manjáula 'Omáruwá ("the village of 'Omár"), and about noon Búsa, both of them situated on the north side of the máyo Kébbi. In time of peace between the Mohammedan intruders and the pagan natives, the cattle of Báila are driven into the rich pasture-grounds of this valley. This valley, as forming almost a natural communication between the Bénuwé and the Shári, and in this way between the Gulf of Benín and the Tsád, is of the highest importance, and will receive more illustration farther on.

iv. *From Géwe to Lére. Rate very expeditious.*

Day.
1st. O'blo, a Púllo settlement in a mountainous country. A long day's journey, direction N.E. O'blo is about ten miles north, or a little west from north, from Ribágo, passing by Lafáre.

2d. Bifára, an independent pagan place, in a large green valley or fáddama,

* The form of the name, terminating in "ram," seems to be Kanúri.

Day.

"chókel," with a perennial rivulet, the máyo Kébbi, an eastern branch of the Bénuwé. The place itself lies on the north side of the valley, while on its south side there is a mountain.

3d. Lére, a large pagan place of the Mbána, and residence of the powerful chief Gónshomé, who is greatly feared, as well by the Fúlbe as by the Kanúri. In the beginning of 1851, shortly before my journey to Yóla, in consequence of an expedition on a large scale being undertaken against him, he had been obliged to acknowledge, in a certain degree, the supremacy of the Fúlbe; but soon after he again shook off all sort of allegiance. The situation of the place seems very strong, by reason of its position in the swampy wooded valley, which, according to all information, must have an immense extent. The larger valley, which comes from the east, is here joined by a small water-course, which is said to descend from Binder, and is identical, I think, with the máyo Saréndi. The Mbána form a numerous tribe, extending as far as Gider, in which direction Bizér, Jabéri, and Lam are three of their chief frontier places.

In going from Géwe to Lére, a person can also make stages in the following places: first night in Lafáre, the village mentioned before, situated on the N.W. side of the máyo Kébbi, where he arrives between two and three o'clock P.M.; second night Búsa, a Púllo village on the north side of the máyo Kébbi, where he arrives about noon, having left in the morning the village of O'blo toward the north; on the third, between two and three o'clock P.M., he arrives at Lére.

v. *Ray to Lére.*

Day.

1st. Livóro, the pagan settlement of this name, in subjection to Búbanjídda; the country level. Arrive about noon.

2d. Bére, a large Púllo place, with M'allem A'dama Agúrmama, who is said to be able to bring about a thousand horse into the field. Agúrma, his native place, from which he has received his surname, lies one day and a half from this place beyond the Bénuwé. A person going thither from Bére passes the night in Gúmboli, lying on the east bank of the river, and in the morning reaches Agúrma. About twelve miles north from this Bére lies another smaller Púllo place of the same name, surnamed Gárgabe, from a relation of A'dama's; and east of Bére Gárgabe lies Bére Malómaró; and farther eastward Jóro Súki, while to the north of this latter is situated the place of M'allem Hámma Duwé.

3d. Duwé, the Púllo settlement just mentioned; a long march through a plain country, there being only an isolated mountain on the east side of the road.

4th. Lére. The water-course of the máyo Kébbi, or I'bbi as it is also called, has so little inclination that the informant from whom I wrote this itinerary thought it joined the Shári.

vi. *The valley of the máyo Kébbi, from O'blo to Démmo, my farthest point on the Músgu expedition, which will be described in the following volume.*

Going from O'blo to Lére, along the wide and luxuriant fáddama of the máyo Kébbi (direction east), you first pass Búsa (see above), then turning southward

along the sweep of the valley leave Manjáula, the village of 'Omár, also on the north side of the valley, about eight miles S.E. from O'blo; then you leave Kachâwu, situated at the foot of a mountain which is visible even from Báila, on the south side of the valley; then Bifára, a considerable place on the north side of the valley, and distant from Bínder three short days, arriving on the first day, before the heat, in Zábeli, the second about the same time in Míndang, a place of the Mbána which has been ransacked by Mohammed Lowel, and on the third day reaching Bínder about noon. Having passed the night in Bifára, the following day you leave Gégo on the south side of the valley, and farther on Gongudúk, the birth-place of the father of the famous pagan chief Gónshomé, on a small island in a lake or large pond formed by a stemming of the shallow waters of the river; about noon you reach Lére. S.W. from Lére, and S.E. from Gongudúk, is another place called Fillengtenáne. Going from Lére to Démmo, you pass the first night in Máyo Lédde, a Púllo settlement governed by Ardo Chídda, and situated on a water-course of the same name, which a little farther north joins the máyo Kébbi; arrive here between two and three o'clock P.M. On the second day arrive before noon in Dóre, a Púllo settlement, still proceeding along the fáddama of the máyo Kébbi; and about ten miles farther on you come to the Túburi or Túfuri, from whence Démmo is half a day N.E. But between Démmo and Túburi the fáddama is apparently interrupted, this rising ground of very little elevation forming the water parting between the Niger and the Tsád.*

vii. *From Chébowa to Láme.*

Day.

1st. Ngóng, a district consisting of two large villages inhabited by Fúlbe and pagans, and the residence of a chief called Njébbo. The country level; arrive between two and three o'clock P.M., having crossed the máyo Dúkka, which farther on joins the Bénuwé.

2d. Báme, a place inhabited conjointly by Fúlbe and Kanúri, the former, however, predominating. The population of Dyllemi, which is at some distance to the north, on a creek or inlet (ngáljam) of the river, also unites these two different elements. A short march, direction east.

3d. Dóga, on the west bank of the Bénuwé, which is crossed here; the country flat.

4th. Gámsargú (identical, I think, with Gámfargó, p. 635), a place inhabited by Kanúri and Fúlbe. Short march.

6th. Nákeri (see above). An expeditious traveler, starting from Báme in the dry season, may reach Nákeri early in the afternoon, crossing the Bénuwé at a place called Lágeri, and leaving Dóka to the south, then passing Gámsargú, and leaving Séni to the north.

7th. Bári hosére, a large place inhabited by Fúlbe, and the residence of the chief Hámed, who is dependent on Bageri, the governor of Ribágo. The place is skirted on the east side by the máyo Hílle, being joined by an-

* Mr. Vogel, who visited the Músgu country in the rainy season, 1854, and who was so fortunate as to reach the district of the Túfuri, found there a considerable sheet of water, which, very erroneously, he seems to regard as the feeder of the Bénuwé, while in reality it was nothing but an expansion of the fáddama. How can it be possible that such a district, quite close to another large river, should feed such a stream as the Bénuwé?

Day.

other stream called máyo Dóro (not the same as that mentioned above), and which is said to join the máyo Kébbi.

8th. Bére Gárgabe, the place mentioned above, which may also be easily reached in one day from Nákeri, leaving Bári hosére a little southward. This place is also skirted by a stream called máyo Súk.

9th. Láme, a large village inhabited by pagans of the tribe of the Mbána and by a few Fúlbe, in a flat country, with a river which is stated (although the fact seems improbable) by all informants unanimously to join the Shári, or rather Serbéwel (the River "Arre" or "E'ré" of the Músgu), and which seems to be the same with the máyo Súk near Bére Gárgabe, called so after a place named Súk, which you pass early in the morning. From Láme to Lére is a very long day's march of about thirty-five miles, direction N.N.W.

viii. *From Ray to Láme and Lága.*

(*a.*) *Northern road.*

1st. Lifóro héferbe, the pagan village of that name lying about eight miles east from the Púllo village of the same name (Lifóro Fulfúlde); arrive at noon. North.

2d. Bére, early in the forenoon. N.N.E.

3d. Láme; east.

(*b.*) *Southern road.*

1st. Dámtogó, a Púllo settlement; the country level, broken only by detached hills.

2d. Dáli, a pagan village.

3d. Láme.

4th. Duwé, a pagan village; the country well cultivated. Short march east.

5th. Máfalá, a pagan village. None of these pagans are tattooed. About noon; direction E.S.E.

6th. Lága or Láka, a large place inhabited exclusively by pagans (of the tribe of Mbána), who tattoo the left cheek and cheek-bone, or rather, according to more accurate information, the men make a scar on the forehead and above the nose, while the women tattoo the right arm and shoulder.

ix. *From Démmo, my farthest point in the Músgu country* (see vol. ii.), *to Lága, at a most expeditious rate.*

1st. Dáwa, a district with two rocky mountains inhabited by the Túfuri or Túburi, a tribe of the Falí, and with a large shallow stream, which forms the beginning of the máyo Kébbi, and which, according to this informant (M'allem Jýmma, a very intelligent Shúwa chief, of whom I shall speak in the following volume), receives the waters of the ngáljam of Démmo.

2d. Kéra, a village inhabited by pagans, who perforate their lips; a long day's journey.

3d. Láka, a large pagan place, in some degree dependent on the lord of Búbanjídda, who extends his ghazzias, or rather "kónno," as far as this place. The country is level, with the exception of a small rocky emi-

nence. A rivulet which skirts Láka has, according to M'allem Jýmma, its inclination toward the River Serbéuwel, a statement which wants confirmation. The inhabitants, according to this informant, tattoo the breast.

Having traced, along the thread of these itineraries, the conquests of the Fúlbe toward the east and northeast over the regions inclosed between the Bénuwé and the Shárí—a country which is sometimes pre-eminently called Jemmára, or rather Jemmá'a, because the revolutionary and reformatory principle of the Fúlbe has here developed itself with immense success—I now return in the opposite direction, in order to follow the progress of these enterprising and restless people in their advance toward the Bight of Benin. The first effect of their advance is assuredly most calamitous, their road being marked by the ashes of burned villages and the blood of thousands of unfortunate creatures; but, on the other hand, they have laid open these regions to inquiries which may be followed by more efficacious proceedings; and it may be reasonably questioned whether these countries would ever have been opened to extensive commerce if they had remained in the hands of a motley multitude of petty pagan chiefs.

1. Routes to Báya.

i. *Route from Ray Búba to Báya, a little west from south.*

Day.

1st. Hosére Chólle (the "Bird Rock"), a village lying round an isolated rocky hill where many of the wealthy inhabitants of Ray have second establishments; about noon.

2d. Bumgórgo (Mbúm Górgo), a village inhabited by the slaves of the conquerors, and named after an influential overseer of that name, in a mountainous district; arrive between four and five o'clock P.M.

3d. Saláng, a village inhabited by pagans of dark black color, in a mountainous district. Cross, about noon, the Bénuwé, which is here already a considerable river, although I have been unable to learn any thing more accurate about its upper course, excepting that it is supposed to issue, at some day's distance toward the south or S.S.E., from a great mountain with a large volume of water. Arrive between four and five o'clock P.M.

4th. Sleep in the wilderness.

5th. Báya, the principal place of the district or country of the same name. It lies in the midst between a forest and the mountains, and it is said to be of the same size as Ngaundere (see farther on). It is the residence of a chief named Báushi (a nickname?), who is under the supremacy of the Governor of Búndang. The dwellings are all huts. The place has no market. The inhabitants go naked, with no covering but a leaf. They tattoo their bodies in undulating lines, and make a small hole in the left nostril; they have asses, sheep, and poultry in abundance, but neither horses nor neat cattle; they catch elephants, which are very numerous, in pits, and feed on their flesh. Plenty of parrots. Much dukhn or *Pennisetum* is cultivated, while the banana is the principal fruit. The sexes observe a distinction with regard to food, the women abstaining from fowls—perhaps on the same principle as the women, in some

Day.

parts of India, are prohibited to eat things which are regarded as delicacies. They have no cotton, but use shells as money. The only weapons of the people are wooden spears, which they do not poison. The Báya are evidently identical with Koelle's and Dr. Baikie's Bayong. The former of these two gentlemen has placed these people at far too great a distance into the interior.

ii. *From Yóla to Báya by way of Gúrin.*

1st. Gúrin (see above), the former residence of the Púllo ruler of A'damáwa.

2d. Lamórde, a considerable place, inhabited by pagans;* arrive between one and two o'clock P.M. The road lies along the east bank of the River Fáro, which is crossed, on first setting out from Gúrin, by a ford in the dry season, but in a boat during the rains. The country plain; mountains in the distance. You then turn a little west from south. On the west side of the river is Chámba, a large place situated at the foot of Mount Alantíka, and inhabited by Fúlbe, the residence of A'mba Sámbo.

3d. A village of the pagan Búte, between one and two o'clock P.M. The country is mountainous on both sides of the road, the Fáro being some distance off toward the west. As is the case throughout A'damáwa, there is here abundance of honey.

4th. A Púllo village situated on a river running N.W. into the Fáro, and called máyo Koléjo. Here resides a petty governor called Ardo Mohammed; the whole country is mountainous. The inhabitants maintain that the soil contains gold, but that they do not know how to collect it. Arrive between one and two o'clock P.M.

5th. A pagan village, situated in the midst of separate groups of mountains, and governed by a chief called Njaréndi. The whole country is under cultivation, the crops consisting in dukhn, durra, ground-nuts, and cotton. Arrive between four and five o'clock P.M.

6th. A Púllo village, the residence (jóro) of the chief Kábdu, and therefore called "Jóro Kábdu." The country through which the road lies is mountainous; and its inhabitants are pagans, but of very handsome figure.

7th. Pass the night among the pagan slaves of the Fúlbe (Rúmde Ngáundere); arrive toward sunset.

8th. Ngáundere, a place of considerable size for this country, said to be about as large as Gúmmel in Bórnu, and surrounded with a low rampart; the dwellings are built entirely of reeds, with the exception of the house of the governor and the mosque, the former being built of clay, and the latter of clay and reeds. A daily market is held. Arrive a little before noon.

9th. A slave village (rúmde) of the slaves of the Ardo, in a mountainous country, with water-courses in the valley. Arrive between one and two o'clock P.M.

10th. Another pagan village; many small hamlets scattered about.

11th. A village of the Mbúm, a large tribe of pagans, well-proportioned, who

* This is rather curious, as the name is evidently a Púllo name meaning "the chief's residence."

Day.

tattoo their bodies, make cuts in the chin, and file the teeth to a point. They live partly in the valley and partly on the top of the mountains.

12th. Baya.

iii. *From Chámba to Báya, preceded by an itinerary from Yóla and Kóncha to Chámba.*

1st. Máibatí (Máyo Béti), a Pullo village situated on a small rivulet called máyo Béti, and joining the Fáro.

2d. Lamórde, the place mentioned in the preceding itinerary, situated on the River Fáro.

N.B.—It seems almost as if Gúrin had been accidentally omitted in this itinerary; at least the place where the river is crossed can not be far distant from that town. The road keeps a while along the bank of the river; fine country· mountains only at some distance from the road.

Day.

3d. Chámba, a considerable place, in a fine position, bordered by the River Fáro toward the east, and by the offshoots of Mount Alantíka toward the west, from which, however, it seems to be separated by a smaller stream. Mount Alantíka, which forms a gigantic mountain mass, is densely inhabited by pagans of the tribe of the Bátta, who are governed by seven different chiefs, and supply themselves with iron from Mount Kárin, lying on the east side of the river, half a day's journey from Lamórde; mountains are seen all around. Chámba is almost exclusively inhabited by Fúlbe, and is the residence of the powerful governor A'mba Sámbo, a very warlike man, but now rather old. Chámba is three days' journey from Kóncha, in starting from which place you pass the first night in Láro, the second in the town of Yáji (the mighty ancestor of A'mba Sámbo), and on the third reach Chámba. This road keeps along a river, which you have to cross twice, but with regard to the identity of which with the Déve I am not quite certain.

iv. *From Chámba to Báya by a western road.*

1st. Lamórde, the place mentioned above, having crossed the River Fáro immediately on setting out.

2d. Gabdómana, a pagan village, with a rúmde; the name probably has some connection with that of the chief Kábdo or Gábdo.

3d. Encamp in the wilderness.

4th. Bére, a pagan village on the top of a hill, and at a short distance northward a village inhabited by Kánembú and Kanúri. The country is intersected by small rivulets.

5th. Rúmde Ngáundere, a small slave-village.

6th. Ngáundere, the principal place in the country of the Mbúm, surrounded by a low wall, and containing a few houses of clay, and the residence or jóro of Hámed, who governs the country as far as Búndang, and is said to be able to bring 500 horse into the field. It is situated at the western foot of a hill, while toward the west there rises another hill. The people unanimously state that the place is situated exactly south from Chámba. The country produces *Sorghum vulgare*, a peculiar sort of sorghum called mathá, rice, and cotton.

Day.
7th. Katíl, in a mountainous district. During the first part of this day's march, the direction being S.E., the river, which runs here from east to west, is close on the right of the traveler; it is called Máyo Nélbi, and joined by another smaller one, called Njárang. During the latter part of the rainy season even here it can be crossed only in boats. However, this is not the direct road, but a great circuit; a traveler who follows the direct road from Bére arrives in one day at Katíl, after a march of about nine hours, direction south.

8th. Yángaré, a pagan village in a mountainous country, near a rivulet which joins the Fáro; a very long day's journey.

9th. Yére, a pagan village of another tribe, in a wide plain destitute of trees and intersected with rivulets; arrive about noon.

10th. Principal place of Báya, which the informant of this route, M'allem Katuri, represents as a country mountainous toward the east, but entirely level toward the west. This last day's march from Yére is a very long one, and people generally pass the night on the road, and enter Báya the following morning.

v. *From Kóncha to Jóro Fángel, and from thence to Báya.*

(*a.*) *Middle road.*

1st. A "rúmde" of the slaves of Mohammed dan Jóbdi, the governor of Kóncha, on the banks of the máyo Béli, along the eastern bank of which the traveler continues his march, in a wide valley inclosed on both sides by mountain chains.

2d. Rúmde Fángel; that is to say, the rúmde or slave-village of Jóro Fángel, on a hill of considerable elevation. The slaves are of the tribe of the Tek'a.

3d. Jóro Fángel, the "lord's seat" of Fángel, the chief who has established in these quarters the dominion of the Fúlbe; a place of middling size, in a valley inclosed by mountains.

(*b.*) *Westernmost road.* [*N.B.—Rate rather slow.*]

1st. Rúmde Kaighámman, a slave village belonging to Kóncha, in a level country; arrive a little after noon. The name Kaighámman originally belonged to the Kanúri.

2d. Encamp on the bank of the máyo Tafári, which, running from west to east, but farther on turning northward, receives the máyo Léggel, which is crossed in the morning soon after leaving the rúmde, and the máyo Bénglarí, which is crossed farther on; both these water-courses are dry in summer. Arrive about four o'clock P.M.

3d. U'ro Bákari Yémyem, the residence of the Púllo chief of the Bákari, overtowered toward the west by a large mountain; arrive early in the forenoon.

4th. Rúmde Bákari Yémyem, with a mountain chain rising to a considerable elevation toward the south; arrive early in the forenoon.

5th. Jóro Fángel; the east side of the place is skirted, according to the Púllo A'dama, an intelligent native of A'damáwa, by the máyo Bána or Mbána, which, at a short distance from Tíngeren, joins the Fáro. Arrive before

noon. This well-known place, Jóro Fángel, is not to be confounded with a smaller place of the same name.

An expeditious traveler, keeping along the most direct eastern road, and sleeping in Lámtam, is able to reach Jóro Fángel on the second day.

vi. *From Jóro Fángel to Báya.*

Day.

1st. Tínger, a Púllo settlement, the residence of A'dama Jíkera, a powerful Púllo chief, who commands the tribe of the Bákari or Bákari Yémyem, who are said to be cannibals. A'dama Jíkera, who is the brother of Sámbo Jíkera, has about one hundred horse under his command. This place is not to be confounded with a place of a similar name, Téngeren, the residence of another chief of the name of A'dama Jíkera, which I shall mention further on.

2d. A village inhabited by pagans of the tribe of the Jétem, as they are called by the Fúlbe, who most probably have been transplanted hither: the village is skirted by the River Fáro, which is here small, although during part of the year it becomes navigable for boats; toward the east rises a considerable hill. Arrive between two and three o'clock P.M.

3d. Rúmde Ngáundere, the slave-village mentioned above, with a large mountain toward the east; arrive between two and three o'clock P.M.

4th. Ngáundere.

The following is a more direct road from Kóncha to Ngáundere:

Day.

1st. Encamp on the máyo Béli, in a very level country, with several small slave-hamlets lying round about; arrive at noon; direction S.S.E.

2d. Púllo settlement of A'mba Sámbo Jíkera or Zíkera (Jíkera being the name of his grandfather), with a large mountain on the north side; arrive about noon; S.S.E.

3d. Fílla-Ngáwu, a village of the Mbúm, in a mountainous district, with very small water-courses. Hence half a day's march N.E., and a day and a half from A'mba Sámbo Jíkera, is the Téngeren which I mentioned above, consisting of two separate villages—a Púllo settlement toward the west, and, about six miles east, a pagan village of the Mbúm, in a mountainous district. Téngeren is also a day and a half's march from Rúmde Ngáundere, the traveler who comes from the former place passing the night in a rúmde of A'mba Sámbo, on the north bank of the Fáro.

4th. Ngáundere, between three and four o'clock P.M.

5th. A village of the Mbúm, situated on the bank of the máyo Nélbi, which joins the máyo Gelangéro. This stream is perennial, and during part of the year even navigable; on the south side of the village is a mountain. Arrive in the forenoon.

6th. Mambúm (properly Ma-Mbúm), a considerable place, and residence of Arnádo, a chief of the tribe of the Mbúm, skirted on its east side by the máyo Nélbi, in a level country; arrive about noon. Mambúm is distant from Katíl one day's march, S.W.

7th. Rískobáya, a village of the pagan Mbúm, thus denominated from a man named Rísko, a slave of Mohammed Jóbdi. The southern side of the

Day.

village is bordered by a water-course, dry in summer, called by the Fúlbe "máyo balléwo;" on the east side there is a mountain, and the whole road is mountainous. Arrive between four and five o'clock P.M.

8th. Encamp in the wilderness about two o'clock P.M.

9th. Dóka, or rather the residence of Dóka, the principal chief of the Báya country. I can not say with certainty whether this place be the same as that where the other itinerary terminates. The country level, and covered with dense forest.

vii. *From Chámba to Tibáti.*

(*a.*) *Eastern road.*

1st. Búbadáddi, the village mentioned above, situated in the southern angle formed by the junction of the river of Kóncha (called by some Máyo I'bbi, by others M. Déve) with the Fáro; about noon.

2d. Rúmde Dírrim, a hamlet of the slaves of A'mba Sámbo, who originally belong to the tribe of the Mbúm. The country level; much forest. Arrive about noon.

3d. Rúmde Fáro, another slave-village of A'mba Sámbo (which, however, has a name in the native language also), situated on the north side of the Fáro, which here makes a sweep from west to east. Arrive between two and three o'clock P.M., having crossed in the morning several small streams, and farther on a mountain chain, which seems to border the valley of the river on the north side.

4th. Rúmde Dúbbel, another slave-village; arrive about noon, having crossed the River Fáro in the morning, and then traversed a dense forest, full of elephants, in a level country.

5th. Tibáti, a large walled town, being the only town of this description in A'damáwa besides Ray Búba—Ngáundere being merely fortified with a low rampart—but inhabited for the most part by slaves, and not by Fúlbe. It is the residence of a governor. The town is situated on a small river skirting its northeastern side, and then running N.W. toward the Fáro, which it is said to join one day's journey west from Rúmde Fáro. It is generally called Kogí-n-Tibáti. On the north side of the town there seems to be a large swamp, perhaps an inlet of the river. Tibáti boasts, according to all my informants, of the richest vegetation in all A'damáwa. About ten miles west from the town is a more considerable river, not fordable during some months, which, according to my best informants, is the máyo Béli, coming from a considerable distance S.W.

(*b.*) *Western road, according to Mohammed.*

1st. Bómbaké, a Púllo village; before noon.

2d. Encamp on a bank of a rivulet (the máyo Kotégo?) running westward, between two and three o'clock P.M.

3d. Gábdi Mbána, a village of the pagan Mbúm (Mbána?), in a level country; about noon.

4th. Kóro-Mbána, another pagan village; before noon.

5th. The residence of A'dama Jíkera (see above); at the same time.

6th. Varvándu, a place situated on the south side of a river which informant

Day.

calls the Fáro, and which is crossed on branches of trees. Toward S.E. a mountain is seen.

7th. Another place of A'dama Jíkera, in a level country; about noon.

8th. Tibáti.

(*c.*) *According to M'allem Katúri.*

1st. Gungúti, a considerable Púllo place in a level country, the southern horizon alone being bordered by mountains. Early in the morning the broad river Fáro is crossed, during the latter part of the rainy season and shortly afterward, in boats, at other times of the year by fording. Arrive between two and three o'clock P.M.

2d. Pass the night out in a hilly country full of elephants and buffaloes, while the deléb-palm or gigiña, and the gónda or *Papaya* predominate in the forest;* arrive at two or three o'clock P.M.

3d. A village of the pagan Mbána, in a woody country, with mountains toward west and south. Road mostly keeps along the bank of a rivulet, which is said to join the Fáro. Arrive between two and three o'clock P.M.

4th. Hamlets of the pagan Múmbere (?), who live on the summits of the mountains, the whole country being mountainous, and the road leading over the heights.

5th. Encamp near a large lake or swamp, which informant calls by the Háusa appellation "rúwa-n-dórina" ("Hippopotamus water"), in a hollow between the mountains; arrive between four and five o'clock P.M.

6th. The large settlement of A'mba Sámbo Jíkera, surrounded by hills.

7th. The Púllo settlement of A'dama Jíkera, in a valley-plain surrounded by mountains on all sides, and intersected by a small rivulet.

8th. A pagan village, Varvándu, in a plain, through which the Fáro runs from south to north.

9th. Encamp in an uninhabited woody country perfectly level.

10th. Tibáti, about noon.

I shall here add two short itineraries from Tibáti to Ngáundere. Direction, E.N.E.

Day.

1st. A slave village called Rúmde Tibáti, about noon.

2d. Village of the Mbúm, in a mountainous district.

3d. Rúmde Dúbi, before noon.

4th. Ngáundere, between two and three o'clock P.M.

Or a nearer road in three days, passing the first night in Rúmde Mbúm, and the second in a slave-village of 'Abd-Alláhi, and traveling each day from early in the morning till about noon.

viii. *From Tibáti to the Ibo or Igbo Country.*

1st. A village of the Búte, called by my Háusa informant the m'allem Katúri, "garí-n-Kachélla Búte;" arrive between two and three o'clock P.M.

2d. A village of the Tikár (Tik'a), called by him "garí-n-Kachélla Tikár," situated in a dense forest; about noon.

* The prevalence of the *Carica Papaya* in this district, in the midst of the forest, is of very great interest.

Day.

3d. Another pagan village, called by him "garí-n-Kachélla-n-Yémyem;" about noon.

4th. A village inhabited by the Monchéran, a tribe of the Búte. Country level and woody.

5th. A pagan village or "úngwa," consisting of two hamlets, one of which lies at the foot and the other on a summit of a hill; between two and three o'clock P.M.

6th. Another pagan village, the residence of a powerful native chief, and therefore called by the Háusa people "garí-n-Serkí-n-Yémyem."

7th. A village of the great chief of the Fándu, in a level country. All these pagan tribes, whose principal weapon is the bow and arrow, are in the imána of A'mba Sámbo.

8th. Residence of the principal chief of the Tikár, or rather Tik'a, a tribe marked by four scars or cuts under the eyes. Each of these pagan tribes has its peculiar language or dialect.

9th. Another pagan village, called "garí-n-Kachélla-n-Bum," in a plain woody country, with a considerable river passable only in boats, and called by the Háusa people "rúwa-n-kádo" (the crocodile river).

10th. Encamp on the northern bank of the same river, called here "báki-n-kogí Jétem," after the Jétem, the pagan inhabitants of the country. It winds along through a mountainous district.

11th. A village of the Mó, a large tribe of pagans, who live on the summits of the mountains situated on the same river. This whole tribe is armed with muskets. A long day's journey, till about four or five o'clock P.M.

12th. Village of the Abó, in a mountainous district watered by a river. Toward the south a town called U'mbe is situated, being conspicuous by a large mountain.

13th. Dingding, another pagan tribe, who feed chiefly on a particular kind of clay, which they prepare with butter. The people of the slave-expedition themselves lived upon it while in this district, and represent it as not unpleasant. The Dingding are also armed with guns. The name Dingding, however, most probably is not the indigenous name of this tribe.

14th. Yúruwa, another pagan tribe, armed with guns, and living in a mountainous district.

15th. Pó, another tribe, living chiefly on sugar-cane (not, as it seems, the *Holcus saccharatus*), which they boil, and eat like honey. Country mountainous.

16th. I'bo, dwelling in nine villages on the "black water" (báki-n-rúwa), as many of the Háusa people call the Kwára, although the I'gbo and other tribes in that district give the name "black water" in general to the Bénuwé, while they distinguish the Kwára as the "white water."

The I'bo, whom, as well as the Dingding, the Fúlbe believe to be Christians, have neither cattle, horses, nor asses, but plenty of large sheep, goats, swine, and poultry. The expedition which my informant accompanied in 1848–9 spent two months in this country, plundering it and carrying away a great many slaves. Since that time the Fúlbe can in some respects truly say that their empire extends as far as the sea; for

Day.

now every year the I'bo, at least part of them, and their neighbors are said to bring slaves, salt, and cowries as a kind of tribute to the Governor of Chámba. The same expedition, after having retraced its steps as far as the garí-n-Kachélla Bum, again returned toward the Great River, and fell upon and plundered Mbáfu, said to be three days' journey north from the I'bo country.*

ix. *From Jóro Fángel to the Country of the Jétem.*

1st. Lúmta, a Púllo settlement in a level country, the N.E. side of which is skirted by the máyo Nélbi; arrive about noon. Road crosses several small water-courses; direction a little west from south.

2d. Máyo Béli, a place chiefly inhabited by pagans, with the addition of but a few Fúlbe, skirted by a river of the same name, turning from west to north. The country mountainous, but the mountains not rising to a great elevation. Arrive between two and three o'clock P.M.

3d. Hosére Lábul, a large mountain, inhabited by Tik'a, and extending a considerable distance west. This mountain is generally regarded in Adamawa as the feeder of the sources of the River Fáro; but, according to this informant (the Háj A'dama, an intelligent man, who speaks as an eye-witness), only a small rivulet, the máyo Tolóre, skirts its east foot, and joins the máyo Béli. Arrive about noon. Hosére Lábul is one day's journey S.W. from Tibáti.

4th. Yáwa, a village of the pagan Tikár (Tik'a), in a plain woody country with a small river which skirts the east side of the village (perhaps the upper course of the máyo Béli). Arrive between two and three o'clock P.M. From Hosére Lábul you take a more westerly direction.

5th. Bomfónga, a village of another division of the Tikár (Tik'a), in a plain with small rivulets. Fárfar, the great capital of the Tikár, is distant from this a long day W.N.W. The country of the Tikár (Tik'a) in general is well inhabited, the cultivated ground alternating with dense forest, wherein the gonda and the banana prevail; in the more southwesterly districts the góro-tree (*Sterculea acuminata*) and the hónoruwá or máji-n-góro (*St. macrocarpos*). That species of grain called masr (*Zea mais*), and dóga or yams, constitute the principal produce—very little millet, no cotton; the country almost all level, with small rivulets. The inhabitants have, besides huts of clay built overground, also caves underground.

6th. Encamp in the wilderness, the country inhabited by the Déri. A long day.

7th. Encamp in the wilderness at a spot where natron is found. The country inhabited by the Bóre, another division of the Tikár (Tik'a).

8th. Lengwáji, a great mountain inhabited by Tikár, who are in the imána of A'mba Sámbo, the governor of Chámba; before noon.

9th. Bómbom, one of the chief places of the Tikár; about noon.

* This last statement is perplexing, as there can be but little doubt about the situation of Mbáfu a few days' journey N.E. from Kalabá, and its identity with Mr. Koelle's Mfút and with Ndó; for, if the direction were correctly given, we ought to look for these I'bo rather about Duke's Town. Nevertheless, I have no doubt that the I'gbo are meant, although no account of an expedition being made by the Fúlbe into that country has become known on the coast.

Day.
10th. Fándu, another division of the Tikár; before noon. Direction a little south from west.

11th. Mbónga, a large place of the Tikár in a level country, with but a few mountains; before noon.

12th. Jolonjúnga, a straggling hamlet in a level country, with a rivulet running north; between two and three o'clock P.M.

13th. Máyo Kim, a considerable river running from east to west (S.E. to N.W.?) to join the Njéreng, and forming the boundary between the territory of the Jétem and that of the Tikár; about noon.

14th. Lamórde—that is to say, the residence of a chief of the Jétem—in a level country; between four and five o'clock P.M.

15th. The rocky mountain (hosére) Gelangéro (not the original, but a Fulfúlde name), in an uncultivated country intersected only by small water-courses; between two and three o'clock P.M.

16th. Kosél Danél, a small hill belonging to the territory of the Jétem, west of which live the Dingding. The Jétem, as well as the Tikár, have no guns (but according to some, the Jétem have). The Mó dwell to the north of the Jétem.

17th. Reach a river called by the Fúlbe "máyo balléwo" (the black river), which, like the Kim, is said to join the Njéreng, a considerable river, navigable for boats at all seasons of the year, and running southward. Mbáfu is said to be three days west, and Tóto five days N.W. from this place.

x. *From Ray-Búba to Mbáfu.*

1st. Hosére Chólle. See above, p. 640.

2d. Dánfa, a village inhabited by pagans, who do not tattoo, and whose weapons are spears and arrows.

4th. Jáfa, a pagan village inhabited by a division of the Dúru, who make long gashes on the left side of the body. This place lies round a rocky hill, the south side of which is free from huts, while the dwelling of the chief is on the north side. You cross the River Bénuwé in the morning of the first day after leaving Dánfa, and, having passed the night in the wilderness, arrive early the next morning.

6th. Bére, a village (see p. 642) inhabited by pagans who make incisions in the under lip; the country is mountainous, but the mountains are detached. Direction S.W. Another longer road leads from Jáfa, a little east from south, to Ságje, a large Púllo place situated a day's journey S.W. from the above-mentioned place, Saláng, and from thence west to Bére.

7th. A village of the Mbum.

8th. Gankaini, a village of the Mbum; the country level, covered with dense forests, the large spreading "lainde" and the "kímba" being the prevailing trees.

9th. Jerang, in the forenoon.

10th. A village of the Mbum, in the forenoon.

11th. A rivulet, called by the Háusa people "kogí-n-góra," in the wilderness.

12th. Soló, a village of the Búna, who make three small cuts over the cheek-bone, and possess neither horned cattle nor sheep, but only goats and poultry; the country level, and covered with a dense forest.

Day.

13th. Bóngoré, a village of the Búte, who live in light huts constructed of branches. The Búte, upon whom the Kótofó, driven from their ancient seats about Chámba, have thrown themselves, wear no clothing except a narrow rope, made of bark, round the loins; they have long arrows and spears, and large shields of a very peculiar shape. They are said to have red copper in their country, and to work it themselves.

14th. Yénda, a place of the Kótofó. The whole country is flat, with much sandy soil, masr and sorghum being cultivated, besides a great deal of vegetables; the country abounds in water, but has no running streams, all the water-courses being of a shallow, wide-spreading character, such as are called "ngáljam" in Kanúri, and "fáddama" in Háusa. The rainy season is said to have here only three months' duration, the heat, even in the dry season, not being immoderate. The predominant trees are the góro, kímba, mosóro, jittagúllo, and the passakóre. S.E., half a day's march from Yénda, is another large place of the Kótofó, called Koróngo.

15th. Bónchobé, W.S.W.

16th. Bérberó.

24th. Bambúm. Having passed during eight days, first through the country of the Búte, then through that of the Tikár, or rather Tik'a, you reach this place, belonging to another tribe.

27th. Mbáfu. Mohámmedu, my intelligent informant, says that there are large and wealthy towns in this country, with well-frequented market-places, and that the people have a great deal of property, and mostly European furniture; all the houses are made of clay. He represents the inhabitants of Mbáfu, as well as the Tikár and Dingding, as being of a copper color. They wear their hair dressed to a great height like all the pagans hereabouts, let the beard grow, and practice circumcision. The tree "tármo," with a fine fruit, is predominant. Of the identity of Mbáfu with Mr. Koelle's Mfút, and of its situation, a few days' journey N.E. from Kálabá, I have already spoken.

xi. *From Ngaúndere to the Batí.*

1st. Mambúm.

2d. Soló.

3d. Bóngoré.

4th. Búbadáddi Kachellél (the name not original, but introduced altogether by the conquerors), a village of the Kótofó; the whole country, as all the country south of that of the Mbum in general, is said to be perfectly level.

5th. Bíttik, another village of the Kótofó; arrive about noon. The direction, which, as far as Búbadáddi, has been almost south, now turns south by west. A day and a half S.W. from Búbadáddi lies Géniyon, and farther on in the same direction Búbabóntong.

6th. Bórmona, a place of the Búte; a long day's march.

7th. Mángchirin, a woody district, governed by a woman, with a great mountain toward the west.

10th. Bébe, a pagan village consisting of huts built of clay.

Day.
11th. Mére, another pagan village; country woody.

14th. Batí, a tribe of pagans of peculiarly light color,* well made, and not marked by any incisions; they wear an apron round the loins made of cotton, and dwell in huts built of clay; they have only sheep, no horned cattle; they have shells for currency, and live at no great distance from the sea, in the direction of which is seen a very large mountain. They have no fire-arms, but only spears, and their country abounds in elephants and wild pigs.

I am happy to add that Thomas J. Hutchinson, Esq., H.M. consul at Fernando Po, with whom I am engaged in active correspondence, is making inquiries with regard to the tribes of whom I obtained information in the interior, through the missionary, Mr. Anderson. These inquiries tend always more and more to corroborate my information.

XI.—FRAGMENTS OF A METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1850. April				1850. April			
1	5.15 A.M.	48·6	Rain the whole day.	17	9.0 P.M.	66·2	
2	6.0 A.M.	50		18	5.0 A.M.	45·5	
3	6.15 A.M.	55·4			12.0	78·8	
4	No obsr'n.				8.45 P.M.	63·5	
5	5.15 A.M.	51·8		19	5.0 A.M.	50·5	
6	5.0 A.M.	50		20	5.30 A.M.	45·5	
	7.30 P.M.	55·4			12.15	68	
7	5.10 A.M.	45		21	No obsr'n.		
8	9.30 P.M.	72·5		22	5.0 A.M.	48·2	
9	10.0 P.M.	72·5		23	6.0 A.M.	50	El Hási.
10	5.30 A.M.	66·6			12.30	86	
	12.0	84·2		24	5.30 A.M.	40·1	Most of these days a southerly hot wind toward noon.
	6.30 P.M.	77			12.0	82·4	
11	5.30 A.M.	53·6			9.0 P.M.	60·8	
	6.0 P.M.	68	Easterly wind for some days.	25	5.0 A.M.	46·4	
					12.0	86	
12	5.30 A.M.	50			2.0 P.M.	109·4	
13	5.15 A.M.	50			7.0 P.M.	78·8	
	2.0 P.M.	91·8		26	5.0 A.M.	59	
14	5.0 A.M.	43·2			12.0	84·4	
	12.0	86			7.0 P.M.	75·6	
	9.30 P.M.	59		27	5.30 A.M.	51·8	
15	5.0 A.M.	42			7.30 P.M.	80·6	
	12.0	78·3		28	12.0	106·7	
	9.0 P.M.	57·2		29	5.0 A.M.	85	
16	5.0 A.M.	43·7			12.15	104	
	1.30 P.M.	80·6			7.30 P.M.	89·6	
	9.0 P.M.	66·6		30	5.15 A.M.	73·4	
17	5.0 A.M.	50·4			7.30 P.M.	93·2	
	12.0	89·6					

* Dr. Baikie (Appendix, p. 425) says that the man from this tribe whom he met had a very black skin; but nevertheless the greater part of the tribe may have a far lighter color, although it is most probable that Dr. Baikie's informant would not acknowledge that. The specimens of the Batí language which Dr. B. gives seem to characterize a tribe entirely distinct from the Báya or Bayong; but, nevertheless, it is likely that there exists an original bond of affinity between these two people, and that they belong to one and the same stock, which we may call the Bá stock. It is very characteristic that all the numerals given by Baikie commence with a "bá."

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1850.			
May			
1	5.0 A.M.	77	Most of these days a southerly hot wind toward noon.
	12.0	102·2	
	7.0 P.M.	95	
2	5.15 A.M.	73·4	
	7.0 P.M.	98·6	
3	5.0 A.M.	73·4	
	12.25	96·8	
	8.45 P.M.	82·4	
4	6.30 A.M.	62·6	
	12.0	89·6	
	7.20 P.M.	73·4	
5	1.30 P.M.	89·6	
	7.0 P.M.	82·4	
6	No obsr'n.		
7	6.30 A.M.	80·6	(Múrzuk.)
	2.0 P.M.	98·6	
8	12.30	97·7	A heavy gibleh; the first time today we had a covered sky, and found it in the course of our residence characteristic of Múrzuk in this season. Toward evening the sky became generally clouded.
9	12.0	96	
	7.0 P.M.	93·2	
10	6.30 A.M.	75·2	
11	6.0 A.M.	73·4	
12	6.30 A.M.	77	
	1.30 P.M.	93·2	
13	6.0 A.M.	77	
	12.0	87·8	
	7.0 P.M.	86	
14	6.45 A.M.	75·2	
	12.0	90·5	
	7.0 P.M.	88·7	
15	7.0 A.M.	78	
	12.0	95	
	7.0 P.M.	94	
16	6.15 A.M.	75·2	
	12.0	95	
	2.45 P.M.	98·6	
	7.0 P.M.	91·4	
17	6.0 A.M.	80·6	
	12.45	96	
	2.40 P.M.	98·6	
18	7.0 A.M.	75·2	
	12.30	94	
	7.0 P.M.	91·4	
19	6.0 A.M.	77·3	
	12.0	89·6	
	3.0 P.M.	96	
	7.0 P.M.	91·4	
20	6.0 A.M.	77	
	12.45	86	
	3.0 P.M.	89·6	
21	6.15 A.M.	72	
	1.0 P.M.	90	
21	7.0 P.M.	85	
22	6.0 A.M.	71·6	
	12.0	86	
	2.30 P.M.	90	
	7.0 P.M.	84·6	
23	6.30 A.M.	73·8	
	12.0	89·6	
	1.30 P.M.	91·4	
	3.30 P.M.	94	
	7.0 P.M.	91·4	
	11.30 P.M.	82·4	
24	5.45 A.M.	78·8	
	12.15	95	
	1.45 P.M.	96·8	
	10.30 P.M.	89·6	
25	6.15 A.M.	82·4	In the morning a cool N.E. wind, which had been blowing during the whole night.
	12.30	87	
	10.30 P.M.	82·4	
26	6.0 A.M.	76	At 8 A.M. it began to rain; but the N.E. wind being heavy, only little rain fell inside the town; more, however, in the desert.
	1.0 P.M.	82·4	
	10.30 P.M.	77	
27	6.30 A.M.	72	
	3.0 P.M.	90	
	7.0 P.M.	85	
	10.30 P.M.	78	
28	6.0 A.M.	71·6	
	12.0	84·2	
	3.15 P.M.	89·6	
	11.0 P.M.	78	
29	6.0 A.M.	72	
	12.0	87	
	3.0 P.M.	86	The sky in the afternoon thickly overcast.
	10.15 P.M.	80·6	
30	6.30 A.M.	75·2	11.30 A.M. it began to rain, the rain becoming gradually heavier, and lasting an hour; but at half past 8 o'clock in the evening the storm broke forth in its full force, with much lightning, but little rain.
	12.0	78·8	
	10.0 P.M.	80·6	
31	5.45 A.M.	76	
	12.0	90	
	2.45 P.M.	93·2	

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1850.			
June			
1	6.0 A.M.	80·6	
	12.0	95	
	2.0 P.M.	98·6	
	3.0 P.M.	100·4	
	10.30 P.M.	91·4	
2	7.0 A.M.	85	
	12.0	89·6	
	3.0 P.M.	103	At 5 P.M. a heavy storm arose from the westward.
	11.45 P.M.	93·2	
3	5.15 A.M.	84·2	
	12.0	99	
	3.0 P.M.	100·4	
	7.0 P.M.	98·6	
	10.45 P.M.	89·6	
4	6.0 A.M.	82·8	
	12.0	96·8	
	3.0 P.M.	102·2	
	10.15 P.M.	91·4	
5	7.0 A.M.	86	
	1.0 P.M.	100·4	
	4.0 P.M.	105	
	10.30 P.M.	93·2	
6	12.0	95	
	2.30 P.M.	100·4	
7	6.0 A.M.	80·6	
	12.0	86	
	10.15 P.M.	82·4	
8	6.0 A.M.	71·6	
	12.0	84·2	
	4.15 P.M.	90	
	7.0 P.M.	86	
9	6.0 A.M.	76	
	12.0	86	
	11.0 P.M.	82·4	
10	6.0 A.M.	76	
	2.30 P.M.	94	
	11.0 P.M.	85	
11	5.0 A.M.	69·8	
	6.30 A.M.	78	
	12.30	94	
12	6.0 A.M.	78·8	
	12.0	96·8	
	7.0 P.M.	95	
13	5.30 A.M.	80·6	
	1.30 P.M.	105	
14	5.0 A.M.	70·7	A strong gale.
	1.30 P.M.	107·6	
15	5.15 A.M.	75·2	
	12.0	111·2	
	7.0 P.M.	93·2	
16	5.45 A.M.	71·6	
	12.0	102·2	
	1.30 P.M.	105·8	
	7.0 P.M.	94	
17	12.0	111·2	(Encampment in Tiggérodé.)
	1.45 P.M.	114·8	Sky covered.
	9.0 P.M.	89·6	
18	5.30 A.M.	77	
	12.45	111·2	
	9.0 P.M.	95	
19	5.0 A.M.	77	

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1850.			
June			
19	2.0 P.M.	108·5	
20	5.0 A.M.	77	
21	1.0 P.M.	99·5	
22	5.30 A.M.	87	
	12.0	99·5	
23	5.30 A.M.	86	
	12.30	102·2	
	11.30 P.M.	86	
24	5.15 A.M.	87·8	
	12.0	101·3	A fresh gale.
25	6.0 A.M.	78	
	1.30 P.M.	108·5	
	7.30 P.M.	98·6	
26	5.0 A.M.	78	The sky toward the east covered.
	10.30 A.M.	102·2	Twice in the morning a few drops of rain
27	5.0 A.M.	69	
	12.0	93·2	
	7.0 P.M.	90·5	
28	5.0 A.M.	66·2	
	12.0	93·2	
29	5.30 A.M.	69	
	12.30	98·6	
	7.45 P.M.	85	
30	4.50 A.M.	63·5	
	1.30 P.M.	103	
	7.15 P.M.	87·8	
July			
1	4.50 A.M.	66·2	
	12.0	99·5	
	7.30 P.M.	86	
2	5.0 A.M.	68	
	12.30	100·4	
	7.45 P.M.	83·3	In the afternoon and the following day very heavy N.E. gales.
3	5.0 A.M.	69	
	12.0	102·2	
	7.30 P.M.	91·4	
4	5.0 A.M.	69·8	
	12.15	107·6	
	7.30 P.M.	88·7	
5	4.45 A.M.	70·7	
	12.15	91·4	
	7.30 P.M.	84·2	
6	4.45 A.M.	70·7	
	1.0 P.M.	89·6	
	7.30 P.M.	83·3	
7	4.45 A.M.	6 ·5	
	12.0	85	In the very cool shade of a rock.
8	4.45 A.M.	85	
	12.45	102·2	
	9.0 P.M.	87·8	
9	4.30 A.M.	75·2	
	12.30	105·8	
	9.0 P.M.	89·6	
10	4.30 A.M.	70·7	
	12.0	104	
	8.0 P.M.	86	

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1850.			
July			
11	5.0 A.M.	68	
	1.0 P.M.	105·8	
	8.30 P.M.	87·8	
12	5.15 A.M.	65·3	
	1.0 P.M.	106·7	
	8.15 P.M.	89·6	
13	4.45 A.M.	75·2	
	12.30	107·6	
	7.30 P.M.	95	
14	4.30 A.M.	84·2	
	12.30	105	
	7.30 P.M.	93·2	
15	4.30 A.M.	75·2	On these days warm southerly wind.
18	4.45 A.M.	64·4	
	2.15 P.M.	105·8	
19	5.30 A.M.	76	(Bárakat.)
20-24			(Ghát) no observations.
25	12.30	104	
	7.45 P.M.	95	
26	4.45 A.M.	82·4	
	1.15 P.M.	107·6	
	7.0 P.M.	97·7	
27	5.0 A.M.	75·2	
	12.45	103	
	7.30 P.M.	93·2	
28	4.15 A.M.	69·8	
	12.45	104	
	7.30 P.M.	93·2	
29	4.45 A.M.	85	
	12.30	99·5	
	8.0 P.M.	89·6	
30	4.30 A.M.	77	(E'geri.)
	1.0 P.M.	96·8	
	8.30 P.M.	89·6	
31	5.0 A.M.	71·6	
	1.0 P.M.	93·2	
Aug.			
1	4.45 A.M.	66·2	
	12.25	98·6	
	8.0 P.M.	85	
2	5.0 A.M.	68	
	8.0 P.M.	86	
3	4.30 A.M.	67	
	12.40	105·8	In the afternoon a light breeze.
	8.15 P.M.	85	
4	5.0 A.M.	74·3	(Falesselez.)
	12.30	111·2	In the afternoon clouded sky, foreboding rain.
	8.0 P.M.	91	
5	5.15 A.M.	75·2	
	1.0 P.M.	102·2	
	8.0 P.M.	89·6	
6	5.0 A.M.	68	
	1.0 P.M.	100·4	
	8.0 P.M.	86	
7	4.45 A.M.	96	
	1.0 P.M.	95	
	8.30 P.M.	84·2	
8	4.45 A.M.	74·3	
	1.0 P.M.	95	
9	No obsr'n.		

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1850.			
Aug.			
10	5.0 A.M.	68	
	2.0 P.M.	94	
	8.0 P.M.	85	
11	5.30 A.M.	73·4	
	1.0 P.M.	93·2	
	8.0 P.M.	85	
12	5.10 A.M.	67	A cool breeze.
	1.20 P.M.	93·2	
13	5.30 A.M.	77	
	1.45 P.M.	96·8	In the cool shade of a rock.
		107·6	In aired tent.
14	1.0 P.M.	98·6	Generally a light breeze arose at 10 A.M.
	9.30 P.M.	87·8	
15	5.0 A.M.	78	The wind to-day got up at an early hour, the sky becoming more and more clouded, till at 1 P.M. a heavy storm broke forth, followed by a heavy shower at two o'clock, accompanied by distant thunder.
	1.0 P.M.	98·6	
	9.15 P.M.	88·7	
16	5.0 A.M.	78·8	For the whole day the southern sky was covered with small clouds.—The sun was piercing. At 2.30 P.M. a violent storm arose in the east, but did not break forth till 4.30 P.M., when it was followed by a heavy shower.
	12.45	98·6	
	9.0 P.M.	78·8	
17	2.0 P.M.	87	
18-30	No obsr'n.		
31			At 3 P.M. a storm, accompanied by a little rain, lasting for about an hour; farther to southward more rain; during the night another fall of rain.
Sept.			
1			Rain the whole of the morning.
2			A fresh wind.
4			A heavy shower in

No thermometrical obsrv'ns.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1850.			
Sept.			
			the morning, lasting about two hours.
5			(Tintéllust.) After midday a heavy tornado, followed at 2 P.M. by a shower, lasting till 4 P.M.
6			In the afternoon a tornado, and rain till the evening.
7			Sky the whole day clear; no rain.
8			A very heavy tornado in the afternoon from S.S.W., followed by much rain, lasting from 4 P.M. till 10 P.M.
9			In the afternoon a storm gathering from N.E., but reaching us from S.S.W. at 3 P.M., with heavy rain lasting till 7 P.M.
10			A storm all around us; no rain near us.
11	12.30	96·8	No rain.
12	5.45 A.M.	71·6	
	12.45	96·8	In the afternoon a tornado, with rain.
13	1.0 P.M.	100·4	In the afternoon a storm, without rain.
14	5.30 A.M.	68	
	1.0 P.M.	81·5	
15	6.0 A.M.	69·8	No storm.
	12.30	99·5	
16	5.30 A.M.	69	
	1.0 P.M.	99	
17			Fine weather.
18			
19			At 2 P.M. a storm gathering from S.S.W. and N.N.E., but only a little rain at 3 P.M.
20			At 1 P.M. a storm, followed by heavy rain at 2 P.M.
21			No storm.
22			
23	6.0 A.M.	71·6	
	12.0	96·8	At 2 P.M. a heavy storm, but without rain.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1850.			
Sept.			
24	6.15 A.M.	73·4	
	1.0 P.M.	98·6	At 2 P.M. a violent storm, which upset our tents, and was accompanied by heavy rain.
25	6.0 A.M.	64·4	No storm.
	1.30 P.M.	95	
	6.45 P.M.	86	
26	6.45 A.M.	64·2	
	12.30	96	
	6.0 P.M.	91·4	
27	6.15 A.M.	69·8	
	12.30	95	
	6.30 P.M.	91·4	
28	6.15 A.M.	75·2	
	12.10	95	At 2 P.M. a heavy tornado, with but a few drops of rain.
	6.20 P.M.	86	
29	5.40 A.M.	67	
	12.15	99·5	Sultry weather, but no storm.
	6.15 P.M.	91·4	
30	5.30 A.M.	68	
	6.15 P.M.	93·2	
Oct.			
1	5.40 A.M.	69·8	
	1.30 P.M.	101·3	
	6.20 P.M.	95	
2	5.45 A.M.	73·4	
	12.30	97·7	
	6.45 P.M.	92·3	
3	12.30	91·4	
4	5.45 A.M.	68	
5	12.0	95·7	
	6.30 P.M.	87·8	
6	12.0	100·4	
	6.15 P.M.	88·7	
7	No obsr'n.		The last fall of the rainy season, 1850, setting in shortly before noon, and lasting half an hour.
8	6.10 P.M.	87	At 8.30 P.M., while encamped in the valley Bóghel, a meteor fell in our neighborhood with a very great noise.
From October 9 till November 8 no observations; weather generally clear; cool in the morning; on October 20, sky a little overcast.			
Nov.*			
9	r.	43·7	
	s.	69	
10	r.	47·3	

* From this date forward the observations were made a quarter of an hour before sunrise (r.) and half an hour past sunset (s.).

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1850.			
Nov.			
10	s.	69·8	
11	r.	47·3	
	s.	66·2	
12	r.	43·7	
	1.15 P.M.	86	
	s.	67·1	
13	r.	45·5	
	12.0	77	
	5.30 P.M.	66·2	
14	r.	43·7	
	6.0 P.M.	59·9	
15	½ h. bef. r.	50	
	real r.	41·9	
	s.	66·2	
16	r.	46·4	
	s.	67·1	
17	r.	47·3	
	s.	69·8	
18	r.	48·2	
	s.	69·8	
19	r.	50	
	s.	68	
20	r.	50	
	s.	68	
21	r.	48·2	
	s.	68	
22	r.	50	
	s.	68	
23	r.	48·2	Sky covered; and windy.
	s.	65·3	
24	r.	48·2	Sky very cloudy.
	s.	67	
25	r.	50	The weather cleared up.
	s.	68	
26	r.	50	
	s.	68	
27	r.	50	
	s.	71·6	
28	r.	50	
	s.	71·6	
29	r.	51·8	Sky covered.
	s.	72·5	
30	r.	57·2	At 9.30 A.M. the sun broke forth.
	s.	74·3	
Dec.			
1	r.	52·7	
	s.	72·5	
2	r.	51	
	s.	68	
3	r.	53·6	
	s.	66·2	
4	r.	46·4	
	s.	71·6	
5	r.	58·1	Sky very cloudy.
	s.	78	
6	r.	57·2	
	s.	72·5	
7	r.	54·5	
	s.	71·6	
8	r.	50	

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1850.			
Dec.			
9	No obsr'n.		Very cold easterly wind.
10	r.	43·7	
	s.	55·4	
11	r.	41·9	
	s.	59	
12	r.	41	Sky not clear.
	s.	64·4	
13	r.	41	(Teléshera.)
14	r.	43·7	
	s.	64·4	
15	r.	46·4	
	s.	57·2	
16	r.	50	
	s.	63·5	
17	r.	50	
	s.	64·4	
18	r.	48·2	
	s.	65·3	
19	r.	46·4	
	s.	64·4	
20	r.	55·4	
	s.	64·4	
21	r.	54·5	
	s.	72·5	
22	r.	45·5	
23	r.	53·6	
	s.	71·6	
24	r.	54·5	
	s.	72·5	
25	r.	52·7	
	s.	73·4	
26	r.	59	
	s.	69·8	
27	No obsr'n.		
28	r.	54·5	The sky at sunrise now in general overcast.
	s.	74·3	
29	r.	59	
	s.	77	
30	r.	56·3	Very cold N.E. wind.
	s.		
31	r.	51·8	The cold wind continuing.
	s.	60·8	
1851.			
Jan.			
1	r.	48·2	The same cold wind; it fell about an hour after sunrise.
2	r.	45·5	The same cold N.E.
	s.	60·8	wind; it abated about 7 P.M.
3	r.	48·2	
	s.	60·8	
4	r.	51·8	
5	r.	51·8	The sun generally overcast at sunrise.
6	r.	59	The sky thickly
	s.	66·2	clouded; light rain.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1851.				1851.			
Jan.				Mar.			
7	r.	60·8	The sky thickly	21	No obsv'n.		
	s.	75·2	clouded; a few drops of rain.	22	r.	68	Thick fog in the morning, the sun not coming forth till past noon.
8	r.	60·8					
	s.	77					
9	r.	57·2			noon.	91·4	
10	r.	56·3		23			Morning foggy.
	s.	69·8		24	noon.	95	Morning clear,
11	r.	53·6					northerly wind arose.
	s.	73·4					
12	r.	48·2		25	No obsv'n.		
13	s.	71·6		26	noon.	100·4	
14	r.	57·2		27	noon.	98·6	
	s.	73·4		28	No obsv'n.		Sky turbid and dull,
15	r.	57·2					easterly wind.
	s.	71·6		29	noon.	98·6	
17	s.	73·4		April			
18	r.	59		1	noon.	96·8	Same sky, overcast with thick clouds; wind, as in general, easterly.
19	No obsv'n.						
20	r.	50					
	s.	71·6					
21	r.	44·6					
22-26	No obsv'n.			10	r.	69·8	(Kúkawa.)
27	r.	66·2		14	r.	78·8	Sky a little overcast.
	s.	77					
28	r.	59	Cold wind in the afternoon.		noon.	105·8	
					s.	93·2	
29	r.	66		15	r.	77	
30	No obsv'n.				1.0 P.M.	100	
31	s.	69·8		16	r.	69·8	
Feb.	No obsv'n.				noon.	104	
Mar.				17	r.	69·8	
First half	No observation.				noon.	98·6	
					s.	91·4	
2, 3			Sky cloudy (Kanó).	18	r.	68	
18	r.	64·4			noon.	100·4	
	1.0 P.M.	109			s.	87·8	
19	No obsv'n.			19	r.	74	
20	r.	70·3			s.	89·6	

The few thermometrical observations made by Mr. Overweg differ partially from mine, owing to the different situations we gave to our thermometers. I have always endeavored to raise the thermometer five or six feet from the ground, and to prevent its being influenced by any object. I have always looked for the best shade. Overweg marks, under December 5, a quarter of an hour before sunrise, 46·4, and at sunset, 66·2; under December 9, where I have made no observation, he gives 48·2 at sunrise, and 59 at sunset. December 11, he gives 38·3 half an hour before sunrise, and December 12, about the same time, 37·4.

END OF VOLUME I.